# Proceedings of the
# Puducherry World History Congress

**3rd Session**
**Veeranari Chakali Ilamma Women's University**
**Hyderabad – Telangana State**
**(November 8-9, 2025)**

**Puducherry World History Congress**
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**Sandeep Kumar Dasari**

General Secretary

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# Acknowledgment

The present volume of the *Proceedings* brings together the peer-reviewed papers presented at the 3rd Session of the Puducherry World History Congress (PWHC), held at Veeranari Chakali Ilamma Women's University, Hyderabad, Telangana, on 8–9 November 2025.

All papers included in this volume have undergone a rigorous peer-review process. Each submission was first evaluated by the respective Sectional Presidents and subsequently reviewed by the Editorial Committee to ensure academic quality and scholarly standards.

We express our sincere gratitude to Prof. Surya Dhananjay, Hon'ble Vice-Chancellor of Veeranari Chakali Ilamma Women's University, Hyderabad and to Dr. Aruni Pariti, Local Secretary of the Congress, for their exemplary leadership and support. We also acknowledge the dedicated efforts of the faculty members, non-teaching staff and student volunteers of the University, whose commitment and cooperation greatly contributed to the successful organization of the 3rd Session of the PWHC.

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Finally, I wish to place on record my deep appreciation for my colleagues, office bearers and Executive Committee members of the Puducherry World History Congress, whose tireless efforts made both the conference and this publication possible. I extend my special thanks to the members of the Editorial Committee for their meticulous work in preparing this volume for publication in time for the 4th Session of the Puducherry World History Congress.

**Sandeep Kumar Dasari**
General Secretary
Puducherry World History Congress

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# From Imperial Frontier to Sacred Landscape: The Badami Chalukyas and the Making of Early Medieval Telangana (543–753 CE)

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**Abstract**

The Badami Chalukyas (c. AD 543–753) played a decisive role in shaping the political, cultural, and religious landscape of the Deccan, yet their contribution to the historical development of present-day Telangana has received comparatively limited scholarly attention. Existing studies have largely focused on the imperial achievements of rulers such as Pulakesin II and Vikramaditya I or on the architectural splendour of Aihole, Badami, and Pattadakal, while the eastern frontier of the kingdom has remained relatively understudied. This paper examines the Badami Chalukyas in Telangana by integrating archaeological evidence, inscriptions, temple architecture, settlement patterns, and regional history. It argues that Telangana was not a peripheral frontier but an active zone of political integration, religious patronage, and cultural innovation. The paper analyses the strategic importance of Alampur, the Chalukyan temple complexes, the role of inscriptions in legitimising political authority, and the interaction between kingship, sacred landscapes, and regional society. It further explores how the Krishna and Tungabhadra river valleys facilitated agricultural expansion, trade, pilgrimage, and artistic exchange, contributing to the consolidation of Chalukyan authority. By combining archaeological, epigraphic, and architectural evidence with recent historiographical approaches to regional history and cultural landscapes, the study demonstrates that the Chalukyan presence in Telangana laid important foundations for subsequent political formations, including the Rashtrakutas, Vemulavada Chalukyas, Kalyani Chalukyas, and Kakatiyas. The paper contributes to a more balanced understanding of Early Medieval South India by highlighting Telangana's central role in the evolution of Chalukyan political culture, temple architecture, and regional identity.

**Keywords:** Badami Chalukyas; Telangana; Alampur; Early Medieval Deccan; Temple Architecture; Epigraphy; Sacred Landscapes; Political Legitimacy.

## I. Introduction

The Badami Chalukyas occupy a significant place in the political and cultural history of Early Medieval India. Emerging in the sixth century CE under Pulakesin I and reaching the height of their power during the reign of Pulakesin II, the dynasty established one of the earliest and most influential imperial

states in the Deccan. Their rule extended over large parts of present-day Karnataka, Maharashtra, Andhra Pradesh, and Telangana, creating a political framework that facilitated the movement of people, ideas, artistic traditions, and religious institutions across the peninsula. While the achievements of the Chalukyas have traditionally been examined through the lens of political history and temple architecture, recent scholarship has demonstrated that their importance extends far beyond military expansion and dynastic succession. The dynasty played a crucial role in shaping regional identities, promoting temple-centred institutions, encouraging agricultural expansion, and integrating diverse cultural traditions within the Deccan (Thapar, 2002, pp. 329–349; Singh, 2008, pp. 520–547).

The historiography of the Badami Chalukyas has evolved considerably over the last century. Early colonial scholars such as James Burgess, Henry Cousens, and John Faithfull Fleet concentrated primarily on deciphering inscriptions, documenting monuments, and reconstructing political chronology. Their pioneering publications in *EpigraphiaIndica*, *Indian Antiquary*, and the *Archaeological Survey of India* reports provided the first systematic corpus of Chalukyan inscriptions and architectural remains, laying the foundation for subsequent historical research (Fleet, 1879, pp. 1–56; Burgess, 1915, pp. 1–42). During the mid-twentieth century, historians such as K. A. Nilakanta Sastri (1960, pp. 145–181), B. R. Gopal (1981, pp. 1–34), and D. C. Sircar (1965, pp. 211–245) refined the political history of the dynasty through critical analysis of epigraphic evidence, while Percy Brown (1959, pp. 73–96) and Adam Hardy (1995, pp. 45–88) highlighted the Chalukyas' remarkable contribution to the evolution of early medieval temple architecture.

From the 1980s onwards, the focus of historical enquiry shifted significantly. Influenced by the works of D. D. Kosambi, R. S. Sharma, Romila Thapar, and B. D. Chattopadhyaya, historians increasingly examined the social, economic, and ideological dimensions of early medieval states rather than merely reconstructing dynastic chronology (Kosambi, 1956, pp. 143–172; Sharma, 1983, pp. 98–134; Thapar, 2002, pp. 312–348; Chattopadhyaya, 1994, pp. 57–84). Hermann Kulke (1995, pp. 1–22) emphasised the role of temples and ritual sovereignty in the consolidation of regional states, while Daud Ali (2004, pp. 18–47) drew attention to courtly culture and political symbolism as instruments of royal authority. Similarly, Kesavan Veluthat (1993, pp. 41–76) and R. Gurukkal (2010, pp. 52–94) demonstrated that early medieval polities were sustained through complex interactions among agrarian expansion, temple institutions, local elites, and regional economies. These studies have considerably broadened our understanding of the Chalukyan state by placing political authority within its wider social and cultural context.

Despite these important contributions, the role of Telangana in the history of

the Badami Chalukyas has not received the attention it deserves. Most historical narratives continue to focus on the celebrated centres of Badami, Aihole, Pattadakal, and Mahakuta, treating Telangana as a peripheral extension of the empire. Such an approach overlooks the substantial archaeological, architectural, and inscriptional evidence preserved in the region. Sites such as Alampur, situated at the confluence of the Krishna and Tungabhadra rivers, preserve one of the finest groups of Early Chalukyan temples outside Karnataka and provide invaluable evidence for understanding the diffusion of architectural forms, religious patronage, and political authority. Likewise, inscriptions from Alampur and neighbouring regions illuminate administrative organisation, land grants, temple endowments, and the integration of Telangana into the wider Chalukyan polity (Soundara Rajan, 1981, pp. 112–146; Hardy, 1995, pp. 96–128). The region also served as an important cultural corridor connecting the western Deccan with the lower Krishna valley, facilitating the circulation of artisans, merchants, pilgrims, and religious ideas.

Recent archaeological research further suggests that Telangana was not merely a frontier territory but an active participant in the processes of state formation and cultural transformation that characterised the Early Medieval Deccan. The interaction between Chalukyan political authority and existing settlement networks, sacred centres, and riverine landscapes contributed to the emergence of distinctive regional traditions that later influenced the Rashtrakutas, the VemulavadaChalukyas, the KalyaniChalukyas, and the Kakatiyas. Consequently, examining the Badami Chalukyas from the perspective of Telangana enables us to move beyond dynastic history towards a more integrated understanding of regional society, sacred landscapes, and cultural exchange.

Against this background, the present paper argues that Telangana occupied a central position in the making of Chalukyan political culture and regional identity. Rather than viewing the region as a marginal frontier, it demonstrates that Telangana functioned as an important zone of cultural innovation, religious patronage, and political integration, thereby contributing significantly to the broader history of the Early Medieval Deccan.

**Telangana under the Badami Chalukyas**

The incorporation of Telangana into the Badami Chalukya Empire represents one of the most significant yet comparatively understudied phases in the political history of the Early Medieval Deccan. Although the Chalukyas are generally remembered for their capitals at Badami, Aihole, and Pattadakal, their eastern territories played an equally important role in consolidating imperial authority and facilitating cultural interaction across the Deccan. Telangana occupied a strategic geographical position between the western Deccan and the lower Krishna valley, controlling important riverine routes, fertile agricultural zones, and communication networks that connected

Karnataka with coastal Andhra. Consequently, the expansion of Chalukyan authority into Telangana was not merely a military achievement but part of a broader process of political integration, economic consolidation, and cultural transformation (Thapar, 2002, pp. 333–347; Singh, 2008, pp. 525–543).

The decisive phase of this expansion occurred during the reign of Pulakesin II (c. AD 610–642), widely regarded as the greatest ruler of the Badami Chalukya dynasty. His reign transformed the Chalukyas from a regional power into one of the foremost imperial states of peninsular India. Epigraphic evidence, particularly the celebrated AiholePrasasti composed by Ravikirti in AD 634, records his successful campaigns across the Deccan, including the subjugation of the Kadambas, Gangas, Mauryas of Konkan, Latas, Malavas, and the confrontation with Harshavardhana on the Narmada. His eastern campaigns brought the lower Krishna-Godavari region under Chalukyan influence, creating conditions for closer political integration with Telangana (Fleet, 1879, pp. 100–126; Sircar, 1965, pp. 220–229). Rather than viewing these campaigns simply as territorial conquests, recent historians interpret them as part of a larger strategy to secure river valleys, trade routes, and productive agrarian regions that were essential for sustaining imperial authority (Kulke, 1995, pp. 11–22; Ali, 2004, pp. 38–52).

The consolidation of Chalukyan rule in Telangana depended not only on military success but also on the development of an effective administrative framework. Like many early medieval polities, the Badami Chalukyas relied on a combination of direct royal authority and delegated regional administration. Provinces were governed through local officials, hereditary elites, military commanders, and subordinate chiefs who recognised Chalukyan sovereignty while retaining considerable autonomy in local affairs. Land grants recorded in inscriptions demonstrate that temples and Brahmanical settlements became important centres of administration, revenue collection, and agrarian expansion. Such institutions linked royal authority with local society and helped integrate newly incorporated territories into the imperial structure (Veluthat, 1993, pp. 52–71; Chattopadhyaya, 1994, pp. 146–168). This flexible administrative system enabled the Chalukyas to govern a culturally diverse empire without imposing rigid political uniformity.

The strategic significance of Telangana is best illustrated by Alampur, situated at the confluence of the Krishna and Tungabhadra rivers. Its geographical location made it one of the principal eastern frontiers of the Chalukya kingdom and an important point of contact between Karnataka and the Telugu-speaking regions. The celebrated Navabrahma temple complex, constructed during the seventh and eighth centuries, reflects not only the architectural achievements of the Badami Chalukyas but also their broader political vision. The temples combined religious patronage with assertions of royal legitimacy, demonstrating how sacred architecture functioned as an instrument of state formation and cultural integration (Hardy, 1995, pp. 101–122; Michell, 1977,

pp. 68–89). The inscriptions of Alampur record grants made by Chalukyan rulers and local elites, providing valuable information on temple administration, land endowments, Brahmanical settlements, and the participation of regional officials in the governance of frontier territories (Sircar, 1965, pp. 234–239; Soundara Rajan, 1981, pp. 118–144). These records indicate that Alampur was far more than a religious centre; it was an administrative, economic, and ideological hub that strengthened Chalukyan authority along the Krishna–Tungabhadra frontier.

The governance of Telangana also depended upon the cooperation of feudatories and subordinate chiefs, who formed an integral component of the Chalukyan political system. Rather than replacing existing local ruling families, the Chalukyas incorporated them into the imperial framework through alliances, military obligations, marriage connections, and grants of authority. This pattern of shared sovereignty ensured political stability while encouraging the growth of regional elites who acted as intermediaries between the imperial court and local communities. Inscriptions reveal that these feudatories sponsored temples, irrigation works, and Brahmanical institutions, thereby reinforcing both their own legitimacy and that of the Chalukya state (Kulke, 1995, pp. 23–39; Veluthat, 1993, pp. 84–102). The administrative experience acquired under the Badami Chalukyas also influenced later regional dynasties, particularly the VemulavadaChalukyas and the Kakatiyas, who adapted similar patterns of temple patronage, land grants, and local governance.

The evidence from inscriptions, architecture, and regional archaeology therefore demonstrates that Telangana was not a peripheral province of the Badami Chalukya Empire but one of its most dynamic frontier regions. Its strategic location, fertile river valleys, sacred centres, and administrative institutions enabled the Chalukyas to consolidate political authority while fostering cultural exchange across the Deccan. Examining Telangana from this perspective shifts attention away from purely dynastic narratives towards a broader understanding of how imperial expansion, regional governance, and sacred landscapes interacted to shape the social and political history of Early Medieval South India.

**Temple Architecture and Sacred Landscapes**

One of the most enduring contributions of the Badami Chalukyas to the cultural history of Telangana lies in the development of temple architecture and the creation of sacred landscapes that combined political authority, religious belief, artistic innovation, and regional identity. The Chalukyan rulers viewed temples not merely as places of worship but as institutions that legitimised kingship, stimulated economic activity, encouraged artistic production, and integrated newly incorporated territories into the wider political framework of the empire. Consequently, the construction of temples formed an essential component of state formation in the Early Medieval

Deccan. In Telangana, this process is best represented by the remarkable Navabrahma temple complex at Alampur, which remains one of the finest surviving examples of Early Chalukyan architecture outside their imperial heartland (Hardy, 1995, pp. 101–128; Michell, 1977, pp. 68–92).

Situated at the confluence of the Krishna and Tungabhadra rivers, Alampur occupied a strategic position on the eastern frontier of the Badami Chalukya kingdom. The sacred geography of this region enhanced its political and religious significance. Rivers were regarded not only as natural resources but also as sacred entities that shaped pilgrimage, settlement, agriculture, and cultural interaction. By establishing monumental temples at such an important river junction, the Chalukyas reinforced their political authority while simultaneously associating their kingship with sacred space and religious legitimacy. As Hermann Kulke (1995, pp. 15–28) has argued, temple patronage in early medieval India functioned as an important mechanism through which regional states consolidated authority and integrated local societies. The Alampur complex illustrates this process with exceptional clarity.

The Navabrahma group, comprising the Swarga Brahma, Bala Brahma, Garuda Brahma, Arka Brahma, Kumara Brahma, Padma Brahma, Taraka Brahma, Vira Brahma, and Viswa Brahma temples, represents one of the earliest and most accomplished phases of structural temple architecture in the Deccan. Although dedicated primarily to Shiva, these temples display a remarkable synthesis of architectural ideas that later influenced temple construction across South India. Their carefully proportioned plans, richly carved pillars, decorative doorways, latina-type *śikharas*, sculptural niches, and elaborately ornamented ceilings demonstrate the maturity achieved by Chalukyan architects during the seventh and eighth centuries CE (Brown, 1959, pp. 82–95; Hardy, 1995, pp. 115–128). The temples also testify to the high level of technical knowledge possessed by sculptors, masons, and artisans whose collective expertise transformed stone into enduring monuments of religious and political expression.

An important characteristic of Chalukyan architecture is its creative interaction between the Nagara and Dravida architectural traditions. Rather than following a rigid regional style, Chalukyan architects selectively adapted elements from both northern and southern India to produce an innovative architectural vocabulary. At Alampur, the curvilinear superstructures characteristic of the Nagara tradition coexist with southern plans, mandapas, and decorative programmes that anticipate later Dravida developments. Adam Hardy (1995, pp. 90–118) has rightly described Chalukyan architecture as an experimental phase in which architects explored multiple forms before the crystallisation of later regional styles. This architectural synthesis demonstrates that the Deccan functioned as a zone of cultural interaction where artistic ideas circulated across political and geographical boundaries rather than remaining confined to

distinct regions.

Equally significant are the temple inscriptions, which provide valuable evidence for understanding the relationship between religion, administration, and society. Inscriptions from Alampur record grants of land, villages, gardens, taxes, and revenues made by Chalukyan rulers, queens, military officers, local chiefs, and private individuals for the maintenance of temples and religious rituals (Sircar, 1965, pp. 232–239). These records reveal that temples were important administrative and economic institutions as well as sacred centres. They employed priests, sculptors, musicians, craftsmen, accountants, and numerous service communities, while their landed endowments stimulated agricultural expansion and local economic activity. The inscriptions also illuminate patterns of regional administration by documenting the participation of feudatories and village assemblies in implementing royal grants, thereby linking imperial authority with local governance (Soundara Rajan, 1981, pp. 122–145).

The evidence further demonstrates that religious patronage under the Badami Chalukyas extended beyond the personal piety of individual rulers. Temple construction represented a deliberate political strategy through which kings projected legitimacy, rewarded loyal elites, encouraged Brahmanical learning, and strengthened their authority in frontier regions. At the same time, local chiefs, merchants, artisans, and religious communities also contributed to temple maintenance and expansion, indicating that sacred institutions were sustained through collective patronage rather than royal initiative alone (Ali, 2004, pp. 65–88; Veluthat, 1993, pp. 78–95). Temples therefore became centres where political power, religious practice, economic activity, artistic creativity, and community life converged.

Viewed from this perspective, the temples of Alampur represent a carefully constructed sacred landscape in which rivers, temples, inscriptions, settlements, and pilgrimage routes combined to express the ideological foundations of Chalukyan rule. Their architectural innovations, inscriptional record, and enduring religious significance demonstrate that Telangana was not a peripheral region but an important centre in the evolution of Early Medieval temple architecture and political culture. The Navabrahma temples thus remain enduring testimony to the creative interaction of kingship, religion, architecture, and regional identity that characterised the Badami Chalukya age.

**Society, Economy and Trade**

The political consolidation achieved by the Badami Chalukyas was closely linked with the expansion of agriculture, commercial activity, and settlement networks across the Deccan. Telangana, situated between the Krishna and Godavari river systems, occupied a strategic position within this economic landscape. Rather than functioning merely as a frontier province, the region became an important centre of agricultural production, craft manufacture,

religious patronage, and regional exchange. Archaeological evidence and inscriptions indicate that economic prosperity formed the material foundation upon which Chalukyan political authority and temple institutions were sustained (Sharma, 1983, pp. 137–162; Gurukkal, 2010, pp. 78–101).

Agriculture remained the principal occupation of the population, and the fertile valleys of the Krishna, Tungabhadra, and their tributaries supported the cultivation of cereals, pulses, oilseeds, and cotton. Chalukyan rulers recognised the importance of agricultural expansion by encouraging land reclamation, supporting irrigation works, and granting villages to Brahmanical and religious institutions. Such grants not only strengthened royal authority but also promoted the cultivation of previously uncultivated lands and facilitated the growth of stable rural settlements (Veluthat, 1993, pp. 63–84; Chattopadhyaya, 1994, pp. 149–168). The river valleys therefore functioned as productive economic zones as well as important routes of communication linking Telangana with Karnataka and the lower Krishna region.

The prosperity generated by agriculture stimulated the growth of specialised craft production, particularly around temple centres and emerging urban settlements. Stone sculptors, architects, metal workers, potters, carpenters, textile producers, and jewellers contributed to the construction of temples, the manufacture of ritual objects, and the production of goods required for everyday life. The architectural sophistication of the Navabrahma temples at Alampur itself reflects the existence of highly skilled artisan communities capable of executing complex structural and sculptural programmes (Brown, 1959, pp. 82–95; Hardy, 1995, pp. 110–126). These artisans formed an indispensable component of the regional economy, and their technical knowledge was transmitted across generations, influencing later architectural traditions in the Deccan.

Commercial exchange was facilitated by organised guilds (*śreṇis*), which played an important role in regulating production, marketing commodities, and supporting religious institutions. Although guilds had emerged much earlier, they continued to flourish during the Chalukya period, linking agricultural producers with craftsmen, merchants, and long-distance trade networks. Inscriptions frequently refer to merchant associations participating in donations to temples, illustrating the close relationship between commerce and religious patronage (Ray, 1986, pp. 82–101; Ali, 2004, pp. 69–88). These commercial organisations not only promoted economic activity but also contributed to the integration of regional markets across the Deccan.

Recent settlement archaeology further enriches our understanding of Chalukyan Telangana. Archaeological surveys indicate continuity between earlier Early Historic settlements and emerging Early Medieval villages, revealing gradual processes of rural expansion rather than abrupt political transformation. Temples, settlements, irrigation facilities, and communication routes developed as interconnected landscapes that sustained both local

communities and imperial administration. Together, archaeological and inscriptional evidence demonstrates that the strength of the Badami Chalukya state rested not only upon military power but also upon prosperous agriculture, organised craft production, commercial enterprise, religious institutions, and resilient regional communities that collectively shaped the social and economic life of Early Medieval Telangana (Coningham& Young, 2015, pp. 312–336; Gurukkal, 2010, pp. 95–112).

**Legacy of the Badami Chalukyas in Telangana**

The political and cultural influence of the Badami Chalukyas continued long after the decline of their empire in the eighth century CE. Their administrative institutions, temple traditions, architectural innovations, and patterns of religious patronage profoundly shaped the historical development of Telangana. Among their most important successors were the VemulavadaChalukyas, who ruled parts of present-day Telangana between the eighth and tenth centuries. Although politically subordinate at different times to the Rashtrakutas, the VemulavadaChalukyas inherited many administrative and cultural traditions established by the Badami Chalukyas. Their inscriptions, temple patronage, and support for Shaivism demonstrate continuity in political ideology, land-grant practices, and the close relationship between kingship and religion (Parabrahma Sastry, 1978, pp. 52–71; Veluthat, 1993, pp. 102–118).

The architectural legacy of the Badami Chalukyas is equally significant. The structural principles and decorative vocabulary first perfected at Alampur continued to influence temple construction across Telangana during the Rashtrakuta, Kalyani Chalukya, and Kakatiya periods. Features such as well-defined *garbhagrihas*, pillared *mandapas*, elaborately carved doorways, sculptural niches, and the harmonious integration of Nagara and Dravida architectural elements became characteristic of later temple architecture in the region (Hardy, 1995, pp. 135–162; Michell, 1977, pp. 112–128). The Navabrahma temples thus served as an important architectural bridge linking the experimental traditions of the Early Chalukyas with the mature temple styles of the medieval Deccan.

This architectural continuity reached its fullest expression under the Kakatiyas, whose temples at Hanumakonda, Palampet, and Warangal display a remarkable synthesis of earlier Chalukyan traditions with new artistic and engineering achievements. Although Kakatiya architecture developed its own distinctive identity, scholars have long recognised the influence of Chalukyan planning, sculptural conventions, and temple construction techniques in many of its monuments (Brown, 1959, pp. 156–176; Soundara Rajan, 1981, pp. 210–228). Equally important was the continuation of temple-centred administration, land grants, and irrigation-based agrarian expansion that had evolved under earlier Deccan polities. These continuities demonstrate that political transitions did not interrupt the region's cultural development but

rather adapted and enriched inherited traditions.

The historical significance of the Badami Chalukyas in Telangana therefore extends beyond dynastic history. Their rule strengthened regional administration, promoted temple architecture, encouraged artistic excellence, and integrated Telangana more closely into the political and cultural networks of the Deccan. By fostering interaction between architecture, religion, economy, and regional society, they laid important foundations for subsequent medieval kingdoms and contributed to the emergence of Telangana as one of the most vibrant cultural regions of South India. The surviving monuments, inscriptions, and archaeological remains continue to bear witness to this enduring legacy, making the study of the Badami Chalukyas indispensable for understanding the historical evolution of Telangana and the wider Deccan.

**Conclusion**

The history of the Badami Chalukyas in Telangana demonstrates that the region occupied a far more significant place in the political and cultural landscape of the Early Medieval Deccan than has generally been recognised. Far from being a peripheral frontier, Telangana emerged as an important zone where political authority, sacred geography, temple architecture, regional administration, and economic activity converged to strengthen the Chalukya state. The archaeological remains at Alampur, together with inscriptions, temples, and settlement evidence, illustrate how imperial authority was consolidated through religious patronage, agrarian expansion, and the integration of local elites into a broader political framework.

The study also highlights the importance of adopting an interdisciplinary approach to Early Medieval history. Archaeological evidence, temple architecture, inscriptions, settlement archaeology, and regional landscape studies together provide a more comprehensive understanding of Chalukyan society than political narratives alone. Such an approach reveals the active participation of artisans, merchants, cultivators, religious institutions, and local chiefs in shaping the social and cultural history of Telangana. Equally significant is the enduring legacy of the Badami Chalukyas, whose administrative practices, architectural innovations, and temple traditions profoundly influenced the VemulavadaChalukyas, the Kalyani Chalukyas, and ultimately the Kakatiyas.

By examining the BadamiChalukyas from a Telangana perspective, this paper contributes to the growing historiography that emphasises regional histories as essential components of Indian history. It demonstrates that the making of the Early Medieval Deccan was the result of continuous interaction between political power, regional society, religious institutions, and cultural landscapes. Future research integrating archaeology, epigraphy, digital mapping, archaeoscience, and heritage studies will undoubtedly deepen our understanding of this formative period and further establish Telangana as a key region in the historical evolution of Early Medieval South India.

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# The Social Status of Siddhalingamadam as Gleaned From Inscriptions: A Study

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**Abstract**

This article deals with the social status of Sindhalingamadam as gleaned from inscriptions. is located in the Tirukkovilur Taluk erstwhile South Arcot District, five miles from the southwest of Tirukkovilur. The prominent temple in this village seems to be the erection of Parantaka I. Siddhalingamadam is a village situated on the bank of the sacred river South Pennar. The temples witnessed the social, economic and political life and livelihood of the people. Perhaps, the inscriptional sources directly or indirectly given the details of social stratum, particularly the endowments of the Kings to the society. Indeed, the Brahmans are the most privileged calls in the society, whom served as the religious head of the temple getting more endowments from the Kings.Then the other communities like Kammalar are mentioned in the temple of Siddhalinga madam. Thus, these two communities are glorified in the society according to the inscriptions. Indeed, the Siddlingamadam inscription could given the details about the Devadasi system. Hence, the sources of Siddhalingamadam temple was witnessed social status of the villages over the years.

**Keywords**: Siddhalingamadam, Devadasi System, Inscriptional sources, Social Status, Brahmins and Kammalar.

## Introduction

India is the land of temples have possessed numerous inscriptions are depicted the life and livelihood of the society, culture, tradition, economical status and political hierarchy. On the consequences, the inscriptions also witnessed the social status of the inhabitation of the people in the village. The society was well structured and diverse, with a clear social hierarchy. Agriculture, trade, and artisanship formed the backbone of the economy, and the people engaged in extensive maritime trade with distant lands, including Rome and Southeast Asia. The literature from this era often highlights the grandeur of Kings, the bravery of warriors, the beauty of nature, and the everyday lives of the people. The Temple inscription authenticated the social status of the Siddalingamadam village during Kingship, Particularly the Cholas, Pandayas, Sambuvaraya inscriptional sources mentioned about some communities inhabitated in this village and their profession. Moreover, the Government has contributed so

much treasure to the temple and community shows the consciousness of the Kings to the society. This article deals with the social status of Sindhalingamadam as gleaned from inscriptions.

**Siddhalingamadam**

Siddhalingamadam is located in the Tirukkovilur Taluk Erstwhile South Arcot District, five miles from the southwest of Tirukkovilur.[1] The prominent temple in this village seems to be the erection of Parantaka I. Siddhalingamadam is a village situated on the bank of the sacred river South Pennar. The Oral history prevailed that the Siddhas were associated with this village, hence called as Siddhalingamadam. The Siva Temple is known as Vyaghrpadeswara because the sage Vyaghrapada on his way to Chidambaram worshipped Lord Shiva to the temple, explained by the mythological perspective. The first temple enshrining the Shiva Linga was of mud and wood. Later between 907 and 914 A.D., the temple in stone was constructed. The temple completely renovated during the period of Kulottunga Chola I. It has several sculptors, architectural structures, tank and the other premises to reflect the glory of the Kings.

**The *Tinai* Concept**

The Sangam Society was split into five distinct ecological zones according to ancient Tamil literature, each of which had its own peculiarities. *Tinai* is the name for each zone, catch with its own unique qualities. The *Tinai* notion can be related to the contemporary ecosystem approach used to research cultures. There are five *Tinais* namely Kurinji called as mountainous zone, Mullai known as Pastoral zone, Marutam as riverine zone, Neytal as coastal zone and Palai as arid zone. For the creation of poems, these zonal divisions were used. Furthermore, they somewhat mirrored Tamil country's actual natural systems. Although some locations had such discrete units, many other regions had overlapping different Tinais. The conduct code assigned to love situations (akam) and war situations are included in each zone or tinai (puram). The time, season, flora, fauna. avifauna, and occupation of the Tinais are among their distinctive distinguishing characteristics. For instance, when writing a poem about Marutam Tinai the poet incorporates various aspect of Sangam society including the trees animals and manner of life found there.

**The Social status**

The social status has explained in the vedas, particularly through the concept of Purusa Shukta in Rig Veda. Society is a group of people who are connected socially and share a social or spatial territory.

**Brahmins**

In Ancient society had been classified depends upon the nature of work. The Brahmins are received highest position in the social spectrum, become the religious head of the society during Chola Period, The Siddalingamadam temple have more than Nine inscription tells about the social status, especially to the Brahmins. The Chola Kings namely Parantaka I to Kulottunga III, the inscriptional sources depicted above the temple. An inscription depicted in the

eastern wall of the temple, belongs to Parantaka I in his regnal Year C.E 913-14, gives the details about the endowment of the Kings to the Siva Brahmanas around 10 *Kalanju* Pon and One Kalanju Pon to the ignition of perpectual lamp to the Lord Tiruppulippakavar by Miladudaiyan Nattan Siddhavadvan, which entrusted to the Siva Brahmans, weighted of the two lamps is given as 100 *palams*[2]

Another inscription belongs to Rajaraja I in his regnal year C.E 1012-13, depicted on the Eastern wall of the Vyakrapathisvara temple described to gift of 25 Kalanju of Pon for the perpectual lamp and the amount used for the celebration of *Tiruvathirai* in the month of *markali*. The gift was made by the Brahmans Kali *somasi*, wife of *Atravan Kesuvan Maran* of the same village. It also records a gift by the same donor of some land situated in Sirupakanallur in the western hamlet of the village and near the tank called the *Sri Rajarajap - pereri* for offerings to the god in the main shrine.[3]

Indeed, the Brahmins conferred lot of fertile agricultural land around hundred number, belongs to the inscription of Kulottunga –I in his 49th regnal year C.E 1118-19, found on the south wall of the print mandapa in the vyakarapathisvara temple refers to 32 cows for a perpetual lamp to this temple by *Bhäradvaji Pañchnadipperiyan* a Sivabrahmana of this temple prayed for a son and blessed with one. In lieu of the cows, a sum of 10 *anradunarkaśu* was received by the temple *sivabrahmana*s who had agreed to burn the same.[4]An inscription Vikrama Cholas in his regnal C.E 1120-21 belongs to the north wall of the front mandapa in the vyakarapadiswara temple refers to the gift of a standing lamp to be lit in the sanctum sanctorum of the temple by a certain *Sadiri*, daughter of Malaiyaman alias Räjëndrachoḷachedirayan and wife of Tillainayagan Devarakandan, owner of the lands on northern bank at Përingur in Tirumunaippadi Peringurnadu in Gangaikonda *chõḷavaḷanadu*. She also gave 32 cows, 16 on the spot and another 16 to be purchased for an amount of 9 and 4 må of *anradunärkäsu* at the rate of ½ and one and a half ma of kasu for a cow. The Sivabrahmanas of the temple received both cows and money of above mentioned and agreed to burn the lamp as desired by the donor.[5]

An inscription Vikrama Chola in his 13th regnal year C.E. 1130 found on the south wall of the front mandapa. In the Vyakrapathisvara temple refers to the gift of a perpetual lamp for use in the sanctum sanctorum of the temple by a certain *KayirurPichchanAraisu* of Anattur in *Elurnadu* who was *kilan* of Tirumunaippadi. It is stated that he endowed a sum of 8 7/8 kalanju of pon for this purpose and the same was received by the Sivabrahmanas of this temple and they agreed to carry out the object of the endowment forever. Also records the gift by the same donor 80 palam in weight of metal, weighed by the balance called *Tirumalthirppattakkol*, for making the lamp.[6] An inscription of Kulottunga II- in his 10th regnal year C.E. 1154. Found on the north wall of pragara in the Vyakrapathisvara temple refer to the gift of 5 kasu, around 21/2

kasu each by *Solaippiranisvaradevan* and *Kausika Aravamudu Padmanaban* for two sandhi lamps to be burnt in the temple. Siva Brahmanäs of the temple received the money and agreed to burn the lamps.[7]

Another inscription of Rajendhiraja II in his regnal year C.E 1173-74 belongs to the regnal year on the Eastern wall of second *pragara* in the Vyakrapathisvara temple refers to the settlement arrived amongst the Brahmanäs and *periyanättärs* about the measure of water to be utilized by them from Kudakal, Marudurkil, Jananathanmukam. These water ways ware developed by Andar Araśukkadiyar[8] An inscription of Kulottunga III in his 6$^{th}$regnal year C.E 1183 – 84. Found on the east wall of second prakara in the Vyakrapathisvara temple refers to the gift of 7000 kuli of land in Kiliyur in Rajarajavalanadu by the servant named *Kutttan Panaiyan* alias *Ponparappina Malaiyaman* of the same place, which was purchased from the Sabhai of the same place, for two nanda lamps to be burnt in the temple is stated that gift of lamps was made for the merit of the servantg's master *Raja gabirachchedirayar*. The lamps were received by the Sivabrahmans of the temple who also agreed to burn them forever.[9] The name Sivabrahmanas mentioned in the inscriptions witnessed the position of the Brahmins in the Chola Period. An inscription of Kopperunjinga, certain Arintavan Pallavaraiyar set up the of Thirugnanasambanta and image of endowed, 2000 kasu for providing sacred food as Tirumantiraponaga, and sacred bath. The sivabrahmanas received the amount and accepted to maintain the services from the interest. It is also stated that the vegetations should be removed from the tirusurralai of the temple.[10]

On the stone planted in Brahmin street – modern. It records that the members of the *nadus* of *Valutilampattu* - *chavadi*, *Padaivittu* - *chavadi*, Tiruchchirappalli - *chavadi*, and other nadus assembled and decided to reaffirm certain privileges granted during the time of Devaraya *Maharayar*, to a particular *matha* called Sirringamatha, belonging probably to the idangai community. *Mudalis* of various *nādus* and *meykaval* of the *idangai* community were figured as signatories.[11] Indeed, the above inscriptions are exhibited the Brahmins are getting lot of doles from the government.

**Vellalar**

Historically, they were the descendants of royal lineage like Pallavas, Cholas and Pandyas. They were the supervisors for land dealings and court verdicts are given by them. Vellalar means representative of kings. "Vel" means king "alar" the one belong to They originated from Velir royal clans. Vellalar is an aristocratic caste that claims they originated from Kshatriya Velir kings. Velalar are Aristocrats, landed gentry, temple owners & administrators and providers of agricultural jobs. They have many professions but their traditional job is Landlord. The secular noble caste that provided courtiers, military administrators and members of the bureaucracy The Vellalar were also sent to Sri Lanka by the Chola emperors. Vellalar is a group of castes in the Indian

states of Tamil Nadu, Kerala and northeastern parts of Sri Lanka. The Vellalar are members of several endogamous castes such as the numerically strong Arunattu Vellalar, Chozhia Vellalar, Karkarthar Vellalar, Kongu Vellalar, Thuluva Vellalar and Sri Lankan Vellalar.[12]

**Kammalar**

The Kammalar caste is a Tamil caste group that is found in Tamil Nadu, India and northeastern Sri Lanka. The term "Kammalar" is a generic term that refers to the communities of Kannar (brass workers), Kollar (blacksmith), Tarar (goldsmith), Tatchar (carpenters), and Kartatchar (sculptors) who are all involved in crafting. The Kammalar caste has five sub-divisions Kallasarı, Kollan, Marasarı, Musarı and Tattan.

**Kaikolas**

Another Community that helped during the middle age was the Kaikola caste. Though Kaikolas were weavers by calling, by and large, they formed the bulk of the army and distance forces. Land was given to them, as grants (manyam). The kaikolars people of India practice Hinduism,the predominant religion of the Indian subcontinent. The fourteenth century inscription Bhupati Udaiyar mentioned about the villagers namely *danattar* and *kaikolas* residing in Tirumadaivalakam were vacated due to the inability of remitting the stipulated taxes earlier. It is stated that they were made to resettle in their old places and also made to continue with their professions and the taxes were also revised[13]

An inscription of Sundara Pandya in his 10$^{th}$ regnal year and thirteenth regnal year found on the south wall of the pragara in the Vyakrapathisvara temple refers to The village Vilvalam received as kani by the *kaikolas* including one Kadaladaittan and others from the sabha of Sirringur and donated as devadina to the temple. It is stated that from the month of *kartika* of the year quoted all the levies and income from the entire village should be enjoyed by the *kaikolas*. They in turn should annually measured out paddy at the rate of 12 *kalam* per ma of nañjai land and 6 *kalam* per ma of land with crop of chittiraikkar irrigated by means of well water; and 4 pon for punjaipuravadai and nattam lands to the temple. Sundara Pandya Kalingarayan and Netturudaiyan are figured as signatories.[14]

An inscription Raja Narayanan sambuvarayan in his. 20$^{th}$ regnal year C.E 1358 found on the west wall of the Vyakrapathisvara temple refers to the Brahmnas, Sthanikas and the Kaikolas of Sirringur, a Brahmadeya met in the temporary shet (urukkavanam) called Ponvāsikondan in the temple to decide about land. The land is stated to have been gifted as devadana previously by a certain Pungur Kilan Devapperumal alias Vis(va) nadevar, a mayesvaras of Tiruppuigur and that the same was included in the revenue records. Till 17th year of the king the tax were paid accordingly. The lands had been released from the royal holding and made tax free from 18th year and thereby became the kani of Visvanatadevar.[15]

**Vanniyar**

The Vanniyar, also known as the Vanniya or Palli, are a Dravidian community in northern Tamil Nadu. They are believed to be descendants of Vanni, which means "fire" in Sanskrit. The Vanniyars are one of the largest and most consolidated backward communities in Tamil Nadu, and are the second-largest community after the scheduled caste. They are mainly agricultural workers and are concentrated in towns such as Cuddalore, Vellore, Tiruvallur, Ranipet, Chengalpet, Villupuram, and Kancheepuram temple for the rest of her life. The dedication takes place in a ceremony. that is somewhat similar to a marriage ceremony.

In addition to taking care of the temple and performing rituals, these women also learn and practice classical Indian dances such as Bharatanatyam, Mohiniyattam, Kuchipudi, and Odissi Their status as dancers, musicians, and consorts was an essential part of temple worshthip. Between the sixth and thirteenth centuries, Devadasis had a high rank and dignity in society and were exceptionally affluent as they were seen as the protectors of the arts. During this period, royal patrons provided them with gifts of land, property, and jewellery After becoming Devadasis, the women would spend their time learning religious rites, rituals and dances. Devadasis were expected to live a life of celibacy, however, there have been several exceptions.

**The status of Women**

Women had a high social status and were treated well. They had basic education, and some may have received higher education. Women were independent, owned property, and had financial authority. They were involved in social activities, art, and welfare projects. However, women faced some disadvantages compared to men, such as being denied inheritance and property rights, and being treated as subordinates. There were also social evils like child marriage, the devadasi system, satı and dowry

**Devadasi**

In India, a devadasi is a female artist who is dedicated to the worship and service of a deity or atemple for the rest of her life. The dedication takes place in a ceremony. that is somewhat similar to a marriage ceremony In addition to taking care of the temple and performing rituals, these women also learn and practice classical Indian dances such as Bharatanatyam, Mohiniyattam, Kuchipudi, and Odissi Their status as dancers, musicians, and consorts was an essential part of temple worship.[16]

Between the sixth and thirteenth centuries, Devadasis had a high rank and dignity in society and were exceptionally affluent as they were seen as the protectors of the arts. During this period, royal patrons provided them with gifts of land, property, and jewellery After becoming Devadasis, the women would spend their time learning religious rites, rituals and dances. Devadasis were expected to live a life of celibacy, however, there have been several I exceptions.[17]

**Conclusion**

In ancient period, the villages are emerged in the river region because the fulfilling the water needs. Among the villages are possessed the temples which expressed the cultural attributes of the people over the years. The temples witnessed the social, economical and political life and livelihood of the people. Perhaps, the inscriptional sources directly or indirectly give the details of social stratum, particularly the endowments of the Kings to the society. Indeed, the Brahmans are the most privileged calls in the society, whom served as the religious head of the temple getting more endowments from the Kings. Then the other communities like Kammalar are mentioned in the temple of Siddhalinga madam. Thus, these two communities are glorified in the society according to the inscriptions. Indeed, the Siddlingamadam inscription could given the details about the Devadasi system. Hence, the sources of Siddhalingamadam temple was witnessed social status of the villages over the years.

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# South Indian Rock-Cut Architecture – Historical and Epigraphic Perspective

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**Abstract**

The prehistoric inhabitants of the Indian subcontinent may not have built temples in the sense understood today and even if such structures existed, there is little archaeological evidence to determine their form, design or architectural features. Their religious practices were most likely centred on nature worship, ancestor worship and sacred spaces rather than permanent places of worship. During the Vedic period, the Aryans did not emphasize the construction of temples for their deities. Instead, religious life revolved around the performance of yajnas (sacrificial rituals), conducted in temporary altars under the guidance of priests. The Vedas and subsequent Vedic literature are largely silent regarding permanent temples or idol worship, suggesting that ritual sacrifice, hymns and fire worship formed the core of early Vedic religious practices rather than temple-based worship.

**Keywords:** Pre-Historic, Rock-cut, Architecture, Vedic, Buddhist, Brahminical, Pallava.

## Introduction

It is very difficult to state that exactly when the Hindus started building Brahminical temples in India. The Indus valley civilization discoveries unfold everything that human civilization during the prehistoric times except a temple for worship. Both at Harappa and Mohenjo-Daro it was developed the urban civilization that discovered. There are well laid geometrically straight streets flanked by two storied houses built of burnt bricks, well planned underground drainage, almost modern in conception, public baths that can accommodate many bathers at a time, a centrally situated market place, huge granaries, and all that is wanted in developed municipal town. There were also discovered utensils, painted pottery, pieces of sculptures of bronze, stone and terracotta, ornaments and beads cylindrical seals and everything proclaimed high degree of the civilization, the habitants of those in cities enjoyed. Among the artifacts discovered are sand stone made bust of the priest with a band across his forehead, tri-foiled mantle over his shoulder, a bronze figure of dancer and other figures of several deities prominent among them are mother goddess and Pasupathi, a three headed deity in Yogasana surrounded various animal forms. Historians opine that these indicated a religion with the cults of mother goddess and Rudra or Shiva. Both these cults are prominent in the later modes of Dravidian worships and finally they were all absorbed into Hinduism. It is

lucid, the people of prehistoric time had a religion though its form may not be defined. Yet no temple worship is discovered either in the twin cities of Harappa and Mojendaro or other excavated sites. perhaps single undug mound at Mohenjo-Daro uncovers a temple, if at all it is excavated. It is indeed hard to imagine an ancient civilization with established cults and settled rich urban life without a temple worship.

The last phase of architectural tradition of Mauryan Empire of Asoka times has extended to the south. The earliest caves were excavated in the time of Asoka and his grandson Dasaratha, are located in Barabar hills, Nagarjuna hills, near Gaya in Bihar.[1] All these caves are well known, four in Bihar, Three in Nagarjuna hills are dedicated to Ajivika sect. one of them are most well-known The Lomasa-rishi cave and Sudhama cave. The Mauryan tradition of rock hewing might have reached the South. Thus, the granite railing around the stupa at Amaravati was raised at period not far too distant form Asoka. Some of the rock shelters were refashioned to suit the Jain resorts between the Second century B.C to Third CenturyA.D.[2] In the south we are not aware of rock cut architecture until the end of last quarter of sixth century A.D. taking India a whole, we may see continuation of rock cut architecture in any form such as cut out of boulders and rocks hillocks. But early period of rock architecture, Brahminical contribution is virtually null. In contrast, to this Buddhism played dominant role in the realm of activity of rock hewn architecture. Indeed, it is told that Buddhist temple that served as the model of Brahminical temples. It can be said that no history of Brahminical rock architecture is complete without a chapter on Buddhist cave shrines.

**Buddhist Rock Cut Architecture**

The early Buddhists certainly erected permanent structures for worship. They built stupas even at the time of Buddha's *Parinirvana* at about the end of the fifth century B.C. it is said that they built actually ten stupas soon after the death of Buddha. Eight stupas were built on his relics, one on the urn with which were relics were measured and one on the coals of the pyre. However, we cannot be certain than when the stupas or the symbols of stupas actually became the object of worship. Perhaps Buddhists started worship stupas that contained the remains of Buddha since the day of his *Parinirvana*. But it is certain during that during the Mourya times stupas became the objects of Buddhist worship. According to one legend king Asoka collected the relics of the Buddha from the original eight stupas and divided into eighty thousand parts and erected eighty thousand stupas all over India in order to facilitate the worship of Buddha by every devotee throughout the subcontinent this might be an exaggeration as it is not fully supported either by archaeologists and historians. Exactly when the Buddhists thought housing replica of stupa, within a closed enclosure for the purpose of worship and rituals cannot be determined. But during the second century rock cut caves were hewed with a stupa in interior for the twin purpose of worship and ritual. These stupas were

served as icons for worship, so in reality they were not stupas at all. According to stupas were mainly three kinds: datu garbhas i.e. stupas contain relics, i.e. memorial stupas and ankita stupas dedicated to Buddha, icon stupas for chaitya grihas are comes under third category. All the chaityas were rock hewn having the imitation of wooden structures that erected in plains. For infact, the early chaityas caves followed style of wooden architecture in the matter of constructions and decoration. So, it can be said that the Buddhists started erecting chaityas though in wood earlier than in second century.

Apart from the Kautilya's Ardhasatra, in Katasaritsagara too there are references to the Brahminical temples of worship. Katasaritsagara was a translation of parts of Brihatkatha and was done by Soma Devabhatta about the beginning of the twelfth century. So we can safely infer that Brahminical temples existed along with Buddhist chaityas during the early centuries, but even they must have been wooden structures and no traces of such structures are available to us today.

The majority of Buddhist rock temples were confined to western India. They are existed in majority number in the state of Maharashtra region. The tendency of natural trap formation of soft texture and its horizontal bedding made it easier to excavate temple and magnificent sculptures. The East coast area played a pivotal role in fostering rock cut architecture in the places like Guntupalle of west Godavari District of Andhra Pradesh dated to early 2ndcentury B.C.to medieval times.[3]

**Brahminical Temples**

The excavations at Nagarjunakonda uncovered remains of lithic structures of at least four Brahminical temples. From these few remains now available. We can infer that they were complete temple structures with mandapas and Prasada. It is not possible to reconstruct their architectural forms as existing remains are not enough to give a clue to those forms. But we now know definitely that the beginnings of the Brahminical temple architecture in India were not made with them, they are lithic and followed wooden forms that went before them. Secondly mandapa is an appended addition to the main body of the Brahminical temple and such is certainly later development. Such an addition of the body of the temple should have been conceived only after some time had lapsed since the beginning of the Brahminical temple. So, even conservative estimate, it can be inferred that Brahminical temple existed at least five centuries earlier. Perhaps they were also built of wood, as the all the architecture of India during these times and it must be due to this that we do not come across any remains of their temple.

The earliest Brahminical temples are preserved even up to this day are, one at Chejerla in Guntur, and another is Ter in Nal Durg district. They are barrel vaulted structures, the back end in rounded up. In the manner of the hind part of an elephant and completely built of brick and mortar. In Indian traditional terminology such a form of architecture is termed as gajapristaakara or the

form of the hind part of an elephant. The facade of the temple at Ter resembles the Buddhist rock cut chaitya at Ellora. The façade might have been altered to its present form at a later date for reasons not known. Perhaps he façade retained at Ter was the traditional form for all such structures of that period. According to Ferguson, such structures for worship were quite numerous during those times throughout India. All these temples have the apse, the nave and the aisle similar to the chaitya cave earlier. Even the pedestal of the Brahminical deity is placed exactly on the spot where the replica of stupa should be in the Buddhist chaitya. Architecturally, they fully conform the Buddhist chaityas of that time and earlier times. Historian date these buildings belongs to the fourth century A.D. Fergusson and a few other historians believed that the temple at Chejerla and Ter were originally Buddhist chaityas were later converted to Brahminical worship, the reason being by completely confirm he structure and form to the existing and previous Buddhist chaityas. But to we can no longer hold to this view point. They could be originally Brahminical temples, for there is an enough evidence to prove that Hindus were building Brahminical temples at most same time as the Buddhists. Perhaps they did not differ much in form and structure from the Buddhist chaityas of those early times. The seventh century of the present era is significant marked a revolution in the art and architecture of Brahminical temples distinct in the form from the Buddhist house of worship. The oblong structure rounded at end with running nave in the centre and running aisles in the sides and apse at one end to house the icon, gave place to cubical structures with a pyramidal or curvilinear top. The square became the basis for the Brahminical temple from the seventeenth century.

**Rock cut Temple Architecture-Pallava's Contribution**

The beginning of temple architecture south India is attributed to the Pallavas who had ruled the country during 6th to 7th centuries A.D. According to A.H. Long Hurst" the earliest Hindu temples in South India are there at Mahabalipuram at Chingalputdist in Tamilnadu which are generally known as seven pagodas.[4] The inscriptions on the temple records that they were hewn out of living rock by Pallavas in 7$^{th}$ century A.D. the style of their architecture shows that they are stone models of former Buddhist's building which have been adopted to suit the requirement of Hinduism. There are two facts which gave this theory plausibility. In the first phase, the total absence of any temple prior to 7$^{th}$ century AD. Secondly, the construction of large number of temples after this period. There seems to end weight to the surmise that during this time no temples were built in South India.[5] However, Mandagapattu inscription of Mahendravarman-I brought to lime light by French man M.Jouvean Debreuil. The inscription reveals as follows *"the temple is carved to be constructed by the king "Vichitrachitta" without use of bricks, timber, metals and mortar"*

Vichithrachitta is one of the many titles of the Pallava king Mahindra Varman-I. According to the inscription we may notice that temples existed even before

Mahindra Varman-I and only they were built of brick, timber, metals and mortar.[6] The inscription indirectly refutes that the Mahindra Varman was the first to introduce art of temple building into South India. M.Jouvean Debreuil says "the mandagapattu inscription clearly says that the epoch of Mahindra Varman- I there existed also temple which were not cut in rocks but built with bricks, wood and metal and mortar."

The last inference is an important that the mandagapattu inscription proves that the Hindus knew perfectly well how to build temples, then that epoch of Mahindra Varman, it is certain that there exists of temples of brick, timber, metal, perhaps these buildings were made of perishable material have fallen into ruins have been destroyed either by time or men.[7] It was agreed with A.H. Longhurst, he is of opinion that curious minded was the inventor of the art of carving Hindu temples out of natural rock instead of building them with usual methods and practices.[8] Eminent editor T. Gopinatha Rao has expressed and supported the opinion of Debreuil that most important information conveyed by it that before the time of Vichitrachitta, bricks, wood, metal, mortar were common building material. This was evident that the basement and walls of buildings were of brick work, plaster with mixture of lime and sand and super structures were composed of woodwork held in a position fuse of metallic nails and bands. Even in this day this mode of construction can be notified in Malabar coast. The state in this inscription that Mahindra Varman did not employed bricks, timber, wood, mortar in the constructions that temple built before his time were all of perishable material. We may say that it is first rock hewn Hindu shrine of his time. It is impossible for a number of temples to have come suddenly into existence from the beginning of the 7th century A.D., unless the activity of building temples had been practiced long before.[9]

In the view of three writers it has unanimously expressed that the temples were built before the time of Mahindra Varman- I were brick, timber, mortar and metals. The timber was elaborately used in the construction of the temples especially in the Vimanas is proved by the following reference "Manasara" a great work on architecture.

There are epigraphic evidences available which shows the temples from very early times.

- The Tirukkalukurnam, grant of Cholaking RajasekhariVerman tells us that a Pallava king called Skandasishya, the predecessor of Vatapikonda Narasimhavarma Pottaraiyar gave a certain land" free form taxes to the feet of God of mulasthana (EP ind.III 277)
- The British museum plates of Charu Devi, the queen of Yuva maharaja Buddhavarman and daughter-in-law of Pallava king made the grant of field to the God narayana of Kuli Mahathraka temple in Dalura. (Ep. Ind. VIII, 143)
- The grants of salankayana kings who ruled in Vengi from 250A.D to 450A.

Dallude to a temple of the Sun god Chitrarathasvami at city of Vengi (Ep.IndIX.Jr.An.HSI)

- According to Tulugunda inscription of Kadamba king Kakusta Varma extended form the time of Satakarni kings.

These extracts from inscriptions clearly show that temples existed in all parts of South India at least from 2nd century B.C. Consequently, the theory that Pallavas were the first to introduce the temple architecture in south India must be given up. What really the Pallava had done for our temple is to substitute imperishable material such as stone or rock cut in the place of perishable material like brick, timber, iron, mortar in the temple building.

Now we have to pose a question that what was the pre-Pallavatemple. It is not difficult to answer this question. The temple at Mahabalipuram provides ample information. We have already noted that Mahindra Varman had introduced art of rock cut temples. In mandagapattu inscription he claims only the credit of replacing the perishable materials by stone. What he had done actually was copy to natural rock from the brick, wooden structures. AH Longhurst mentioned "to the wonderful Pallava monuments at seven pagodas must have noticed that all the monolithic free-standing temples, locally known as rathas are obviously only stone models of the buildings with brick and mortar and timber framed roofs, decorated with copper guilt ornaments like those referred in inscription quoted above.

The temples cars must be remembered as rathas from the monolithic temples of Mahabalipuram. It seems there should be relation between ratha and vimana. Dr. A.K Kumaraswamy made a pointed reference to the resemblance of Aryavarthasikhara to the bamboo scaffolding of professional car (ratha) is too striking and had a resemblance with shore temples of great size provided with enamorous wheels (Vijayanagara, Konark), the monolithic temples at Mahabalipuram are actually called rathas, that is cars while the Vimana applied to the later Dravidian temples. It has a sense of "moving palace" or vehicle.[10] The temple car is vestige of pat. It represents the temple of earlier days when the chief building material was wood. In south India, as well as the other parts of the country, wooden architecture proceeded stone architecture, although people learnt to built with more durable material like stone. They retained the older forms of the temples on account of their basic conservative temperament of an Indian.

An abundance of detail and profusion of sculpture covered all the temple of Pallava architecture; the design had been well thought out and systematically expressed in stone get a complete architectural effect. This is accomplished to great extant by the application of the true principles of design. Numerous minor features are also grouped that they lead the eye up to the central crowing object of the structure which is the Vimana tower.

Later, during the Pallava period many temples were constructed according to the principles enunciated in the rock cut temples at Mahabalipuram. These builders had through knowledge of their material. The sub basements and plinths were of hard granite, the cubical cell of the soft sand stone, and the towers above of the brick construction. This order of materials in the construction was followed in all temples during the following periods.
All the temple architecture of South India that followed the Pallava style can be divided approximately into six distinct periods:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | Pallavas | 600 A.D to 850 A.D |
| 2. | EarlyCholas | 850 A.D to 1150 A.D |
| 3. | LaterCholas | 1150 A.D to 1350 A.D |
| 4. | Vijayanagara | 1350 A.D to 1600 A.D |
| 5. | PostVijayanagara | 1600 A.D to 1900 A.D |
| 6. | Modern | 1900 A.D and later |

**Rock temples on the East Coast**
Inspired by Vakatakas and Chalukyan experiments in Eastern India, several dynasties ruling over the different parts of east coast area of Indian land took the construction of rock cut architecture. Most notable are Vishnukundins, the eastern Chalukya of Vengi, the Pallavas of Kanchi, Pandyas of Madurai.Some small dynasties Muttaraiyars, Atiyamans, Telugu Chodas were actively participated in this activity. Gangas of Karnataka also seem to have made an attempt as testified by a rock cut cave at Melkote. Apart from Guntupalle caves, there are two main groups of cave temples in Andhra Pradesh, they are the Krishna valley group and Bhairavakonda group. The Krishna valley group can be again be classified into two localities such Vijayawada in Krishna district and Vundavalli in Guntur District. Of the two groups at Vijayawada and Mogalrajpuram and the Akkanna Madanna groups. The cave temples at Mogalrajpuram is appeared to be the gradual development of cave architecture of the Krishna valley. There are five cave temples in Mogalrajpuram area and they confirm broadly two types such single shrined and tripled shrine caves. Of three single shrine caves two face the south and remaining faced towards However both the triple shrines faces the north. There are six excavations in the Indrakeeladri hill of which Akkanna Madanna and the two-celled shrines excavated into a kind of sandstone. It is very hard in finding the authorship of these caves. At Vundavalli we find largest excavation that is four storied Anantasayana temple. It is only storied cave temple of the east coast. According to Jouvean -Debreuil, these rock excavations has to be attributed to Vishnukundins[11] while long Hurst take them to be of the Origin of Pallavas.[12] Later they are attributed to Eastern Chalukyas of Vengi. They are dated to 625A.D.

The Pallavas of Kanchi had patronized to excavate a series of Thirty-four cave temples into hard granite stone, charnockite between the last quarter of sixth and first quarter of eighth centuries. Srinivasan and A.H. Longhurst made detailed study on them. The credit goes to Mahendravarman who initiated this tradition. The cave temple at Mandagapattu in South Arcot district is generally considered as the first rock cut architecture in Tamilnadu. The cave temples of Mahindra Varma's time may be classified into three categories: single shrined, triple shrined, and multi shrined. The multi storied is really an innovation.[13] They are dedicated solely to Sivaand Vishnu only. After Mahindra Varman, his successor Narasimhavarma I Mamalla had continued the tradition of rock cut temples like Kotikal-mandapa at Mahabalipuram (Chingleput district) Narasimha temples at Singapperu malkovil, Ranganadha cave shrine at Singapuram in SouthArcot district. They are single shrined with each a hall in front. Some multi storied shrines also ascribed to this period they are two unfinished caves at Mamundurand Dharmaraja mandapa at Mahabalipuram belong to this group. It was continued in the period of Rajasimha period. Trimurti caves are the best example which belong this period.

**Conclusion**

After Pallavas, Pandyan in the far south took ahead the tradition of rock cut architecture. The cave temple of South Kerala is having famous temples like Kaviyur at Alleppey district, Airupara in Trivandrum district and etc. most of the Pandya caves are single storied shrines even without a real ardha mandapa. But there are other types also. The climax for the rock architecture has reached during the reign of Jatiparantaka Nedunjadaiyan during 765A.D to 815A.D. the Pandya rock architecture can be classified into five main groups.

**Type l**: These are simple squarish shrines enshrining a rock cut linga. It has a semblance with ardha mandapa. This type is rare in Pallava country but predominant in Pandya areas.
**Type 2**: Squarish shrine attached by portico, defined generally with two pillars.
**Type 3**: Single cell shrine in the centre of excavation with ardhamandapa, and maha-mandapa and having four pillars in variable arrangements.
**Type 4**: Caves with shrine at one of its sides having pillars at the entrance of the cave.
**Type 5**: Caves with two or more shrines.

These five types arranged from simple to most evolved types, dedicated to faith of Shiva as well as Vishnu. Thus, the South India was a cradle for Rock cut architecture.

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# Portable Fantasies: Orientalist Sexualisation of the Eastern Women, a Comparative Study of Mughal and Chinese Imperial Harems

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**Abstract**

This paper examines the Western sexualization of royal female seclusion in Mughal India and Qing China, arguing that this phenomenon was never a response to any real feature of either society but a portable representational apparatus, triggered by documented gaps in Western access and shaped, in its specific content, by whatever political relationship the West needed to justify. Building on Edward Said's account of the Orient's feminization as a precondition for domination, and on feminist correctives from Malek Alloula, Meyda Yeğenoğlu, and Reina Lewis that identify access, or its absence, as the mechanism licensing invention, this paper argues that access alone cannot explain the divergent forms that invention took. Drawing on Ruby Lal's and Harbans Mukhia's institutional histories of the Mughal zenana, and on Evelyn Rawski's history of the Qing imperial household, alongside imperial-atelier painting and the documented fabrication of the Cixi "dragon lady" caricature, the paper traces two parallel but divergent sequences: in both empires, a real administrative boundary denied Western observers entry, and in both, that denial produced not silence but invention with an identifiable author and motive. Yet the content of that invention diverged precisely along each empire's actual relationship to Western power. In directly colonized Mughal India, invention took the form of a decadent, rescuable victim, delivered through the authoritative genres of travel writing and administrative historiography, legitimating direct colonial rule. In semi-colonial Qing China, never formally annexed, a divergence Zhang Longxi's critique of Said's model helps explain, invention instead took the form of a dangerous, scheming villain, delivered through the mass popular press, legitimating coercion and containment rather than rule. This paper argues that recovering this divergence recasts the harem fantasy not as a single, static myth applied uniformly to "the East," but as a flexible instrument, recalibrated case by case to manufacture the specific form of political consent each colonial project required.

**Keywords:** Orientalism, Harem, Access, Sexualization, Invention, Colonial Justification

## I. Introduction

In 1656, the French physician François Bernier arrived at the Mughal court, where he would live for over a decade, yet like every other European man of his era, he was never permitted to set foot inside the imperial zenana. That barrier did not stop him from describing it in vivid, salacious detail in his widely read Travels in the Mogul Empire, populating the harem with jealous concubines, secret intrigues, and unchecked sensuality he could not possibly have witnessed firsthand, an account Ruby Lal identifies as the origin point of a "colonial caricature" that later historiography would inherit wholesale (Lal, 2005). Notably, this fantasy was carried almost entirely by the pen rather than the brush: unlike the Ottoman world, where a dedicated commercial painting genre grew up around the harem, no comparable visual industry ever developed around the Mughal zenana (Metropolitan Museum of Art, n.d.-a). The Mughal harem fantasy was instead sustained by travel writing and administrative history, a difference this paper returns to directly, since it suggests the form an invented fantasy took was itself shaped by each empire's specific relationship to the West, not incidental to it.

A strikingly similar vacuum produced a different result on the other side of the globe. No authentic image of the Chinese Empress Dowager Cixi existed in the West before 1903, and in that absence, newspapers rendered her as "witch-like" and eventually as a "dragon lady", a caricature of palace intrigue, poison, and depraved sexuality sustained by the simple fact that no one had actually seen her (Chang, 2013).

It would be easy to conclude from these examples that inaccessibility alone explains the fantasy, that where Western observers could not see, they simply invented, and where they later gained entry (as with Katharine Carl's dignified 1903 portrait of Cixi), the fantasy receded (Ars Orientalis, n.d.). But access to reality is only half the story. What filled the vacuum was never arbitrary, and neither was the medium it filled that vacuum through. Bernier's harem, as Lal's account shows, was not merely invented, it was invented as decadent, cruel, and mismanaged, in a register that made Mughal rule itself look illegitimate and in need of external correction, disseminated through the credentialed, authoritative form of eyewitness travel writing (Lal, 2005). Cixi's caricature was not merely a placeholder for missing information either, it cast her specifically as a dangerous schemer rather than a helpless victim, because China, unlike India, was never annexed, and the West needed a threat to justify coercion rather than a victim to justify rule (Seagrave, 1992). In each case, the absence of reality created room for invention, but colonial and commercial interest determined both what was invented and how it was delivered to a Western audience.

This paper's central argument, then, has two connected parts. First, the Western sexualization of royal female seclusion was not a response to any real feature of Mughal or Chinese society; it was licensed by the West's actual lack of access to that reality. Second, and more importantly, the specific content — and form — of that invention was never neutral or accidental; it was shaped deliberately to serve whatever political relationship the West needed to justify at that moment. Edward Said identified the underlying feminization of the Orient as a precondition for its domination (Said, 1978); this paper borrows that mechanism from the Middle Eastern context in which it was first theorized and tests whether the specific shape feminization took was itself a calculated instrument of domination, adapted independently to each empire's own relationship with the West. The chapters that follow trace this shared apparatus before a comparative analysis in Section V returns to this access-versus-intent argument in full.

## II. Theoretical Framework: Access, Invention and Intent

Edward Said's foundational argument in Orientalism is that Western discourse consistently feminized "the East," rendering it passive, silent, and penetrable, a precondition for its actual political and territorial domination (Said, 1978). Said's own evidentiary base is drawn overwhelmingly from British and French engagement with Egypt and the Levant; his model explains why the Orient was imagined as a woman waiting to be uncovered in that specific context, but it does not, on its own, establish that the same mechanism operated identically elsewhere. This paper treats Said's insight as a portable mechanism to be tested against new cases, not a finding already established for Mughal India or Qing China. It builds a two-part framework: first, scholarship — drawn mainly from Middle Eastern and Ottoman contexts — explaining how access, or its absence, licensed invention in general; second, scholarship explaining why the content of that invention was calibrated to serve a particular interest, tested here specifically against the Mughal record.

The first half of this framework is established through sources whose direct evidence comes from outside South Asia but whose underlying mechanism this paper argues travels. Malek Alloula's The Colonial Harem shows French colonial photographers in Algeria manufacturing a substitute form of access where none existed (Alloula, 1986). Ruth Bernard Yeazell's Harems of the Mind, built almost entirely around the Ottoman world, extends this point, arguing the harem functioned in Western art and literature as a fantasy-space largely independent of any real referent (Yeazell, 2000). Meyda Yeğenoğlu's Colonial Fantasies, likewise centered on the Islamic Middle East, sharpens this further, identifying the veil as the literal object marking the boundary between access and non-access (Yeğenoğlu, 1998). None of these three scholars

examined Mughal India directly; what this paper takes from them is the general claim that where Western observers lacked real access, they produced invented content to fill the resulting vacuum, and it tests that claim independently against the Mughal record in Section III.

Indian historians writing specifically on the Mughal harem allow that test to proceed directly against the historical record. Ruby Lal's Domesticity and Power in the Early Mughal World argues the zenana was an integrated political-domestic institution, not the sealed, decorative prison of European fantasy (Lal, 2005). Harbans Mukhia's The Mughals of India makes a related point, describing the harem as a functioning administrative institution that colonial-era historians such as William Irvine instead flattened into a symbol of imperial decline (Mukhia, 2004). This historiography is not univocal, Indrani Chatterjee has criticized Lal's account for treating "Muslim" as a sealed, ahistorical category (Chatterjee, 1999). What matters for this paper is that all sides of that debate agree the "harem" reconstructed by European travelers who never entered it was an invention filling a real access gap.

The second half of this framework — that the content of invention was deliberate rather than arbitrary — requires a different corrective, and Mughal imperial court painting itself offers a region-specific complication. Reina Lewis's Gendering Orientalism argues that Said's masculinist model cannot fully account for Orientalist representation once gender is taken seriously as shaping who is imagining and why; her own case studies are drawn from British and Ottoman-adjacent material, so this paper extends her claim rather than reporting it (Lewis, 1996). Applied to the Mughal case, in Jahangir and Prince Khurram Entertained by Nur Jahan (Mughal court atelier, ca. 1640–50, Freer Gallery of Art), the empress is depicted hosting her husband and stepson in the Ram Bagh garden at Agra, positioned as the composition's active center rather than its passive object (Beach, 2012). A related work attributed to the court painter Govardhan, Emperor Jahangir Embracing Nur Jahan (ca. 1615–20), shows the emperor gazing intently into her eyes, but even here Nur Jahan is rendered as her husband's specific, named political partner (Govardhan, ca. 1615–1620).

Zhang Longxi's "The Myth of the Other" sharpens why this inversion cannot simply be assumed to repeat itself identically in the Chinese case: Said's model was built around the Middle East and South Asia precisely because the West's knowledge production there operated in service of a direct, territorial colonial rule, fusing scholarship and administration into a single system; China, never formally annexed and governed by its own court throughout the period in question, occupied a structurally different relationship to Western power, engaged instead through coerced trade access and unequal treaties rather than

administrative occupation (Zhang, 1988). Zhang's caution therefore does more than gesture at difference — it withdraws the assumption that the same deliberate inversion, performed for the same political purpose, must have occurred in China simply because a sexualized fantasy did. Whether the Qing case shows an equivalent substitution of passivity for indigenous agency, and in service of what interest, has to be established independently rather than inferred by analogy.

In sum, this body of scholarship supplies the analytical lens the next two case studies will apply.

## III. Case Study One: The Mughal Zenana

### A. The Access Gap and the Institutional Reality It Concealed

Before asking what Europeans invented about the Mughal zenana, it is necessary to establish precisely what they could not see. No European man of the sixteenth or seventeenth century, merchant, missionary, or physician, was ever permitted to enter the imperial zenana itself; the space was governed by an elaborate internal hierarchy of female administrators, guards, and attendants specifically designed to keep outsiders, male and foreign alike, at a fixed distance (Lal, 2005). This was not incidental seclusion but a deliberately administered boundary, and it is this boundary, not any intrinsic mystery in Mughal domestic life, that created the access gap the general mechanism described in Section II requires, here confirmed against Mughal-specific evidence rather than assumed by analogy.

What lay behind that boundary, as Ruby Lal's institutional history demonstrates, was a functioning political-domestic apparatus rather than a sealed pleasure-space. Lal argues that the zenana under Akbar was reorganized into a fortress-like but administratively sophisticated institution, complete with its own finance officers, internal governance, and direct lines into imperial decision-making; public and private were never as segregated in practice as later accounts assumed (Lal, 2005).

Harbans Mukhia's institutional history corroborates this from a different angle, treating the harem as a working administrative body whose internal politics were continuous with, not separate from, the business of the empire (Mukhia, 2004). The presence of politically consequential women, Nur Jahan issuing imperial orders under her own seal during Jahangir's illness, Gulbadan Begum authoring the Humayun-nama as a court history in her own right, is direct evidence of what the access gap actually concealed: an institution with real

political weight, not an absence of information waiting passively to be filled (Lal, 2024).

This historiography is not without internal dispute, Indrani Chatterjee's critique of Lal's framing is a reminder that Indian historians disagree sharply about how to characterize this institution (Chatterjee, 1999). But that disagreement is itself confirmation of the point: what existed behind the boundary was complex and contested enough among specialists working from the documentary record that no European observer working entirely without access could plausibly have reconstructed it by inference.

**B. The Deliberate Content and Form of the European Invention**

Denied entry, European travelers did not withhold judgment; they invented, and the specific content of that invention is where the second half of this paper's framework becomes visible in Mughal-specific terms. As Ruby Lal documents, François Bernier, resident at the Mughal court for over a decade in the mid-seventeenth century, never once entered the zenana, yet his widely circulated Travels in the Mogul Empire populated it with jealous rivalries, secret cruelties, and unchecked sensuality presented as eyewitness fact, an account Lal identifies as the origin point of the "colonial caricature" that later European and colonial historiography would inherit wholesale, displacing the more complex Persian-source record that had existed before it (Lal, 2005). The content of Bernier's invention, as Lal's analysis makes clear, was not neutral filler; it was specifically decadent and destabilizing, casting the imperial household as a site of moral disorder.

It is equally significant that this invention was carried almost entirely through text rather than image. Unlike the Ottoman world, where Ingres, Gérôme, Delacroix, and other academic painters built an entire commercial genre of harem painting, sold to European tourists and collectors as souvenirs of a place they had visited or wished they had no comparable painting industry ever developed around the Mughal zenana (Metropolitan Museum of Art, n.d.-a). This is not a minor bibliographic curiosity but a meaningful divergence in how the same underlying fantasy was packaged. The Ottoman Empire, by the nineteenth century, was a subject of European tourism, informal trade, and popular fascination as the fading "sick man of Europe", conditions that supported a consumer market for exotic genre painting.

Mughal India, by contrast, was the object of direct British administrative and historiographical attention; its fantasy accordingly took the form of authoritative-seeming prose — travel accounts like Bernier's, and later

administrative history and colonial-era biography — genres suited to building the case for governance rather than selling a decorative souvenir. The medium of invention, in other words, tracked the use the invention was being put to: text for a rule that needed justifying, image for a market that needed feeding.

This contrast becomes clearest when set beside what the Mughal court itself actually commissioned. The Birth of a Prince, from the Akbarnama (ca. 1590), depicts Maryam-uz-Zamani within the zenana at the birth of the future Jahangir — ceremonial, dynastic, and entirely without erotic charge (Waseem, 2017). The same imperial atelier's Jahangir and Prince Khurram Entertained by Nur Jahan similarly presents the empress as an active host in a garden of her own design, not a passive figure awaiting a viewer's gaze (Beach, 2012). These images were never in dialogue with a European viewing public at all — they were internal court documents, which is precisely why no equivalent eroticized visual counter-genre needed to exist on the European side. The invention that did occur, Bernier's text as read through Lal, worked in an entirely different register: not visual seduction but narrative indictment.

**C. Political Function: From Invented Content to Colonial Payoff**

That specific content did particular political work. The general mechanism Rana Kabbani identifies in her study of Middle Eastern Orientalism — imagery of moral disorder mobilized to justify external correction (Kabbani, 1986) — operated in the Mughal case through a different regional history and a different medium: historiography rather than the visual arts. Harbans Mukhia notes that colonial-era historians such as William Irvine attributed imperial decline directly to time "wasted in the harem," transforming Bernier-style invention, by way of Lal's account of its afterlife, into a historical-causal argument that conveniently legitimated British administrative takeover as correction of native misrule (Mukhia, 2004). Eroticized helplessness, delivered here through prose rather than paint, did not simply titillate; it argued, and it argued with the borrowed authority of eyewitness historical narrative rather than the openly decorative fantasy of a genre painting. A zenana imagined as decadent and mismanaged could be — and was — mobilized as evidence that Indian governance required external, paternalist correction, precisely the justification direct colonial rule needed.

This is the shape this paper's two-part thesis takes in the Mughal case, tested against Mughal-specific evidence rather than assumed from Middle Eastern analogy: access was denied by a real institutional boundary (III-A), invention filled that boundary with a specific, non-arbitrary content of decadence and disorder, delivered through the specific medium of authoritative prose rather than commercial genre painting (III-B), and that content and medium together

were calibrated to justify a specific political outcome — direct colonial rule framed as rescue (III-C). Whether an equivalent sequence holds in an empire the West never directly ruled — this time tested against Zhang Longxi's own China-specific caution rather than an imported mechanism — is the question Section IV now takes up.

## IV. Case Study Two: The Qing Imperial Harem

### A. The Access Gap and the Institutional Reality It Concealed

As in the Mughal case, the starting point must be what Western observers actually could not see, rather than what they assumed. The Qing imperial household was governed by the Imperial Household Department (Neiwufu), a substantial bureaucratic apparatus that administered the rank system of consorts, the finances of the inner court, and the extensive corps of eunuchs and female attendants who ran its daily operations — a structure with its own internal law, hierarchy, and record-keeping, not a lawless private preserve (Rawski, 1998). Evelyn Rawski's institutional history of the Qing court establishes that imperial women occupied defined positions within this system, with real if circumscribed authority over household administration, ritual functions, and, in exceptional cases such as regencies, direct political power (Rawski, 1998). Norman Kutcher's work on Qing eunuchs adds a structural detail directly comparable to the Mughal case: eunuchs functioned as the administrative intermediaries who made the inner court's segregation from the outer court practically enforceable, occupying a role structurally similar to the female administrators who policed the boundary of the Mughal zenana (Kutcher, 2010).

It would be a mistake, however, to characterize the pre-twentieth-century Qing court as uniformly closed to Western observation. From the early eighteenth century, European Jesuit missionaries worked as officially employed court painters, most notably Giuseppe Castiglione, who served the Kangxi, Yongzheng, and Qianlong emperors from the 1710s onward, blending European realism with traditional Chinese brushwork under direct imperial patronage (Musillo, 2016). This access was real, sustained, and produced dignified, realistic court portraiture — including formal images of imperial women, such as the 1771 portrait of Empress Xiaoxian from the Qianlong period (National Museum of Asian Art, n.d.). China, in other words, was not simply “inaccessible” in some blanket historical sense; a genuine channel of legitimate access existed for nearly two centuries, and it produced no comparable sexualized fantasy. Separately, an indigenous Chinese pictorial tradition also depicted palace women directly: Ming-Qing figure painting

includes a recognized genre of "woman-waiting" pictures, showing high-ranking women — in at least one attributed case explicitly identified as an imperial concubine — in melancholic or contemplative poses within palace gardens (Cahill, 2002). This indigenous visual vocabulary, like the Mughal court's own paintings of Nur Jahan, existed independently of and prior to any Western gaze.

What collapsed by the turn of the twentieth century, then, was not a permanent historical absence of access, but a specific, acute one: no authentic Western image of Cixi herself existed before 1903, a fact confirmed by archival research into the circumstances of her first authorized portrait, arriving in the specific political aftermath of the Boxer Rebellion (1900), when diplomatic relations between the Qing court and Western powers had reached a crisis point (Chang, 2013). This is a more precise version of the access-gap claim than "the West lacked access to China": it was the sudden absence of a particular woman's image, at a moment of acute mistrust, that created the vacuum — layered on top of, rather than continuous with, the prior two centuries of legitimate Jesuit access. This precision is what makes the Chinese case, unlike the more diffuse and centuries-long Mughal one, closer to a controlled experiment: a documented channel of access, a documented collapse of that channel under crisis conditions, and a documented invention that filled the resulting gap.

**B. The Deliberate Content — and Form — of the Invention, and the Access Paradox**

In the absence of any authentic image, Western newspapers did not wait for information; they invented, and — as in the Mughal case — the specific content of that invention was not neutral. Cixi was rendered as "witch-like" and, eventually, folded into the broader "dragon lady" stereotype: a schemer, a poisoner of rivals, a manipulator whose power was represented as illegitimate and monstrous rather than merely unfamiliar (Chang, 2013). Sterling Seagrave's biography traces much of this material to deliberate fabrication by a British journalist working in the early twentieth century, whose sensationalized reporting was absorbed into the historical record as fact for decades before being challenged (Seagrave, 1992). As with Bernier in the Mughal case, the invention was not a diffuse cultural mood but had an identifiable point of origin and a specific, traceable motive — commercial appetite for sensational copy, operating within a broader Western anxiety about Chinese power in the years following the Boxer Rebellion.

The Chinese case then offers the same natural experiment its Jesuit-era prehistory already anticipated: an observable before-and-after moment when

real access was restored. When Cixi permitted the American painter Katharine Carl into the Forbidden City in 1903 — a diplomatic maneuver arranged with the American ambassador's wife to rehabilitate China's image after the Boxer Rebellion — the resulting portrait was composed, dignified, and notably de-sexualized, echoing the same dignified register the Jesuit court painters had established generations earlier (Ars Orientalis, n.d.). A second Western artist, Hubert Vos, produced a similarly dignified portrait in 1905–06 (Ars Orientalis, n.d.). Wang Peng's study of Cixi's "image making" argues that both artists negotiated between imported Western academic conventions and a deliberate, dignified self-presentation that Cixi herself helped stage (Wang, 2024). The content of Western representation changed precisely when access changed — not because Chinese society or Cixi herself had changed, but because the specific commercial and political conditions that had licensed invention were removed, restoring a pattern of dignified access-based representation with genuine historical precedent rather than establishing one for the first time.

As in the Mughal case, the medium through which the invention traveled matters as much as its content: unlike the Mughal zenana, sustained mainly through travel writing and historiography, the Cixi caricature was carried primarily through the mass popular press — a medium suited to the speed and scale of late-nineteenth-century sensational journalism, with no real equivalent in the Bernier-to-Mukhia chain of authoritative prose that shaped the Mughal case.

**C. Political Function: Threat Rather Than Rescue**

Here the Chinese case diverges sharply from the Mughal one, and Zhang Longxi's caution becomes directly load-bearing. China was never formally annexed or administered by a Western power the way India was; the West's relationship to China in this period was one of coerced trade access, unequal treaties, and extraterritoriality rather than territorial rule (Zhang, 1988). Zhang argues explicitly that Said's Middle East–derived model, built around a fusion of scholarly knowledge and administrative power under direct colonial rule, cannot be transposed onto China without accounting for this difference (Zhang, 1988). Sheridan Prasso's account of the broader "dragon lady" archetype supports this divergence empirically: unlike the passive, rescuable harem woman of the Mughal-adjacent Orientalist imagination, the dragon lady figure is characterized specifically by danger, cunning, and threat (Prasso, 2005). Colin Mackerras's history of Western images of China situates this pattern within a longer trajectory of "Yellow Peril" anxiety, in which Chinese power was persistently represented as a looming danger to the West (Mackerras, 1989). Where the Mughal case fed a rescue narrative legitimating direct governance, the Cixi caricature fed a threat narrative legitimating

coercion and containment — the same underlying mechanism of invented content serving political interest, adapted to an entirely different colonial relationship.

This is the shape this paper's two-part thesis takes in the Chinese case: access existed, collapsed at a specific and traceable moment, and was then restored (IV-A); invention filled the interim gap with content — schemer, poisoner, dragon lady — and a medium — mass popular press — entirely different from the Mughal case (IV-B); and that content and medium were calibrated to a different political need, coercion and containment rather than rescue, because China's actual relationship to Western power was itself different (IV-C). Section V now turns to what this parallel-but-divergent structure reveals when the two cases are set directly against each other.

**V. Comparative Analysis**

Set side by side, the Mughal and Qing case studies confirm the first half of this paper's thesis in strikingly parallel terms, while complicating the second half in a way that makes the comparison more useful than either case alone. In both empires, a real, administratively enforced boundary denied Western observers entry to the space they went on to describe — the zenana's own hierarchy of female officials in Mughal India, the Qing court's Imperial Household Department and its eunuch administration in China (Lal, 2005; Rawski, 1998; Kutcher, 2010). In both empires, that denial did not produce silence but invention, and in both cases the invention has an identifiable point of origin rather than a diffuse cultural mood: Bernier's Travels, read through Lal's account of its afterlife (Lal, 2005), and a specific British journalist's fabrications, read through Seagrave's exposure of them (Seagrave, 1992).

The comparison also confirms, more precisely than either case study could alone, that access — not culture — predicts dignity of representation. This is clearest in the Chinese case, where the pattern repeats twice: Jesuit court painters working under sustained, legitimate access from the 1710s onward produced dignified imperial portraiture (Metropolitan Museum of Art, n.d.-b), exactly as Carl and Vos did in 1903–06 once access was restored after the Boxer Rebellion (Ars Orientalis, n.d.), and exactly as the invented "witch"/"dragon lady" caricature filled the specific gap between those two periods of access (Chang, 2013). The Mughal case offers a structurally identical, if less cleanly bounded, version of the same pattern: the imperial atelier's own paintings of Nur Jahan — dignified, active, politically central — sat entirely outside the European fantasy tradition, which arose not because access had ever existed and then collapsed, but because it had never existed for European observers at all (Beach, 2012).

Where the two cases diverge is in exactly the place this paper's second thesis claim predicts they should. In Mughal India, direct colonial rule required a rescue narrative, and the invention took the form most suited to building a case for governance — authoritative-seeming prose, travel writing and administrative historiography, feeding directly into colonial-era claims like Irvine's that Mughal decline stemmed from harem excess (Mukhia, 2004). In Qing China, coerced trade access rather than territorial rule required a threat narrative instead, and the invention took the form most suited to a mass audience rather than an administrative case — sensationalized popular journalism, producing not a passive victim awaiting rescue but a dangerous schemer awaiting containment, an archetype Prasso traces directly to this period (Prasso, 2005). This threat register sat within a longer trajectory of Western anxiety about Chinese power that Mackerras identifies as "Yellow Peril" discourse, distinct in kind from the "decadent misrule" framing applied to Mughal India (Mackerras, 1989). Zhang Longxi's caution against transposing Said's Middle East–derived model onto China unmodified is confirmed by exactly this divergence: the same underlying mechanism produced opposite emotional registers — pity in one empire, fear in the other — precisely because the political relationship each fantasy needed to justify was itself opposite (Zhang, 1988).

This divergence in register also tracked a divergence in medium, and that divergence is worth treating as more than incidental. The Mughal fantasy, built to justify direct administrative rule, circulated through genres that carried institutional authority — travel narrative, colonial historiography — genres read by administrators, policymakers, and the educated public whose opinion mattered to sustaining a colonial government. The Chinese fantasy, built to justify suspicion and coercion rather than governance, circulated through the popular press, a genre suited to speed, mass reach, and emotional immediacy rather than institutional legitimacy.

Neither invention chose its medium accidentally; each medium was suited to the specific kind of political consent it needed to manufacture — bureaucratic and historiographical consent to rule, in one case, and popular anxiety sufficient to support gunboat diplomacy and exclusionary policy, in the other.

Considered jointly, the two case studies show that this paper's two-part thesis functions as one unified mechanism, not two independent claims. Access explains why invention occurred at all, in both empires, with remarkable structural symmetry. But interest — the specific political relationship each empire had with the West — explains everything the access-alone account cannot: why the invented content took the shape of a victim in one case and a villain in the other, why it circulated through prose in one case and the press

in the other, and why, in China alone, the pattern of access-then-dignity repeated twice rather than once. The harem fantasy, in other words, was never a single myth applied uniformly to "the East." It was a flexible instrument, recalibrated case by case to manufacture exactly the form of consent — paternalist or fearful — that each specific colonial project required.

**VI. Conclusion**

This paper set out to test a claim that is easy to state but harder to demonstrate: that the Western sexualization of royal female seclusion in Mughal India and Qing China was not a response to anything real in either society, but a portable apparatus, triggered by a documentable absence of access and shaped, in its specific content, by whatever political relationship the West needed to justify. The comparison bears this out with unusual precision. In both empires, a real institutional boundary — the zenana's own administrators, the Qing court's Imperial Household Department — kept Western observers out, and in both empires that exclusion produced not silence but invention, traceable in each case to an identifiable author and motive rather than a vague cultural mood. And in both empires, dignity of representation tracked access rather than culture: the Jesuit painters and, later, Carl and Vos in China; the imperial atelier's own paintings of Nur Jahan in India — each showing that when Western or indigenous observers actually had entry to these women's lives, invention had no room to operate.

Where the two cases diverge — victim versus villain, historiography versus press, rescue versus containment — is not a complication of this paper's thesis but its clearest confirmation. Had the same fantasy content appeared regardless of each empire's actual relationship to Western power, access alone might have explained everything. That it did not — that India produced a rescuable, decadent zenana while China produced a dangerous, scheming dragon lady — is what proves invention was never simply filling a vacuum. It was building a case, tailored each time to the specific political consent its moment required.

The stakes of recovering this are not only historiographical. Nur Jahan governed under her own seal; Cixi held the machinery of the Qing state together through decades of crisis. Both were real political actors before they were caricatures and both were made into caricatures for reasons that had everything to do with Western interest and nothing to do with who they actually were. Separating the two, the woman from the instrument she was turned into, is what this paper has tried to do.

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## Cambodia – Its Indian Origin

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Ever since the French established a protectorate over Cambodia in 1864, and the explorer, Henri Mouhot (a Channel Islander), re-discovered the temple and city of Angkor at the head of the Great Lake at about the same period, numbers of French scholars and explorers have devoted their lives to a study of Khmer art and architecture. The foundation of the French School of the Far East in 1898 gave a great fillip to these studies, and, when the whole region of Angkor was ceded by Siam to France in 1907, work on a complete survey of the wonders of Angkor began in earnest. That work, in spite of the efforts made and feats achieved during the past half-century, is still by no means finished—indeed, is still only in its youth.

It is true that all these monuments lie in what was once French territory, but there are English books on the antiquities of Persia, China, Egypt, Peru and other ancient lands and civilizations. On the east Cambodia borders on the former State of Ann am- with an emperor at Hu6, and to the north lie the Lao States (with a king at Luang Prabang), and the great province of Tonkin which borders on China and once contained the capital of the whole- country, Hanoi. To complete the tale, the fifth state was Cochin- China, which occupies the littoral in the south, Saigon being its- capital and chief port. Except for Cambodia and Lao the country is now divided into Viet-Minh in the North, which is communist, and Vietnam in the South which is anti-communist.

Something was undoubtedly known about India, since in the third century A.D. One of his successors sent an embassy to India which travelled up the Ganges to visit a Murunda prince and eventually, after four years' absence, returned with a gift of Indo-Scythian horses. In that century, too, it is recorded that Funan conquered nearly all the Malay Peninsula, *viz.,* the Indianized states of Tambralinga, P'anP'an and others, but not the 'Golden Land of the West' which may be taken to represent Burma and Siam. The interesting point is that, while China employed military force to conquer that portion of Indo-China which still shows her influence, India never used aggression to obtain her ends.

Indeed, so far from being exterminated by 'their conquerors,' the aborigines of the various Indianized States found, Coedes says, 'a framework- inside which their own social life and customs could merge and develop.' The Indian emigrants were either traders or missionaries and the Indianized States of South-Eastern Asia exchanged embassies with the States of the parent land on a footing of equality, whereas all these States were treated by China as barbarous' and required to send embassies regularly to the imperial court to bring- tribute and- do homage. The Indianization of these States is borne out by the statues of the Buddha, as well as by the splendid stone statues of Visnu

and other Brahmanic gods which have been found, not only inCambodia and Cochin-China, but also in the Malay Peninsula and as far north as Qri-Deb in the valley of the Pa-Sak river in North-Eastern, Siam. There is a magnificent image of Hari-Hara (Visnu and Civa combined in one) from the southern part of Funan and now in the Museum at Pnompenh which it would be difficult to match by any standards of form and virility in India itself. It is incomplete but it is clearly an expression of a mature art, at once highly localized and yet showing no sign of provincialism.

It is greater than life-size, and may be dated in the seventh centuryA.D., thus belonging to the very end of the Funan, or possibly to the pre-Angkor, Khmer period. There is also an inspired image of a Yaksi in sandstone, 2 feet 4 inches in height. It was found in Cri-Deb, near Petchabun in North Eastern Siam where other relics of an early Indian civilization have also been discovered. It is akin to the beautiful Yaksa figure in the well-known Stoclet collection in Brussels, and the hair is dressed in a form similar to that of a Yaksa found at Koh Ker, an ancient capital city of Cambodia. It is one of the most striking works of art to be seen in the National Museum at Bangkok. They may be contemporary with it, but I have a feeling thafthe origin of all these early stone figures of Vishnu and other Brahmanic gods found in Siam must be sought in Central and Southern India, among the Pallavas, Chalukyas and Pandiyas. They are, to my eyes, the undoubted forerunners of those swaying, lissome, sinuous figures of the Chola period in the south, and pure Gupta art is too austere to introduce such sensuous feeling into its creations.

At the most he feels that there is an undefined family likeness about them, but by no means any direct relationship, although vague points of resemblance seem to establish their filiation with the monuments built in the Deccan by the Pallavas, whose relations with the countries of the Far East arc an historical fact.

He adds that the origin of the *sikhara*, or sanctuary-tower, has remained a mystery hitherto, and he concludes his analysis by claiming that the main forms of Indian architecture (wherever found) have their sole origin in one of the first edifices of the ancient Buddhist world, namely the venerable *Satigharama* of wood of most ancient communities. Parmentier also states that, if w£ set aside Pallava art, there is no other art in India which could serve as an origin, as the other constructed monuments are all more or less of a later date. Nevertheless, he has a strong feeling that this origin should be sought for fin India itself.

According to Beglar nearly all the sculptures from Sirpur had been removed to Raipur, and much of it was to be seen in the courtyard of the Brahman temple there. Beglar reported this sculpture to be Buddhistic and Jain as well as Brahmanic in form and style. At Sirpur itself he found the remains of ten temples all on cell foundations and of brick picked with stone, mostly Vaishnavic in form, but one dedicated to Indra, in which Vishnu and Buddha were both represented, and also three other temples partially destroyed but still

standing, one of which is the Lakemana temple illustrated by Coomaraswamy in his HISTORY OF INDIAN AND INDONESIAN ART and by Codrington in his ANCIENT INDIA. One characteristic of them all is the fact that the roofs of the sanctuaries are formed of successively projecting courses of bricks till the latter meet. There is no second roof between the floor of the sanctum and the pyramidal tower roof (as is usual in a stone structure). The Laksmana temple is built in the same manner as the others and rises from a terrace 6 feet high above the ground. It contains a sanctum 10 feet square, an*atitarala* and a*mahamandapa*, both now roofless and in ruin. Beglar goes on to say: 'Externally the temple depended for ornament on cut brick and the designs appear to have been executed after the bricks were put in position. The sunk false-panelled doorways with deep, delicate moldings and the sunshade over the doorway are features deserving of attention. He gives a good description of the site and temple and then adds: [4] We thought we recognized in the lower part of the edifice works in brick arranged in squares like those of a sanctuary orientated in regular fashion, which showed traces of a Cambodian hand. The sculpture on the brick to be seen there, although not of any remarkable finish, inclines to support this conjecture, for nowhere else have the Lao, who scarcely ever use any other form of ornamentation than stucco, employed this style.

This original part of the work has been altered by restorations and successive retouches which have entirely modified the entire superstructure. His scenes depicted on this sculptured brick in a progressive series are as remarkable in execution as they are lively in composition. They are 'alive' to an unusual degree, even for early Khmer work.

First, we have the Buddha himself seated in the attitude of 'Turning the Wheel of the Law' or 'Preaching the First Sermon attended by an *apsaras* on each side above and devotees below. The Buddha appears to be seated on a lotus throne, but it is hard to see whether his legs are crossed or not; I am inclined to think that they are. The sculpture is undoubtedly a link with the *Amaravati*school.

The capital of the kingdom of Funan was situated between Pnompenh and Ghaudoc to the south of it, and the earliest Khmer kings, after conquering Funan, established themselves at Vyadhapura or Angkor Borei.

But Pelliot thinks it was probably his elder brother, Bhavavarman, who performed this feat $ in the second half of the sixth century A.D., and this is the view generally accepted now. Inscriptions describe him as ruling from' Stung-Treng on the Mekong and as far south as the present province of Treang. The father of Bhavavarman and Chitrasena was Viravarman, but it is known that he did *not* reign. Texts which celebrate the successes of Bhavavarman attach him to the race of the Sun, but arc silent about his predecessors. It is also not clear whether Bhavavarman was related to Rudravarman. Perhaps the former was a vassal ruling in the north—for there were then two parts of the kingdom —and on the death of Rudhavarman seized the major throne. From the second half of the sixth century A.D. down to the reign of Jayavarman II, who came

to the throne in A.D. 802, practically all the inscriptions found are in the southern and eastern portions of Cambodia and Cochin-China.

In the early years of the ninth century A.D., Jayavarman II established the supremacy of the north over the south and was the first king to remove the capital to Angkor in the north-western region of the Great Lake. Towards the end of that century one of his successors, Yasovarman, built the original city of Angkor T'om. Early in the tenth century A.D. Jayavarman IV temporarily removed the capital to Koh Ker, just south of the mountain temple of P'raVihara on the northern border. Of this period inscriptions are still fairly frequent in the south, but hitherto no inscriptions at all have been found in North-Eastern Siam.

It is interesting to note that the Pallava dynasty, which ruled in Southern India from the third to the eighth century **A.D.,** is also a lunar one, deriving from a marriage between the founder of the dynasty and a Naga princess, and that Kanchipuram, the capital of the Pallavi kingdom, is the only place in India so far discovered as being mentioned in early Khmer inscriptions. The eighth century in Khmer history is almost a complete blank and was evidently a period of great unrest and confusion and, towards the end, of foreign invasions. It is not until the early ninth century that the whole country comes under the control of a single king, Jayavarman II, who reigned for over fifty years from **A.D.**802 to 854.

One inscription tells us that he came from Java to reign in Indrapura, and another says that he had no connection with the soil but rose like a fresh lotus. The latter half of the eighth century was the heyday of Indian influences in Central Java, when the Sailendras were in power and the great temple of Borobodur was being built; and certainly, Jayavarman II was inspired by the great period of temple-building in Java, since it is. from his time that we date the classic style of Khmer art, which produced some of the greatest and most beautiful works of man known today. Until the advent of Jayavarman II the capital of Southern Chen-la had been at Sambhor on the Mekong river due east of the Great Lake. Thus, the stage was gradually set for the building of the Great Temple of Angkor in the reign of Suriyavarman II (A.D**.** 1110-50), which shows us a Khmer temple at its apogee of construction after five hundred years of steady and continuous development.

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# The Archaeological Significance and tourist appeal of Maligaimedu and Ulkottai at Gangaikonda Cholapuram

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**Abstract**

Gangaikonda Cholapuram, a prominent Historical site in Tamil Nadu, India, is a rich tapestry of Archaeological significance that sheds light on the Chola dynasty grandeur. This study explores the extensive archaeological remains discovered at Maligaimedu and Ulkottai at Gangaikonda Cholapuram, focussing on the insight they provide into the urban planning, religious practices, and socio-political structure of the Chola Empire during the 11th and 12th centuries CE. The key findings highlight the intricate design of the city's layout, including its elaborate temple complexes. This site of Maligaimedu remains the sole surviving palace proof of the Cholas. This site not only offers invaluable historical insight but also serves as a catalyst for economic growth and cultural preservation through well-managed archaeology tourism.

**Keywords**: Cholas, Archaeology, Heritage, Preservation, Tourism

## Introduction

The Chola dynasty, which ruled most of southern India from the 9-13$^{th}$ centuries, was renowned for its military and naval power, and its patronage of the arts and architecture. The dynasty flourished under rulers like Rajaraja Chola I (985-1014) and his son Rajendra Chola I (1014-1044). Rajendra Chola I undertook numerous campaigns to expand the Chola Empire.1 His most significant achievement was defeating Mahipala I, the Pala ruler of Bengal, and adopting the title of *'Gangaikondan'*, establishing Gangaikonda Cholapuram as his new capital and serving as the capital for almost 250 years.

## Gangaikonda Cholapuram

The decline of the Chola dynasty began after Rajendra Chola III. Gangaikonda Cholapuram prospered during the Krishnadevaraya era and under the Udaiyarpalayam Palaiyakars in the 17th century. The town was captured by the Nawab in 1765 CE and subsequently came under the control of the East India Company in 1801 CE. In 1836 CE, a dam was built on the Kollidam River, and the temple stones were used in its construction.2 Since 1980, the Tamil Nadu State Department of Archaeology has conducted multiple excavations, uncovered the palace's basement and revealed the town's historical significance. Currently, the third phase of excavation is ongoing in and around the Gangaikonda Cholapuram region.

**Literary and Epigraphical Evidence**

The city of Gangaikonda Cholapuram can be understood through literature and inscriptions, giving us an idea of what the town and palace of the Chola kings might have looked like. The Esalam copper plate mentioned about the Gangaikonda Choleeswaram temple was built by Rajendra Chola I.3 The capital town was surrounded by walls, and in the 'Kalingatupparani', it is described as "the most beautiful city in the north of Gangapuri". The city is also mentioned in 'Movarula' composed by Otakkoodar.

Inscriptions mention names like "Rajendra Cholan Mathil" and "Utpadai veedu Mathil", as well as various streets and highways (peruvazhi) such as Rajarajan peruvazhi, Rajendhiran peruvazhi, Vilakgudaiyan peruvazhi, and Kuzhiyaanai pona peruvazhi. The Kulothunga Cholan inscription refers to a street as 'Dharani Chintamani Perunderu', and the Rajendran II inscription mentions two shops Gangaikondacholapurathu Ullalai Periya Angadi and Thirubhuvana Mathevi Perangadi. Additionally, a gate known as Vempugudivasal was located on the southern side of the town, near a modern town called Vempukudi.

The inscription shows that the majority of Chola kings ruled from the Palace of Gangaikonda Cholapuram. The Dandiyalankaram song refers to the palace as Gangapura maligai, while Veera Rajendra's inscription calls it 'Chola Keralan Thirumalikai'. Rajendra Chola held titles including ‘Cholakeralan’. An inscription on Kulothunga Chola I refers to the Palace here as 'Gangaikondacholan maligai'. The Palace was rebuilt and given different names during the reigns of various kings. Excavation sites are called Maligaimedu (Palace Mound) revealed buildings from various phases, indicating the original Palace was certainly rebuilt later. Some inscriptions also mention specific areas of the palace, such as Adi Bhumi, Keezhai Sophanam, and Mavalivanatharajan Pallikkattil. Rajathi Raja's inscription mentions granting land to Lord Sarvatheertha Udaiyar, while sitting on a seat are called 'Pallavarayan' in the 'Velimel Mandapam' at Gangaikonda Cholapuram Palace.

**Archaeological Excavation**

A formal excavation was conducted in the Maligaimedu area following archaeological guidelines. The first pit revealed a building shaped like the letter ‘T’, with a depth of 1.65 meters and a thickness of 1.10 meters. The excavation expanded in four directions, focusing on the pit. Approximately 25 pits were dug in Maligaimedu at different times to uncover the base of the vanished palace. Further excavations were carried out to identify the brick structure, which was constructed with uniform burnt bricks. Black stone slabs, square and heavy, were found between the bricks and a pit in the centre of the structure. These stones were unearthed on the top floor of the wall, indicating that they were used to support pillars.

They measured 65x60x30 cm and were positioned at a distance of 1.75 meters. Alongside the black stone, a deteriorated wooden post was discovered

horizontally, indicating the presence of Pillared Hall.4

**a) Structure of the Building**

A unique brick building was discovered using the Header and Structure Strategy, enhancing stability and reducing the risk of collapse. The bricks were placed with the head facing outward, with a uniform coating of 1.65 meters on the brick divider. Excavations revealed 4 to 9 layers of carapaces, up to 14 brick columns, and 37 rows from the establishment to the floor. The bricks were 24.5 cm long, 13.5 cm wide, and 6 cm thick.

**b) Structure of Brick Wall**

Excavated brick buildings in the area are highly technical, with two walls meeting at 1.10m thickness and a total length of 16.50m. Excavations reveal a similar double wall structure in the eastern region, with a 16.50m gap between the two walls. The bricks are the same size, indicating a contemporary change.

**c) Manmalai Excavation**

The city's expansion was influenced by two trenches. One at Manmalai (Sand Hill) on the western side of the trunk road revealed a brick wall similar to that of Maligaimedu, indicating that the city had expanded. Another discovery was made on the bank of an ancient moat south of Guruvalappar Koyil a laterite-built wall, likely the enclosing fort wall.

**d) Sluice Excavation**

An old building from the Chola era was discovered in a trench near the Cholagangam sluice. The sluice showcased the Chola's engineering prowess with its semicircular walls and granite stone depression.

**e) Kalkulam excavation**

A trench on the eastern side of a pond called Kalkulam revealed a conduit made of granite stones for water supply and transportation. The excavation discovered concealed metropolis infrastructure such as a fort wall, moat, lake, roadways, and streets, which may have played a key role.5

**Antiquities**

Excavations at Gangaikonda Cholapuram revealed various artefacts such as,

1. **Iron Nails**: Iron nails were extensively used in Chola period architecture, including cast-iron nails for timber frames and limestone. Complete and grip nails were widely found.
2. **Roof Tiles**: Excavations unearthed plenty of 'D' shaped roof tiles, probably used as foundations. They were often striped and found in long, square structures with a hook-like design.
3. **Clay Kettle (*Kendi*)**: Lotus leaf-shaped clay kettles, popular during the Chola period, were used for convenient water storage. They were adorned and affixed to pots before firing.
4. **Decorative Stoneware**: Circular objects with decorative elements such as lotus petals, animal motifs, lions, birds, and human skulls were discovered. These ornamental stone objects were likely inserted into engravings.

5. **Bone and Ivory Decorative Items**: Ornaments made of ivory and bone with intricate carvings of animals were found. These items were placed on regal objects adorned with tiny nails, indicating their use for decoration.

6. **Knife Handle**: A 1.37m long and 15cm deep knife handle with beautiful decorations was found in a small structure.

1. **Bangles**: Fragments of bangles up to 0.80m in length and discovered up to 2.50m below the surface. Coloured glass bangles, including conch, yellow, blue, and black ones, were unearthed. Both plain and striped conch bangles were found.

2. **Beads**: Various beads made of precious stones, glass, and soapstone were discovered, including beaded earrings. Conch star earrings and round crystal beads in different shapes were notable.

3. **Pottery**: The pottery collection included both domestic and foreign pottery from the 11th-12th century CE, featuring red, glossy, and decorated potsherds, lamps, well-polished red pottery, terracotta potsherds, jug sets, jars, bowls, plates, and round pots from both the Middle and Chola periods.

4. **Terracotta Toy**: A small broken flint calf figurine was found 2.60m deep. The figurine depicted fertility rituals and had visible body parts, with only the legs being broken.

5. **Coin Mould**: Numerous broken black cast flints with grooved upper sides and a flat base were discovered. Moulds were likely used for creating coins found on the reverse side.

6. **Pedestal Mounting**: A black stone sculpture with square carvings on a brick wall was discovered, indicating a pillared hall.

7. **Engraved Bricks**: Bricks with markings, potentially masonry markings, were found during the surface survey in 2009. This discovery suggests the practice of marking bricks began in Gangaikonda Cholapuram during that period.6

**Tourist Appeal**

The ongoing excavations in Maligaimedu and Gangaikonda Cholapuram have led to exciting discoveries, shedding new light on the rich history of the Chola dynasty. To celebrate this heritage, the Tamil Nadu government is planning to build a museum to showcase the unearthed treasures. Two potential locations have been identified for the museum the Guruvalappar temple premises and a site adjacent to the excavation itself. This museum has the potential to become a major landmark in Ariyalur, attracting more visitors to Gangaikonda Cholapuram, which is already a world-renowned historical destination. The museum will exhibit fascinating artefacts unearthed from Maligaimedu and Ulkottai, where the remains of ancient Chola palaces are buried. Only one of these two sites will be chosen for the final museum, which will be built to international standards. To enhance the tourist experience and unlock the socio-economic potential of the local community, the Tamil Nadu Tourism Department is collaborating with the Department of Museums. The Tourism

Department is preparing a comprehensive tourism development plan estimated at Rs five crore, while the museum department will focus on constructing the museum itself, complete with edutainment facilities to bring history to life. This collaborative effort will ensure that Gangaikonda Cholapuram receives the infrastructure and amenities it deserves to become a thriving Tourist destination.

**Conclusion**

Gangaikonda Cholapuram, the greatest city in Southern history, was renowned for its beauty and rich literary culture, inscriptions, and tombstones. The Temples built by the Kings and the queens provide evidence of the Chola Empire's existence. Excavations have revealed a storied structure with a unique interior, pillar supports, and well-waxed plaster. The roof features tiles and lotus designs, as well as stone carvings of flowers and lion faces. The presence of iron nails with bricks suggests medieval brick usage. Chinese pottery, porcelain, and Celadon pots attest to trade connections with south-east Asia. The excavations confirm that Gangaikonda Cholapuram was the capital and the sole surviving palace of the magnificent Cholas. Additionally, historical monuments like Maligaimedu and Ulkottai, which are major tourist attractions, should be preserved and promoted. Establishing a modern museum at Gangaikonda Cholapuram with an emphasis on reinterpreting Chola dynasty pride, promoting responsible tourism practices, improving the tourist experience for the local population, revival of traditional handlooms, preserving the age-old craft of weaving in Ulkottai and raising awareness about the preservation of cultural heritage are the primary objectives.

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# Integrating Indigenous and Traditional Water Heritage Systems into Modern Urban Sustainability and Resilience Planning

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**Abstract**

This research proposal investigates the integration of Indigenous and traditional water heritage systems into contemporary urban sustainability and resilience planning. As cities worldwide confront escalating challenges of water scarcity, pollution and climate-induced variability, the recovery of ancestral hydrological wisdom becomes an essential path toward sustainable futures. Indigenous water management systems, from the step-wells of India and the *qanats* of Iran to the *chinampas* of Mexico and Sub-Saharan terraced irrigation, demonstrate deep ecological intelligence and adaptive design. By examining these systems through interdisciplinary lenses, the study seeks to articulate frameworks for hybridizing traditional and modern approaches to urban water resilience. The research also explores how Indigenous practices can inform policies that balance cultural heritage preservation with technological innovation, thereby advancing equitable, low-carbon and community-based urban water systems.

## Introduction

Urban water management has evolved through industrial and technological paradigms emphasizing centralized infrastructure, yet these systems have often failed to deliver equitable, sustainable, and resilient outcomes. The growing vulnerability of cities to floods, droughts, and water contamination underscores the need for diversified and adaptive approaches. Indigenous and traditional water heritage systems embody decentralized, community-managed models that sustained societies for centuries before modern hydraulic engineering emerged.

Across the world, such systems reflect an intimate understanding of local ecosystems and social cooperation. Examples include India's step-wells (baolis), the *qanats* of Iran, the *acequias* of Spain and New Mexico, and the *Chinampas* of Mexico. These are not relics of the past but living laboratories of sustainability. This study positions traditional water heritage as an "invisible infrastructure", a form of ecological memory that, if integrated, can guide cities toward resilient and culturally rooted water futures.

**Review of Literature**

The academic engagement with traditional water heritage has expanded in the last three decades. Agarwal and Narain (1997) emphasized India's traditional water systems as decentralized, democratic and ecologically sound alternatives to modern dams. Similarly, Tortajada (2001) and Singh (2019) underscored how community-managed water structures contributed to local resilience.

Global scholarship, such as that by Gleick (2018), points to the need for integrating soft-path solutions that prioritize conservation, efficiency and cultural alignment. In Latin America, the Aztec *Chinampa* systems in Mexico City exemplify indigenous agricultural hydrology sustaining high productivity with minimal ecological disruption (Rojas, 2019). In the Middle East, the *Qanat* systems of Iran and Oman represent sophisticated underground aqueducts designed to minimize evaporation in arid climates (Wulff, 1968). African examples include the terraced irrigation systems of the Sahel and Ethiopian highlands that balance water harvesting with soil conservation (Adams, 2020).

However, most of these studies remain geographically isolated. There is limited scholarship comparing Indigenous systems across cultures or analysing their relevance within global urban resilience frameworks such as the UN's Sustainable Development Goals (SDG 6: Clean Water and Sanitation; SDG 11: Sustainable Cities and Communities). This research seeks to bridge that gap through a comparative, cross-cultural lens.

**Objectives**: The primary objectives of this study are to document and analyse diverse Indigenous and traditional water heritage systems from different regions of the world and to examine their significance in addressing contemporary water management challenges. The study further seeks to identify the underlying ecological, cultural and socio-technical principles embedded in these traditional systems that can inform modern urban water management practices. It also aims to develop a comprehensive framework for integrating traditional water heritage into sustainability and urban resilience planning. Finally, the study assesses the policy implications of incorporating Indigenous knowledge into water governance and recommends inclusive governance mechanisms that promote community participation, environmental sustainability and climate adaptation in urban areas.

**Methodology:** This research adopts a qualitative, interdisciplinary design combining historical, ethnographic and policy analysis methods. Case studies will be selected from India, Iran, Mexico and sub-Saharan Africa to ensure geographic and cultural diversity.

Data Collection: Archival research: Historical maps, records and technical descriptions of traditional systems.

Fieldwork: Site documentation and interviews with community custodians, local planners and conservation experts.

Policy Review: Analysis of global frameworks (UN-Habitat, UNESCO and national urban water policies).
Data Analysis: The qualitative data will be analysed through thematic coding to identify key sustainable design principles embedded in Indigenous and traditional water heritage systems. A comparative matrix will be employed to evaluate the transferability and applicability of these Indigenous practices to contemporary urban contexts. The findings from the thematic analysis and comparative assessment will be synthesized to develop an integrative framework for heritage-based urban resilience, highlighting pathways for incorporating traditional knowledge into sustainable urban water management and climate adaptation strategies.
**Theoretical Framework**: This study is grounded in the theoretical intersection of Political Ecology and the Theory of Resilience. Political Ecology interrogates power relations in environmental governance, questioning whose knowledge is privileged in decision-making (Robbins, 2012). The Resilience framework (Folke, 2016) emphasizes adaptability and learning from traditional ecological knowledge (TEK). Together, they support a pluralistic epistemology where Indigenous water heritage is not peripheral but central to sustainable urban design.
The research also draws from postcolonial and decolonial theory, which critiques the marginalization of Indigenous knowledge systems in modern development paradigms. This approach helps reposition TEK as scientifically relevant and ethically imperative.

## 1. Expected Outcomes

1. A comparative synthesis of traditional water systems across cultural contexts.
2. A conceptual model linking heritage practices to urban water resilience.
3. Policy recommendations promoting cross-cultural integration of TEK.
4. A scholarly contribution toward decolonizing urban sustainability discourse.
5. Academic papers and policy briefs for dissemination in environmental planning and heritage management forums.

**Significance of the Study**

This research transcends the technical dimension of water management to highlight its cultural and ethical dimensions. By legitimizing Indigenous

hydrological wisdom, it advances the agenda of decolonizing environmental governance. It contributes to SDGs 6 and 11, promoting inclusive, sustainable cities that value cultural heritage as a resilience asset. Furthermore, it provides policymakers with evidence-based frameworks to integrate traditional systems into climate adaptation strategies.

**Limitations and Ethical Considerations**

Potential challenges include limited accessibility to field sites, language barriers and uneven documentation across regions. Ethical research practice will prioritize community consent, acknowledgment of Indigenous intellectual property, and reciprocal knowledge sharing. The research will adhere to UNESCO's ethical principles for heritage-related studies.

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# The Mayana Rulers of Kadapa: A Historical Study

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**Abstract**

The region of Kadapa, today known officially as YSR Kadapa District in the state of Andhra Pradesh, has been a prominent site of historical evolution, cultural diversity, and religious significance for many centuries. Its geographical location near the eastern edges of the Nallamala hills and its proximity to the sacred pilgrimage centre of Tirumala have profoundly shaped its identity. Historically, Kadapa has been widely known as "Devuni Gadapa" which translates to "The Gateway to the Lord", symbolizing its role as a path leading devotees to Lord Venkateswara of Tirupati. Even today, the neighbourhood known as Devuni Kadapa retains ancient temples that reaffirm this legacy.

## Introduction

Kadapa's historical landscape is marked by successive waves of political rule, each leaving distinct influences on its society. The region flourished under the Cholas, became a fortified stronghold during the Vijayanagara Empire, and later transitioned into the administrative domain of the Qutub Shahi Sultanate of Golconda. The decline of the Qutub Shahis brought Kadapa under the control of Mughal governors, and subsequently under the growing power of local Nawabs. During this phase emerged a local ruling line that would control the region for nearly a century: the Mayana Dynasty. Their capital was not the present-day Kadapa town, but the historically significant Siddavatam Fort, a strategic center due to its location on the banks of the Penna River.

Despite nearly 80–100 years of rule, the Mayana dynasty has received limited scholarly attention, with existing documentation scattered across Persian manuscripts, local administrative archives, and inscriptions in temples and mosques. British colonial writings, particularly district records and the Lord McKenzie Manuscripts, mention the Mayana rulers, but only in brief and often without comprehensive analysis. Thus, the historical narrative of this dynasty remains marginalized and underrepresented in mainstream academic discourse.

This research seeks to reconstruct, interpret, and evaluate the political, social, and cultural significance of the Mayana rulers of Kadapa, placing them within the broader framework of South Indian and Deccan historical developments of the 18$^{th}$ century.

## Historical Background of Kadapa

Kadapa's history cannot be understood without recognizing its role as a cultural crossroads. The region has served as a transit point between North and South India, linking the Deccan plateau with Tamil speaking regions to the south and Kannada-speaking regions to the west. Its terrain, rivers, and trade routes fostered settlement and political interest among various dynasties.

Chola Influence (9th–12th centuries): Kadapa was a frontier region during Chola dominance, marked by temple construction and agrarian village administration.

Vijayanagara Period (14th–16th centuries): The area gained military significance as a fortified zone protecting northern approaches to the empire. Regional chieftains loyal to the Vijayanagara rulers administered it.

Post-Talikota Power Shifts (after 1565): The decline of Vijayanagara opened power vacuums across the Deccan. The Qutub Shahi Sultans expanded influence here, appointing military governors to maintain administrative control.

Foundation of Modern Kadapa: Nek Nam Khan, a governor under the Qutub Shahi and later Mughal rule, established a new settlement named Neknamabad, which evolved into modern Kadapa.

As central control weakened during the late Mughal era, local nobles, military commanders, and revenue administrators gained autonomy. Among them rose Abdul Nabi Khan Mayana, who established Mayana rule which lasted into the later 18th century.

## Rise and Consolidation of the Mayana Dynasty

The Mayana dynasty was founded by Nawab Abdul Nabi Khan Mayana, son of Bahlul Khan, a distinguished general. His military reputation, loyalty to the ruling power, and administrative competence earned him appointment as the Governor (Faujdar) of the Siddavatam region. Over time, he consolidated political control and laid the foundations of a stable governing dynasty.

The Mayana rule was characterized by an efficient administrative system, particularly in the management of revenue and land. The rulers invested in irrigation works and agricultural development to enhance productivity and rural prosperity. They also implemented a judicious system of land grants (jagirs) to reward service and maintain political stability. The dynasty

extended religious patronage to both Hindu and Muslim communities, reflecting a policy of inclusiveness and communal harmony. In addition, the Mayana rulers strengthened their position through strategic military alliances and diplomatic engagements with neighboring powers.

The major rulers of the Mayana dynasty include:

| Ruler | Approx. Period | Contributions |
|---|---|---|
| Nawab Abdul Nabi Khan Mayana | 1700–1730 | Founder of the dynasty, strengthened fortifications, implemented revenue stability |
| Nawab Abdul Majid Khan Mayana | 1730–1755 | Expanded territories, improved trade and irrigation |
| Nawab Abdul Haleem Khan Mayana | 1755–1780 | Defended sovereignty during Mysorean expansion; active in inter-Nawabi politics |

Siddavatam Fort, under their rule, became a significant administrative and cultural hub in the region.

**The Mayana Role in 18th Century Deccan Politics**

The political significance of the Mayana rulers becomes most evident during the turbulent mid-18th century, when conflicts involving the Nizam of Hyderabad, the Nawabs of Carnatic and Kurnool, French and British East India Company forces, and the rising power of Hyder Ali of Mysore, shaped regional geopolitics.

The Battle of 1750, in which Nawab Muzaffar Jung (a contender for the Nizamship) was challenged and killed in a confrontation that involved both the Nawab of Kadapa and the Nawab of Kurnool, was a decisive moment. This event had long-term consequences:

- It weakened the control of the Asaf Jahi rulers temporarily.
- It allowed Hyder Ali to expand into the region.
- It created strategic openings for the British and French to intervene in Deccan politics.

Eventually, in the late 1770s, Hyder Ali annexed the Mayana territories, integrating them into the Mysorean State. Following the fall of Mysore in subsequent Anglo-Mysore wars, the region was ceded to the Nizam, who then transferred revenue control to the British East India Company. This is why Kadapa later became part of the Ceded Districts of the Madras Presidency.

**Administrative, Social and Cultural Policies of the Mayana Rulers**

Unlike many local rulers of the period, the Mayanas maintained a pluralistic administrative and cultural ethos. Their governance blended Islamic administrative systems with local Telugu agrarian frameworks.

**Administrative Contributions**

- Maintenance of village-based revenue collection with local intermediaries.
- Land surveys and water management projects, benefiting farmers.
- Strengthening of judicial mechanisms rooted in both Sharia-influenced and customary local law.

**Cultural & Religious Patronage**

- Donations to Hindu temples in Siddavatam, Devuni Kadapa, and surrounding areas.
- Endowments to mosques, dargahs, and madrasas, promoting Islamic learning.
- Encouragement of Persian and Dakhni literary culture, evident in manuscripts preserved in local shrines.
- Promotion of religious harmony, characteristic of Deccan Ganga–Jamuni Tehzeeb.

**Gap in Existing Research and Its Results**

The contributions of the Mayana rulers remain largely unexplored due to several factors. Many of the available primary sources are written in Persian and Dakhni, requiring specialized linguistic expertise for their interpretation. In addition, British colonial scholarship focused primarily on administrative mapping rather than documenting regional dynastic histories, while local oral traditions have not been systematically collected or analyzed. Consequently, this study seeks to fill a significant gap in the historical understanding of the Rayalaseema region by bringing together documentary, epigraphic and oral sources.

**Objectives**: The study aims to reconstruct the political and administrative history of the Mayana dynasty by examining its governance, military campaigns and diplomatic relations. It also seeks to analyze the dynasty's contributions to the social and cultural development of the region, document available inscriptions, manuscripts and architectural remains associated with the Mayana rulers and situate the dynasty within the broader historical context of the Deccan and South India.

**Sources**: The study draws upon a wide range of primary and secondary sources to reconstruct the history of the Mayana rulers. The research methodology includes archival investigations in Hyderabad, Kadapa and Chennai, along with the translation and analysis of Persian and Dakhni manuscripts.

Epigraphical evidence is examined to authenticate historical events and administrative practices, while field surveys at Siddavatam Fort and Devuni Kadapa provide insights into the region's architectural and material heritage. In addition, oral histories and local genealogies are collected and analyzed to supplement documentary evidence and preserve indigenous historical traditions.

**Conclusion**

The Mayana rulers played a major role in shaping the political, cultural, and social identity of Kadapa and surrounding regions. Their policies of administrative balance, religious inclusiveness, and regional diplomacy mark them as significant leaders of 18th century South India. Yet, their legacy remains insufficiently studied. This research aims to re-establish their historical importance through rigorous archival and field-based scholarship.

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# Non-Cooperation Movement: The Genesis of Gandhian Nationalism

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**Abstract**

The Gandhi Era began with the non-cooperation movement, which aimed to establish national educational institutions, abolish untouchability, promote Hindu-Muslim unity, and boycott foreign goods, all under Gandhi's principles of truth and non-violence. The movement saw Hindus and Muslims united in resistance against British rule, with widespread participation from students, teachers, and legal professionals. Approximately forty lakh people joined as Congress volunteers, and the movement popularized the use of hand-spun cloth (khadi) while advocating for the boycott of foreign goods. Despite increasing repression, which included mass arrests and the banning of the Khilafat Committee and Congress, the movement intensified. Prominent leaders were jailed, and the government avoided arresting Gandhi. The December 1921 Ahmedabad Session of the Congress called for mass civil disobedience and non-payment of taxes, granting Gandhi full authority to lead. However, a violent clash in Gorakhpur led Gandhi to suspend the movement, causing dissatisfaction among his followers and affecting his popularity.

**Keywords:** Gandhi, Non-Cooperation Movement, Indian National Congress

## Non-cooperation Movement

The basic features of the non-cooperation programme adopted at the Nagpur Congress were as follows:

1. surrender of honours, titles, etc.;
2. resignation by nominated members from their offices and institutions;
3. boycott of official functions;
4. boycott of schools and colleges owned or aided or recognised by Government and the establishment of national educational institutions;
5. boycott of law courts by lawyers and setting up of popular tribunals for administering justice;
6. refusal by soldiers, clerks and labourers to work in Mesopotamia;
7. boycott of elections to the assembly and the provincial councils;
8. boycott of British goods and encouragement of Swadeshi, especially Khaddar or home-spun, home-woven cloth;
9. abolition of untouchability; and
10. promotion of Hindu-Muslim unity.

The non-cooperation movement had thus two kinds of objects: constructive and destructive. Establishment of national educational institutions and

Panchayat courts, abolition of untouchability, Hindu-Muslim unity, and promotion of Swadeshi and of spinning and weaving were some of the positive or constructive programmes. The negative or destructive aspects consisted of boycott of councils, courts, foreign goods and Government schools and colleges, bonfire of foreign clothes, renunciation of all titles, decorations and honorary offices, and dissociation from official functions. According to Mahatma Gandhi the movement was guided by the policy of truth and the principle of non-violence.

The Khilafat and the non-cooperation moved hand in hand as one movement under the leadership of Gandhiji who began his Satyagraha by returning to the Viceroy the title of Kaisar-i-Hind which he had received for his war services. Many Indians followed suit and renounced the titles, decorations and honours bestowed by the British rulers. The most important characteristic of the movement was that the Hindus and Muslims both made common cause against the British and with equal enthusiasm fought the non-violent battle together. Many memorable scenes of Hindu-Muslim unity were witnessed in different parts of the country. As against the popular Khilafat Committee led by the Ali Brothers - Maulana Mohammad Ali and Maulana Shaukat Ali - the Muslim League was completely estranged from the Muslim masses. Muslims including prominent men like Dr. Ansari and Maulana Azad joined the movement in large numbers. Many national schools and colleges were established all over the country. Kashi Vidyapeeth, Gujarat Vidyapeeth, Jamia Milia, Bihar Vidyapeeth, Tilak Maharashtra Vidyapeeth etc. were among the educational institutions then set up. People's enthusiasm knew no bounds. Like a magician, Gandhiji had roused them. Students in thousands gave up their studies in Government schools and colleges. Many teachers also resigned their jobs. Several prominent advocates and barristers gave up their lucrative practiceand joined the national movement. These included men like Pandit Motilal Nehru, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, C.R. Das, Vithalbhai Patel and Dr.Rajendra Prasad. Subhas Chandra Bose who had passed the I.C.S. examination in 1920, resigned from the service in May 1921. Outstanding among the Muslim leaders of the movement were Maulana Mohammad Ali, Maulana Shaukat Ali, Dr. Ansari and Maulana Abul Kalam Azad. Some forty lakh persons enrolled themselves as Congress volunteers and some twenty thousand charkhas (spinning wheels) were manufactured. During the movement, thousands of volunteers in towns and villages vigorously campaigned for the use of Swadeshi and boycott of foreign goods. The message of the spinning wheel or charkha reached every hearth and home. The use of hand spun and hand woven cloth - khadi or khaddar - not only became popular and respectable but also came to be recognized as the hallmark of patriotism and as the livery of freedom fighters. Bonfires of foreign cloth became a common sight all over the country. Shops of foreign cloth and liquor were picketed by Congress volunteers and in this the women played a

significant role.

As repression was intensified, the movement gained greater momentum. When the Prince of Wales arrived in Bombay on November 17, 1921 he was greeted by closed markets and deserted roads. The city observed a general hartal on the day. When the Government failed to control the movement through its policy of repression, it declared both the Khilafat Committee and the Congress unlawful bodies and banned all public meetings and processions. But even this did not dampen the enthusiasm of the people. Every day newer and larger waves of volunteers came forward to court arrest, instances of indiscriminate beating, merciless lathi-charging and firing by the police increased. The police became a gangster force, entering private dwellings, beating, looting and dishonouring the inmates. The civil guards and European sergeants "madly roamed about the streets, revolver in hand, ready to shoot whoever interfered with their mad career."The Congress picketers were assaulted; flags, badges and even the Khadi clothes on their body were snatched and destroyed; Congress offices were ransacked.

By the end of the year all the prominent leaders like the Ali Brothers, Motilal Nehru, C.R. Das (also his wife and son), Lajpat Rai, Maulana Azad were behind bars. In all about fifty thousand persons were jailed during the movement. Only the government did not dare touch Gandhiji himself.

The Ahmedabad Session of the Congress held in December 1921 decided to further intensify the non-cooperation movement by starting a campaign for mass civil disobedience and non-payment of taxes. A new Congress constitution was adopted which mentioned attainment of Swaraj' as the object of the Congress and completely omitted all the reference to the 'British Empire'. Full authority for taking necessary steps for conducting the new movement was vested in Mahatma Gandhi. On February 1, 1922 Gandhiji issued to Viceroy Reading an ultimatum that if the repressive policies of the Government were not changed within a week, he will be constrained to start the mass disobedience movement with a no-tax campaign in Bardoli. However, before the expiry of the one-week time limit set by Gandhiji there came the anti-climax. On February 5, a procession of Satyagrahis at village Chauri-Chaura in the Gorakhpur district of U.P. lost self-control and clashed with the police. The agitated crowd set on fire the village police station along with its 22 policemen. Gandhiji was so much upset and pained by this outburst of violence and was so anxious to prevent its spread that he immediately ordered the suspension of the movement and advised concentration only on constructive aspects of the programme like removal of untouchability, Hindu-Muslim unity, propagation of Swadeshi and spinning. Gandhiji thought that the country was not yet ready for a non-violent movement of his conception and that it was a'Himalayan blunder' on his part to start the Satyagraha movement without adequately preparing the masses for it. The sudden suspension of the movement at a time when it was at its height, annoyed many

of Gandhiji's own colleagues and followers. His popularity among the people was also adversely affected; doubts began to crop up about his leadership,

Leaders like Ali Brothers, C. Rajagopalachari, Nehrus- father and son, C.R. Das, Lajpat Rai, were also dissatisfied with Gandhiji's decision to suspend the movement. But it was becoming clear to Gandhiji that sense of discipline among the people had diminished. All the leaders were in jails. Violent activities were increasing all around and would have further intensified if the agitation had not been suspended. And then, as Nehru later wrote in his autobiography, the movement might have got out of hand and a bloody struggle ensued which the Government very likely would have won.[1] Taking advantage of the general feeling of resentment against Gandhiji, the Government arrested him on March 10, 1922. He was tried on March 18, 1922 in an Ahmedabad court by the District and Sessions Judge Broomfield. It was a unique and memorable trial at which the judge bowed respectfully to the accused in the dock before sentencing him to six years' simple imprisonment on the charge of spreading disaffection among the people against the Government and the accused told the judge that he could not have expected greater courtesy in any court and the sentence awarded to him was as light as any judge could inflict on him. Gandhiji's bold statement in the court and Broomfield's judgement are both highly readable historic documents. Mahatma Gandhi pleaded guilty and said: "In my opinion, non-cooperation with evil is as much a duty as is cooperation with good. It has been a precious privilege for me to be able to write what I have. I do not ask for mercy." Justice Broomfield bowed to the prisoner and pronouncing the sentence, he said, "It will be impossible to ignore the fact that you are in a different category from any person I have ever tried or I am likely to try. In the eyes of millions of your countrymen you are a great patriot and a great leader. Even those who differ from you in politics look upon you as a man of high ideals and of noble and even saintly life."

Although with the arrest and conviction of Gandhiji the first phase of the non-cooperation movement came to an end, its importance in the struggle for freedom cannot be belittled. It was the first truly mass movement and starting it was a real revolutionary step. The nationalist movement which was so far confined to the urban intelligentsia now through the non-cooperation and Khilafat movements had reached the masses.

**Non-Cooperation Movement - An Evaluation**

The non-cooperation movement has its own unique importance in the history of India's freedom struggle. No other movement since 1857 had generated such mass upsurge throughout the country as the non-cooperation movement did. It brought Gandhiji in the forefront of the national struggle and can be said to have started the Gandhian era in India's political history and thought. After the death of Lokmanya Tilak in July 1920.Gandhiji became the most dominant leader of the Congress. The non-cooperation movement changed the nature

and the outlook - the structure and the spirit - of the Congress. Hereafter it became a popular, democratic, all India party drawing its sustenance from the common people. It also became the medium of non-violent revolt against British rule in India. It was no more an organisation of the middle-class intellectuals, of educated armchair politicians, or of the urban elite. In fact, the Congress itself became a people's movement. A large number of farmers and also some labourers joined it. For the first time, the common man in India developed confidence in himself and the courage to raise his voice against the government and fight for his legitimate rights. The fear of the might and the machinery of repression was gone. A new fearlessness was born. Gandhiji gave a call for giving up titles. Although the majority of the title-holders did not give up their titles, the reverence and regard for all honours and titles bestowed by the British was gone. They became in public eye symbols of slavery and degradation. Jails were no more dreaded or looked down. They acquired a unique respectability as places of pilgrimage for the freedom fighters. According to Coupland:"He had already changed the course of Indian history. He had done what Tilak had failed to do. He had converted the nationalist movement into a revolutionary movement. He had won over the Congress to the repudiation of the British Government's authority and the defiance of its laws. He had taught it to pursue the goal of India's freedom in its own way and at its own pace, not by'constitutional' pressure on the Government, still less by discussion and agreement, but by force, nonetheless force because it was meant to be 'non-violent. And he had not only made the nationalist movement revolutionary, he had also made it popular. It had hitherto been confined to the urban intelligentsia; it had made no appeal to the countryfolk; and, though the millions of illiterate villagers could not be diverted for any length of time from their primary task of wringing a bare livelihood from the soil, Gandhi's personality had deeply stirred the countryside."[2]

**In Nehru's Words**

"The older leaders of the Congress, bred in a different and more quiescent tradition, did not take easily to these new ways and were disturbed by the upsurge of the masses. Yet so powerful was the wave of feeling and sentiment that swept through the country, that some of this intoxication filled them also. A very few fell away and among them was Mr. M.A. Jinnah. He left the Congress not because of any difference of opinion on the Hindu-Moslem question but because he could not adapt himself to the new and more advanced ideology, and even more so because he disliked the crowds of ill-dressed people, talking in Hindustani, who filled the Congress.His idea of politics was of a superior variety, more suited to the legislative chamber or to a committee-room. For some years he felt completely out of the picture and even decided to leave India for good. He settled down in England and spent several years there."[3]

The non-cooperation movement had introduced a new technique of political struggle and had prepared the people for non-violent revolt. For the weapon of peaceful agitation and Satyagraha used in the national movement, the Government had no satisfactory answer. Satyagraha had engendered consciousness of strength, self-reliance and spirit of sacrifice. The heroism shownby the common man and the limit to which he could endure harsh punishment and inhuman oppression of the alien rulers constituted an unprecedented demonstration of the courage, heroism and fearlessness of the people.[4] Apart from arousal of popularconsciousness, the popularity of swadeshi also increased and thousands of weavers got employment. The boycott of foreign goods proved greatly detrimental to British commercial interest. Schools, colleges and universities were turned into training centres for the patriots of the national movement. As Subhas Chandra Bose said, before 1921 Congress was "a constitutional party, and mainly a talking body"; Gandhiji "not only gave it a new constitution and a nation-wide basis but, what is more important, converted it into a revolutionary organisation."

On the other hand, there were several drawbacks in the non-cooperation movement which caused harm to the feelings of nationalism in various ways. It has to be bore in mind that when Gandhiji had earlier placed the resolution regarding non-cooperation before the Calcutta Congress, it was passed with a slight majority because it was opposed by top leaders like Mrs.Annie Besant, Mohammad Ali Jinnah, C.R. Das, Madan Mohan Malaviya, B.C. Pal and Lajpat Rai. The biggest weakness of the non-cooperation movement was that it was incompatible with the principles of secularism. Instead of treating religion as a matter of personal concern and keeping it out of politics, the attempt to bring Hindus and Muslims nearer through the purely religious affairs of Khilafat, was to some extent responsible for so mixing religion and politics in India's public life that the communal problem became more and more difficult and insoluble. Perhaps it was a mistake to involve the question of Khilafat in Indian politics. The Moplah rising in Kerala and the inhuman atrocities committed there were its indirect results. Turkey became a secular state under the leadership of Mustafa Kamal Pasha. In 1922 the Sultan of Turkey- the Khalifa - was disposed and with him Khilafat also came to an end. The Khilafat organisation continued in India for someyears, but the heart was taken out of it.[5] The Khilafat movement in fact came to an end in India. The abrupt suspension of the non-cooperation movement also led to fissures in Congress-League amity and the feelings of Hindu-Muslim unity were blunted. The scenes of unprecedented Hindu-Muslim unity were replaced by Hindu-Muslim riots and a series of communal riots on a large scale took place in the country at several places during the period 1923 to 1927. Not till the summer of 1928, when the appointment of Simon Commission was announced and once again political movement gathered momentum, was there any respite

from communal crimes.[6] While on the one hand, this wasthe result of the British policy of 'divide and rule' on the other, it was the outcome of the "blunder of fostering the python of communalism and religious fanaticism.
The non-cooperation movement was unsuccessful in some of its programmes as well, like boycott of the Legislative Councils.No Congressman fought election. The Moderates, loyalists and opportunists exploited the situation and fought the elections. Elections were duly held and the Councils were packed by the supporters of the Government. The failure of the non-cooperation movement also obliged the Congress to change its attitude towards the Legislative Councils and the National movement progressed in the next few years through the forum of the Legislative Councils.

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# Encounters with the Forbidden: A Practice of Voyeurism in Ray's films-Aranyer Din Ratri, Pratidwandi and Jana Aranya

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**Abstract**

Satyajit Ray's portrayal of women in his films was revolutionary and had a lasting impact on Indian cinema. His female characters were complex, nuanced, and multifaceted, and they added depth, to his film's stories

Ray's films have always had women characters who occupy a significant part in the film. From Arati to Duli and Sutapa these female characters play pivotal roles in the narrative. Arati, (from *Mahanagar***,** The Big City,1963) is the typical middle-class, seemingly placid housewife, who rebels against the barriers of tradition as she takes on the role of the sole breadwinner of a joint family if only for a while, whereas Sutapa from *Pratidwandi*,1970) is the image of the modern working woman walking a tight-rope along the precarious edges of fragile male egos and social and moral expectations. For this article I have very carefully selected four films with their non stereotypical representation of women in celluloid.

**Keywords:** Films, Working Women, Stereotypes

## Introduction

Satyajit Ray's portrayal of women in his films was revolutionary and had a lasting impact on Indian cinema. His female characters were complex, nuanced and multifaceted, and they added depth, to his film's stories. Ray's contribution to Indian cinema was immense, and his legacy lives on, inspiring future generations of filmmakers to continue to explore the complexities of gender roles and societal issues in their work.

Ray's films have always had women characters who occupy a significant part in the film. From Charu and Bimala to Arati and Sutapathese female characters play pivotal roles in the narrative. Charu (from *Charulata*,1964), the lonely ,childless bride of a somewhat indifferent newspaper owner, is trapped between tradition and a restless craving for freedom.Bimala's (from *Ghare Baire***,** The Home and the World,1984) liberation symbolizes the conscious awakening of the Indian woman at the time of the Swadeshi Andoloan. Arati, (from *Mahanagar***,** The Big City,1963) the typical middle-class, seemingly placid housewife, rebels against the barriers of tradition as she takes on the role of the sole breadwinner of a joint family if only for a while, whereas Sutapa from *Pratidwandi*,1970) is the image of the modern working woman

walking a tight-rope along the precarious edges of fragile male egos and social and moral expectations.

The women been portrayed in Ray's films were generally strong women who didn't hesitate to break barriers. Their lives were filled with struggle, but they were hardly shown as damsels in a perpetual state of distress. Ray stands out for numerous reasons. He introduced a rare realism in films that did not exist before, and his characters, often drawn from literature, were probably real. But apart from these, Ray's films stand out for their portrayal of powerful female characters.

Ray is important as he saw life for what it was and loved it all the same. His camera also watches with patience and fondness as people reveal the mysteries within themselves. Reality is a plot beyond invention, and Ray somehow managed to catch its essence through his camera and distill it onto a screen. Women and girls are often central to Ray's movies. They are enigmatic, mystical, humorous, powerful, careful and true. For this article, I have very carefully selected four films with their non-stereotypical representation of women in celluloid.

**Arati in Ray's *Mahanagar*: The Gritty Modern Housewife**

Mahanagar (The Big City (1963) is a story of clashing social values, the gap between an older generation trying to keep the woman at home, and a younger generation, accepting change for necessity, though the men of this generation still need time for this. Set in the mid 1950s.the film portrays the major societal transformations taking place at the time as more and more middle-class women left the confines of their homes to earn for their families. The traditional joint family was breaking up but this did not prevent the persisting resistance towards women's employment. As Arati meekly submits to her husband's sarcasm, at the same time sticking determinedly to her own resolve, and finally, and impulsively, gives up her job ata moment's notice, we find behind her placid countenance a woman of grit. Arati's most pivotal relationship in this film is not with her husband, her father-in law, or her pipe-smoking boss but it is with Edith Simmons, her Anglo-Indian colleague. Edith is important for several reasons. In realist terms, she represents that class of Anglo-Indian women who worked in modern offices…For Ray, she is also important as she is not burdened with the baggage of middle-class Indian womanhood and therefore isn't infantilized in public environments by Lajja or deference or indirection.[1]

From the moment, she meets Arati, she is both brisk and friendly. Despite Arati's tentativeness and obvious inexperience, Edith treats her as an equal and colleague, she gives Arati a brand-new lipstick in the office toilet and applies it for her so she can see how pretty she looks with it on. They become friends eventually. The climax of the film comes about when the hitherto kindly Mr.Mukherjee, who has not only promoted Arati but promised her husband a job, arbitrarily fires Edith. Ray has built up to this by having Mukherjee talk

knowingly about the things Anglo-Indian girls get up to when Edith reports sick. He fires her for shamming illness but really because Arti has done so well that he feels he can dispense with Edith's services. Arati resigns her job in a fury because Mukherjee refuses to apologise to Edith for insulting her. She confronts Mukherjee in his office and testifies to Edith's integrity. When the boss still refused to include her in the team she resigns in solidarity with her colleague and friend.

The film ends with Arati and Subrata confronting each other on the stairs of the office. Ray allows them an unaccustomed moment of hope. The camera looks out at the great city and they allow themselves to believe that somewhere in this great metropolis there must be two jobs for them. It was still Nehru's India when the film was made and Ray like his compatriots, must have had some faith in the redemptive promise of the young republic. But it should have bee Arati and Edith hugging each other in that stairwell. Mahanagar is their story.[2]

***Aranyer Din Ratri* (Days and Nights in the Forest) (1970)** Based on a Bengali novel by Sunil Gangopadhyay, *Aranyer Din Ratri* traces the change a group of friends undergoes as they leave the city behind and come into close contact with the forest and tribal realities. *Aranyer Din Ratri***,** which narrates the saga of four friends' bohemian sojourn in the vernal forests of Palamau in Bihar, is widely regarded as a masterpiece by eminent film critics. Ashim (played by Saumitra Chattopadhyay) Sanjoy (Played by Suvendu Chattopadhyay), Hari (played by Samit Bhanja) and Shekhar (played by Rabi Ghosh) after being frustrated with the hectic city life, embark on an adventurous journey, which echoes the early bohemian days spent by the writer Sunil Gangopadhyay.

The four young men go through a series of experiences that changes them in one way or another. While the vain Ashim (Saumitra Chatterjee) meets a beautiful and educated young lady named Aparna (Sharmila Tagore) who crushes his pride with ruthless subtlety, the easy going and good natured Sanjoy (Subhendu Chatterjee) is faced with a moral dilemma that would make him question his own beliefs. While the shy sportsman Hari (Samit Bhanja) is enamoured by the brimming sexuality of a young tribal girl, good old Shekhar, (Rabi Ghosh, in one of the best performances of his film career) finds himself helping all his friends, despite being fondly considered to be the buffoon of the gang. At the end of the film, as they leave the forest behind and go back to their day to day lives in the city, each of them realizes that the forest has literally held up a mirror to his face and that he is now a changed man, although none of them dares to divulge the same to others.[3]

One of the most common mistakes in studying *AranyerDin Ratri* is to assume that it is a film about four men. Nothing could be farther from the truth. Consider the character of Jaya (played by Kaberi Bose) for instance, who has lost her husband when he committed suicide while travelling abroad-probably

because of a failed extra marital affair. In one of the most tragic scenes in the film, the young Jaya propositions the bright and handsome Sanjay, but when Sanjay hesitates, she giggles nervously and asks"-Why are you so frightened? 'You look like you have seen a ghost! "Only to turn grave and sad the next moment", adding "A ghost indeed! What else do you call a woman when her husbanddies?" Ray exposes the hypocrisies and double standards of society when it comes to the natural state of being a woman.[4]

In another scene, the brash and confident Asim tries to talk his way out of a nasty incident when the conservator of the forest catches them staying at the Forest Bungalow without proper permission. When he fails, and is almost about to be kicked out, it is Aparna who turns out to be the conservator's acquaintance, and who manages the situation with her natural grace and composed presence of mind. The fact that this has hurt Asim's masculine pride does not escape Aparna's attention, and she once again dissolves the tension elegantly by letting Asim win in the famous memory game they play during a picnic.

But perhaps the most beautiful, least discussed and most overlooked scene of the film comes at a Santal village fair, where the chivalrous Asim insists on paying for everything Aparna buys, Aparna quietly let him go ahead and pay. At the end of the day, when Asim asks for her phone number, she writes her number on a currency note and hands it over to Asim saying-"I couldn't find any other scrap of paper. "One of the most influential film critics in America ,Pauline Keele, while writing for *The New Yorker* ,had said-"No artist has done more than Ray to make us re-evaluate the commonplace."-and this one scene of *Aranyer Din Ratri* illustrates that comment beautifully.

Eventually the four friends bump into the voluptuous tribal girl Duli in a rustic liquor shop, and Hari (played by Samit Bhanja), the rogue member of the group, instantly feels attracted to her as she approaches them for an extra drink. The inebriated Duli, from the very beginning, seems to have been devoid of inhibition, as she unhesitatingly asks for *adha-pauwa* (half-quarter) drink from the gentlemen. Ray portrays Duli as a dark-skinned girl with a sharp, pointy nose; her neck and ears are adorned with tribal jewelry; a flower is pinned to her hair rolled into a bun. She is persuasive and adamant. Her inebriated eyes and intoxicating voice trigger lustful fantasies in the minds of men. It is interesting to note that Simi Garewal in real life is a highly sophisticated, English-educated woman with no apparent connection with the tribal community and her metamorphosis into a tribal woman is astounding.

Moreover, Duli becomes a victim of the "male gaze." Laura Mulvey, in her seminal essay "Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema", gives an exposition of the concept called "scopophilla", or the love of looking, which has been the dominant trope in the film-making and film-viewing processes around the globe. Audiences act as voyeurs, who secretly peep into the private lives of the characters in a film and derive pleasure by objectifying them, especially the

women. This act of voyeuristic pleasure has been made possible because of the presence of an invisible fourth wall, that is, the projection screen, which separates the auditorium from the fictional realm of the actors. This gaze is essentially masculine and heterosexual as it desubjectivizes the female characters and converts them into objects of desire. When Duli bends down and sweeps the floors of the bungalow room with her broom, her accentuated curves, her exposed back, create sexual tension in the mind of Hari, and likewise in the minds of the audience.[5]

But what role does Duli play in this film? Doesn't she play the role of a submissive woman who is willing to perform an act of prostitution to fulfill her desire to visit Calcutta? Her position might remind the readers of the condition of Ophelia in William Shakespeare's Hamlet, where she is made to perform the phallic function, where she becomes a mere object of desire and an agent of reproduction in the eyes of Hamlet. This act of reification, from a female subject to a sexual object, also takes place in *Aranyer Din Ratri*, where Duli dawns as a desirable woman in the eyes of the romantically and sexually frustrated Hari, and she becomes the human conduit to vent out his repressed sexual passions, which he might have been harbouring for his estranged girlfriend (played by Aparna Sen). The marginalized position of Duli as an illiterate tribal woman makes her vulnerable to the onslaught of the civilized world represented by Hari. Though the sexual intercourse between Hari and Duli takes place with mutual consent, it cannot be ignored that Hari gains an upper hand in this union, as he colonizes her mind by planting dreams about Calcutta, the city of a dream-fulfilment. Duli, a widow, naively gets carried away by Hari's attention and dreams about an urban escapade, away from her mundane rustic life, while Hari treats her like a sex toy with a limited shelf life.

An article published in *The Hindu by* a special correspondent gives a picture of the sexual predicaments of tribal women in India. Tribal people continue to wallow in misery and are an easy prey to sexual exploitation by lecherous men who approach them with false promises of a happy married life. This is revealed in studies conducted by the Kerala State Women's Commission.

In the film, Duli, the tribal girl acts as a foil to the city-bred characters like Aparna and Jaya (played by Sharmila Tagore and Kaberi Bose respectively). In particular, Jaya, whose insides are teeming with unfulfilled sexual temptations after the unprecedented demise of her husband, tries to seduce Sanjoy (played by Suvendu Chattopadhyay) in the emptiness of her room. Both Jaya and Duli are widows, and they try to titillate the sexual reservoirs of Sanjoy and Hari. Does Ray want to portray the inexorable nature of feminine desire, which stands as an excess and threatens to transgress the patriarchal parameters? The viewers are well aware of the sexual undercurrents between the two urban pairs, but apparently it was easier to get access with the attractive tribal woman who is free and liberated in many senses otherwise.

Eventually, Duli becomes a new woman of the Santhal community, who is liberated from inhibitions and who wishes to adopt modern (or urban?) sensibilities. But can we really ignore the presence of the formidable social protocols, which always try to neutralize female desire? Duli, therefore remained a problematic figure, who is at the same time a foil, a submissive figure, a rebel, a victim of cultural stereotype, and a licentious character. It is not possible to describe her in simple terms, as she is a giant paradox who eludes description.[6]

***Pratidwandi / The Adversary (1970) and Jana Aranya (The Middleman) (1975)***

Satyajit Ray's Calcutta trilogy consists *of Pratidwandi (The Adversary) (1970), Seemabaddha (TheCompany Limited) (1971), and Jana Aranya (The Middleman) (1975)*—all set in Calcutta during the turbulent 70s when India was in the throes of major political upheavals. There was the Bangladesh war; the exodus of refugees; large-scale government repression; and the declaration of a nationwide emergency. When the Naxalites, a Maoist group, called for an armed revolution, Kolkata turned into a city of daily rallies, bomb blasts, and killings.

In *Pratidwandi,* Siddhartha is a young man of twenty-five who gives up his medical studies when his father dies and starts looking for a job, around which the film revolves. Ray turns Siddhartha into a brooding, introspective man with a smoldering vitality that often breaks out in flashes of anger. A deeply troubled man who has a lot of things going on in his head.

Early in the film, we get a sense of Siddhartha's daydreaming and how he falters and often indulges in fantasies to escape reality. Early in the film, we get a sense of this tendency when his gaze falls on a well-endowed woman crossing the street. Whatever libidinal impulses he may feel are quickly disarmed and deflected via a flashback to a class he attended as a medical student. As we see the professor lecture, using a slide of the female breast, we realise how the inhibited Siddhartha refuses to confront the feelings the woman arouses in him, feelings which he has been taught to repress as forbidden.[7]

A more serious challenge is posed by his former classmate, Adinath, when he takes him to meet his female 'friend' without any forewarning that she works as a part-time prostitute.

Sure enough, even before he sets eyes on the woman who will embody his first real encounter with the forbidden, Siddhartha complains of feeling confused. His sense of insecurity on entering a new and alien space is palpable. Inside the big, crumbling house, carved into dismal flats, children play on the landing, shouting, "Ready, steady, go!" But Siddhartha, by that time, is reduced to a state bordering on mental and physical paralysis.[8]

At first, the friendly, smiling woman who welcomes them in seems no different from most middle-class women Siddhartha is familiar with. However, when she speaks in a flirtatious, even mocking tone, the mask begins to slip and his

'nightmare of doubt begins'. While describing her day's work, she wishes her crabby eighty-year old patient would die, her heartless indifference further alerting her from Siddhartha's world. But the most blatant display of her otherness occurs when, open to the men's gaze, she proceeds to take off her clothes. Such an unabashed rejection of middle class propriety is both socially and sexually threatening to Siddhartha.

Still averting his eyes, he somehow manages to provide her with a cigarette (at Adinath's bidding). When he strikes a match and she leans forward towards him, Ray switches to negative mode to underline this moment of extreme dislocation. For Siddhartha, the tentative physical contact is utterly repulsive, as is Adinath's exhortation, "She's all yours, brother" (he had earlier paid her money from his wallet, which Ray had shot in close up). When the latter disappears into the bathroom with the nurse, he stalks out in apparent disgust while the children outside chant, "Ready, steady, go!"[9]

In a way, Siddhartha is a part of Ray's larger critique of the degradation of women in the 70s, forced into prostitution to supplement their meagre income, who sadly become prey for men like Adinath.

More than anyone else in the film, it is Sutapa, Siddhatha's sister, who embodies the new career woman of the 70s. She is good-looking with material ambitions. She is bent on furthering her professional life even if it means reciprocating the sexual advances of her boss. She seems unfazed by the scandal that has rocked her home and deeply upset her mother. In her rejection of middle class morality and the role created for her by her class, she maintains her independence without any regrets for daring to be different.[10]

Ray repeatedly associates her with her dressing table mirror, in which she likes to gaze at herself. There is no apparent guilt or self-effacing modesty about such self-indulgence, which often borders on exhibitionism. We learn that she wishes to be a model and that she is learning to dance—activities which further alienate her from her class but which also display her confidence in her body and sexuality. The more we see her preening before the mirror and lolling on the bed (instead of helping with the housework like a dutiful daughter), the more her pleasure and ego-driven nature become evident within its context of otherness. As Andrew Robinson remarks, "Sutapa is more interested in clothes, make-up, modelling and having a good time than in family prestige."[11]

Since we always see Sutapa in relation to Siddhartha and often from his point of view, she comes to occupy a central place in the discourse on sexuality, which involves him intimately. He evidently takes pleasure in fixing his gaze on her watching herself in the mirror. We see him watching as she arranges her sari, lets down her hair and engages in her exhibitionistic reveries. Ray often overlaps his reflection over hers in the mirror, thus joining together subject and object with regard to the gaze. Such obsessive voyeurism is unsettling and suggests more than brotherly concern for curiosity. In fact, it

comes dangerously close to the forbidden, prurient gaze of a brother towards his sister.

Accordingly, there are a number of correspondences between the scenes featuring Sutapa and Siddharha and those featuring Siddhartha and the nurse-prostitute to establish the analogies he wishes to create. The audience is immediately reminded of Sutapa's narcissistic self-displays when we had discussed the prostitute's own exhibitionism as she loosens her hair before her dressing table mirror, glances at her reflection, and undresses. Both scenes are linked to Siddhartha's point of view because he brings the two women together in his mind.

There is more correspondence. As she poses in front of her mirror while Siddhartha watches, Sutapa speaks of her ambition to be a fashion model, even if it entails wearing a skimpy outfit. Although he pretends to be shocked, we see him fantasise about her as being glamorous and attractive in a brief montage of shots, thus drawing an analogy between his sister as a model paid to display her body and the prostitute in exchange for money.

In Jana Aranya, Somnath lost his mother when he was seven and lives with his retired father, brother, and sister-in-law. Unable to find a job, he ends up in the order-supply business, which serves as the film's central metaphor for transactions involving goods but also people, specifically women. The Bengali equivalent of 'middleman'-Somnath's professional designation is "dalal"-a broker or pimp in English.'

Shortly after the film begins, Somnath is ditched by his girlfriend. At home, his loss is partly made up by Kamala, his sister-in-law and confidant. She is a good listener when he unloads his dreams and frustrations.

One of the key scenes in Jana Aranya features Somath's trip to the slums to visit his old college friend, Sukumar, where he meets his sister Kona, who lives with her parents and siblings. Somnath remembers her as a young girl who waited patiently for days to kill the hornet that had stung her. Now, the adult Kona, in her early twenties, is tough, pragmatic, and ready to do battle with more potent adversaries.

Kona had just finished her bath when Sukumar told her, "Somnath wants to see you." And thus, Kona puts her head around the curtain. As the scene plays out, from Somnath's point of view, we become conscious of an underlying subtext. Kona, in a wet sari, shielded by a thin curtain, puts herself on display before the male gaze at the behest of her brother, turning Somnath into a prospective client who constructs her sexually on the basis of what remains voyeuristic. The moment serves as an initiation into the forbidden.[12]

As Somnath and Sukumar step out of the house, they see a group of men staring at Kona's bedroom. As the camera dollies along the wall to the window, we see her, through the filmsy curtains, in bra and petticoat, changing into a sari. Sukumar rushes in, shuts the window and slaps her while she defends herself by claiming she cannot see who is outside in the dark. Once

again, the tropes of voyeurism and display recur, except the gaze at Kona this time is a collective male gaze.[13]

For much of the second half of the film, we see Somnath's desperate attempt to secure a lucrative contract from Mr. Goenka, the purchasing officer of a cotton mill, who will only oblige him if he supplies him with a woman for the night.

What follows is an induction "into the mysteries of an underworld of sex" as Somnath and Mitter search for the right girl for Goenka, who is waiting in his hotel. In this realm of the forbidden, Somnath meets middle-class women who seem perfectly respectable and who treat their line of work as no different from any legitimate profession. Mrs. Ganguly, the affable housewife, caters to select high-end customers with the full approval of her alcoholic husband. Another woman, a widow, has turned her flat into a brothel, putting her two daughters to work.

The last stop on Somnath and Mitter's quest is also the most sordid, as they end up in a commercial school which doubles at night as a marketplace for call girls. With time running and no suitable woman in sight, Somnath seems doomed to lose his contract when Kona suddenly appears. In the taxi to the hotel, as both avert their eyes from each other, Kona assumes the persona of Juthika and reminds him curtly about that.[14]

When he tries to empower himself by offering to cancel the deal and just give her the money, Juthika sees right through this pitiful attempt to save face. She responds with her street-smart, no-nonsense attitude, reminding him of his original intentions and that his vacillations are childlike. In fact, she repeatedly puts him down, more of a vengeance figure than his imaginary whore, showing him up for what he is.

When he finally gives up, she successfully persuades him to take her to their destination. Later, at the hotel, he tried again, this time offering her more than her due, which she reluctantly accepts. She, too, like Adinath, has become an amoral pragmatist. Ray cuts to a medium close up of Somnath's hand reaching for the doorbell of Goenka's room, which he presses after what seems like an eternity. At that moment, his identity as Dalal, the pimp, is fully confirmed as he supplies Kona to Goenka and secures his contract. Kona asserts herself as the real thing, a whore who is tough and feisty and takes her job seriously because it is linked to her survival in a 'dog eats dog world'. ***Jana Aranya*** ends with Somnath returning home to tell his father the 'good news' of securing his contract.

The two men in two films are exposed as weak, vacillating, sexist, and even pathetic in their encounters with the forbidden hope that lies in their personal progress both as males and individuals. While Siddhartha defines himself through a choice which involves direct action, Somnath, in his hour of defeat, seems to be on the threshold of a new beginning.

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# Pétanque: A Popular Game in Pondicherry

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France, like other European countries wanted to have a share in the profits of Eastern trade and entered into fray for commercial intercourse with India on the marvelous accounts of Marco Polo, the Venetian traveler, who revealed the wealth and opulence of India to the western world. The dependency of France on the Dutch for the procurement of spices and other products arriving from South Asia, was resented by the French Minister Colbert, who founded in 1664, the French East India Company.[1] However, France was nevertheless the last western power to reach the shores of India.

The first French trading post in India was established in 1666 after obtaining a *firman* from Aurangzeb, the Mughal emperor.[2] The availability of best quality of cotton textiles attracted the French company to expand its commerce to the Coromandel Coast which was then, under the king of Golconda. The French company obtained a *firman* from the king of Golconda on December 5, 1669, and established a factory at Masulipatnam and later confirmed by Aurangzeb.[3] Caron, who was the Chief of Surat, sent Goujon, a member of the Surat Council and Francois Martin to Masulipatnam, where they arrived on August 7, 1670 to explore the feasibility of finding a settlement.[4] Soon, they received a communication from Sherkhan Lodi, the Bijapur Commandant of Valikondapuram (near Perambalur in Trichy district) inviting the French to open a trading centre at Pondicherry. Sherkhan Lodi's intention was to provide support to the handloom textile industry in this area by offering competition to the Dutch who were well established in Parangipettai (Porto Novo) and Cuddalore.[5] A French mission was dispatched in September 1670 and after a thorough exploration of the coast, the mission selected Pondicherry for its settlement. On February 4, 1673, Bellanger de l'Espinay, a French lieutenant set foot first on the soil of Pondicherry, to establish a loge.[6]

When Bellanger left for France, his assistant Francois Martin remained at Pondicherry and based on the letter issued by Sherkhan Lodi in April 1674, he built up the French factory at Pondicherry, and became the first Governor of that factory on the Coromandel Coast.[7] Later, Pondicherry was bought by Francoise Martin in 1683 from Sherkhan Lodi. In 1701, Pondicherry became the headquarters of the French possessions in India replacing Surat.[8] Chandranagore was granted to the French by Aurangzeb in 1688.[9] In order to buy pepper for domestic consumption, which was extremely costly in Europe at that time, the French established themselves at Mahe in north Malabar with permission of the local Hindu Prince of Badagara in 1725.[10] On February 4, 1739, with the aid of Chanda Shaib, Nawab of Carnatic, the French took

possession of Karaikal in the Tamil country.[11] Later, it was confirmed by Pratap Singh, the then ruler of Tanjore. The French acquired Yanam in the East Godavari district of Andhra Pradesh in 1752 from Musafar Jung, the Nizam of Hyderabad.[12] A Sovereign Council was set up at Pondicherry by an Edict of February 1701 for the purpose of administration.

In the time span of 142 years (1674-1816), the French lost Pondicherry to the rivals five times, once to the Dutch (1693-1699) and four times to the British (1738, 1760, 1778 and 1793). After the Napoleonic wars, Pondicherry was restored to the French by the Treaty of Paris signed with the British on November 20, 1815, under the condition that the French Government would not raise any fortification in the establishments. The undisturbed French rule over Pondicherry began from the end of 1816 and continued for 138 years. The French presence in India, though devoid of any political significance, was marked with some important administrative changes and social and economic advancements.

When India became free on August 15, 1947, the people of Pondicherry sought freedom from the French rule in order to become an integral part of India by hauling down the French flag in all Municipalities and hoisting their National Flag.[13] A two-day people's convention held in January 1948, called upon the people to be ready to shed blood, if necessary.[14] A complete hartal was observed in Pondicherry. In the meantime, Chandranagore was the first of the France's five Indian possessions to break away by a referendum in 1949 and merge with the Indian state, West Bengal.[15]

On October 18, 1954, the Municipal Councillors and the members of the Assembly of Representatives gave their verdict in favour of merger with the Indian Union.[16] The agreement for the *de facto* transfer of the four remaining French establishments to the Indian Union was signed in New Delhi on October 21, 1954, which came into effect on November 1, 1954.[17] A treaty for the *de jure* transfer was formally signed on May 28, 1956 (Treaty of Cession) and ratified by the French Parliament in July 1962 and came into effect on August 16, 1962.[18]

On December 28, 1962, Fourteenth Amendment to the Indian Constitution was enacted under which Pondicherry, Karaikal, Mahe and Yanam were constituted as the Union Territory of Pondicherry. For the administration of the territory, Parliament enacted the Pondicherry Administration Act, 1962.[19] The peoples' aspirations were met with an elected legislature and Council of Ministers.[20]

The game of *boules* is truly Provencal, and typifies the easy life in the warm sun with the smell of lavender and the sounds of clanking balls and glasses of pastis and the chatter of friends. Our photo shows a group of young friends playing pétanque in front of the medieval walls of Venasque. Boules is a general name for the game of *Pétanque* and its predeceders *longue*, *butaban* and *roulette*, which themselves evolved from *mail* (pinball) and *quilles*

(skittles).

While pétanque was once a masculine sport, it's now practiced by all, male and female, young and old, rich and poor. Pétanque is also an everyman's sport: no uniforms, no special equipment, no expensive supporting teams or mechanics or engineers required. Little kids can get heavy plastic boules at the grocerie store before going on vacation. In the village of St. Paul de Vence, the famous French movie actors Lino Ventura and the late Yves Montand regularly played pétanque in the main square in front of the café, amidst tourists and friends.

**The Game**

In *pétanque*, a little wooden ball (the cochonnet) is thrown out as a target, at a distance of 6 to 10 meters. The players, with three boules each and divided into two teams, then take turns throwing their heavy iron boules to land as close as possible to the cochonnet. The boules are polished steel, and each set of three is engraved with a pattern of concentric circles or squares for identification.

A player from one team throws first, and then a player from the second team. After that, a player from the team that does not have the closest boule to the cochonnet throws. When all boules have been thrown, the team with the closest boule gets a point for every one of their boules closer to the cochonnet than the closest of the opposing team.

Comparing distances of closely matched boules is done with everything from long broken sticks or a string to a purpose-built measuring tape. When the round is over the boules are picked up, with a strong magnet on the end of a cord for those to infirm or lazy to bend over, and polished clean of dust for the next round. A throwing line is drawn in the dirt and the cochonnet is thrown out again, often back in the opposite direction, for the next round. The team aquiring thirteen points first wins.

Throwing is always done with careful concentration and great style. One usually leans forward to study the terrain, then squat down slowly, the boule held down at the side with palm and fingers facing aft. Then the boule is launched in a backhand throw to arc up and land close to the cochonnet. The player can point, try to drop the boule as close as possible to the cochonnet, or tirer, knock an opponent's boule away. When the boule knocks another far away while remaining itself beside the cochonnet, cheering is usually reserved for the next player will probably undo that fine result.

**Some Provencal History**

The variations of *boules* (*longue*, *butaban* and *roulette*) were very popular in Provence during the 18th century. *Longue* developed into the difinitive game in the early 19th century, when the boules were made of box wood sheathed in nails. The game was so popular, and the boules so dangerous, that many bystanders complained of injuries, that it forbidden to play in the more public areas. That hardly slowed the playing, however, as *boules* continued at cafés and in gardens (guinguettes).

In France in the second half of the 19th century a form of boules known as *jeu*

*provençal* (or *boule lyonnaise*) was extremely popular. In this form of the game players rolled their boules or ran three steps before throwing a boule. Pétanque originally developed as an offshoot or variant of *jeu provençal* in 1910, in what is now called the *Jules Lenoir Boulodrome* in the town of La Ciotat near Marseilles. A former *jeu provençal* player named Jules Lenoir was afflicted by rheumatism so severe that he could no longer run before throwing a boule. In fact, he could barely stand. A good friend named Ernest Pitiot was a local café owner. In order to accommodate his friend Lenoir, Pitiot developed a variant form of the game in which the length of the pitch or field was reduced by roughly half, and a player, instead of running to throw a boule, stood, stationary, in a circle. They called the game *pieds tanqués*, "feet planted" (on the ground), a name that eventually evolved into the game's current name, *pétanque* [21]The first pétanque tournament was organized by Ernest Pitiot, along with his brother Joseph Pitiot, in 1910 in La Ciotat. After that the game spread quickly and soon became the most popular form of boules in France.

Before the mid-1800s, European boules games were played with solid wooden balls, usually made from boxwood root, a very hard wood. The late 1800s saw the introduction of cheap mass-manufactured nails, and wooden boules gradually began to be covered with nails, producing *boules cloutées* ("nailed boules"). After World War I, cannonball manufacturing technology was adapted to allow the manufacture of hollow, all-metal boules. The first all-metal boule, *la Boule Intégrale*, was introduced in the mid-1920s by Paul Courtieu. The *Intégrale* was cast in a single piece from a bronze-aluminum alloy. Shortly thereafter Jean Blanc invented a process of manufacturing steel boules by stamping two steel blanks into hemispheres and then welding the two hemispheres together to create a boule. With this technological advance, hollow all-metal balls rapidly became the norm[22]

After the development of the all-metal boule, pétanque spread rapidly from Provence to the rest of France, then to the rest of Europe, and then to Francophone colonies and countries around the globe. Today, many countries have their own national governing bodies.

In France, the *Fédération Française de Pétanque et Jeu Provençal* (FFPJP) has more than 300,000 licensed members. There are strong national federations in Germany, Spain, and England. Petanque is actively played in many nations with histories of French colonial influence, especially in Southeast Asia, including Laos, Thailand, Vietnam, Cambodia and Puducherry, India, as well as some parts of Africa. Today, some of the strongest players in the world come from Madagascar and Thailand. Pétanque was featured at the 2015 All-Africa Games, which were hosted by the Republic of Congo, a former French colony.23

Petanque is not widely played in the Americas. There is a Canadian petanque federation based in Québec. In the United States the Federation of Petanque

USA (FPUSA) reports that about 30,000 play nationwide. As of December 1, 2015, FPUSA counted 2141 members in the US, in 52 affiliated clubs. 24

***Playing the game***

**Equipment**

Pétanque is played by two teams, where each team consists of one, two, or three players. In the singles and doubles games each player plays with three metal boules. In triples each player uses only two.

The area where a pétanque game is played is called a *terrain*. A game can be played in an open area like a public park, where the boundaries of the terrain are not marked, or more formally on a "marked terrain" where the terrain boundaries are marked (traditionally, by strings tightly strung between nails driven into the ground).

Pétanque player throwing from a prefabricated circle in pétanque, players throw while standing in a circle. Traditionally, the circle was simply scratched in the dirt. Starting around 2005, red plastic "prefabricated" circles were introduced and are now widely used in formal games. A circle drawn on the ground must be 35–50 cm in diameter, while a plastic circle must have an inside diameter of 50 cm.

**The "ends"**

A game consists of several *mènes*. The French word *mène* is usually translated into English as "end" or "round". An end consists of the throwing out of the jack (the little wooden target ball), followed by the two teams throwing their boules.

After both teams have thrown all of their boules, the team with the boule closest to the jack wins the end. The winning team scores one point for each of its boules that is closer than the opposing team's closest boule. That means that the winning team could in theory score as many as six points in an end, although a score of one or two points is more typical. As the game progresses, each team accumulates points until one of the teams reaches 13, the winning number of points.

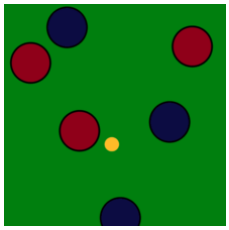
**Order of play**

A game begins with a coin toss to determine which team plays first. The team that wins the toss begins the game by placing the circle, then standing in the circle and throwing the jack to a distance of 6-10m. A player from the team that threw the jack, throws the first boule. Then a player from the opposing team throws a boule. From that point on, the team with the boule that is closest to the jack is said to "have the point". The team that does not have the point, throws the next boule. That team continues to throw boules until it either gains the point, or runs out of boules.

If at any point the closest boules from each team are equidistant from the jack, then the team that threw the last boule throws again. If the boules are still equidistant then the teams play alternately until the tie is broken. If the boules are still equidistant at the end of the *mène* then neither team scores any points.

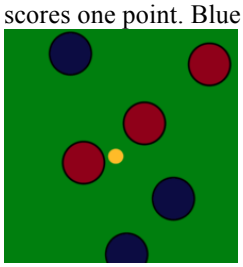
The team that won the end, starts the next end. A player from the winning team places (or draws) a circle around the jack. He/she then picks up the jack, stands in the circle, and throws the jack to start the next end.

➢



**Scoring**

Team Red has the boule closest to the jack, but the second-closest boule belongs to Team Blue. Red scores one point. Blue scores nothing.



Team Red has two boules closer than Team Blue's closest boule. Red scores two points. Blue scores nothing.

An end is complete when both teams have played all of their boules, or when the jack is knocked out of play (goes "dead"). If the end finishes in the usual way—with the jack still alive and one team with the closest boule—then the team with the closest boule wins the end and scores one point for each of its boules that is closer to the jack than other team's closest boule.

If the jack is alive but there is an "equidistant boules" situation at the end of the mène, then neither team scores any points. If the jack is dead at the finish of the end, then if one (and only one) team still has boules left to play, that team scores one point for each boule that it still has in hand. Otherwise neither team scores any points in the end (like an inning in baseball in which neither team scores any runs).

**Miscellaneous rules**

- Boules can be thrown in any way that the player wishes, but the traditional way is to hold the boule with the palm of the hand downwards, and then to throw with an under-arm swing of the arm ending in an upward flick of the wrist. Throwing this way puts backspin on the boule and gives the player the maximum amount control and flexibility when throwing.
- The boule can be rolled, thrown to a moderate height, or even thrown to a great height (a high lob or *portée*).

- Players usually carry a tape measure for measuring close points.
- At the beginning of an end, before throwing the jack, if there isn't enough room for the player to throw the jack to the maximum legal distance of 10 meters, then the player is allowed to move the circle back to a point where there *is* enough room.
- On a terrain with boundaries marked with strings, a boule or jack must *completely* cross the boundary string before it is considered to be out-of-bounds and dead.

***Equipment specifications***



Jack (*cochonnet*) and boule

**Boules**

**Leisure boules** are boules that do not meet the FIPJP standards for competition boules, but are less expensive than competition boules and completely adequate for "backyard" games. Unlike competition boules, leisure boules are a "one size fits all" affair — they come in one weight and size.

**Competition boules** must meet specifications set by the FIPJP. They must be hollow and made of metal (usually steel) with a diameter between 70.5 and 80mm and a weight between 650 and 800 g. When purchasing competition boules, a purchaser has a choice of a number of characteristics of the boules, including the size, weight, and hardness of the boules, as well as the striations (patterned grooves on the surface of the boules).

**Jack**

The jack is a small ball made of wood, usually boxwood or beechwood. Modern regulations require the jack to be 30mm in diameter (+/- 1mm). In the past jacks were often left "natural"—unfinished or with a clear finish—but nowadays they are often painted in bright colors. In recent years the FIPJP began authorizing the manufacture of non-wooden "synthetic" or "resin" jacks, but many national organizations (including the FPUSA) forbid the use of synthetic jacks for safety reasons.

**Playing Area**

Pétanque can be played on almost any flat, open space. The ground may be irregular and interrupted by trees or rocks, and the surface is likely to be

uneven, with some areas hard and smooth and other areas rough and stony. When an area is constructed specifically for the purposes of playing petanque, the playing surface is typically loose gravel, decomposed granite, brick grog or crushed sea shell. Sandy beaches are not suitable, although light plastic boules are sometimes used to adapt the game for the beach. There is no requirement for backboards or sideboards (as in bocce), but dedicated playing areas are often enclosed in boards or some other structural barrier.

In France, village squares and park pathways are often used as pétanque playing areas. In addition, many towns have recreational facilities (*boulodromes*) constructed especially for playing pétanque. An area where a single pétanque game is played is called a *terrain*. A *playing area* is an area where one or more petanque games are being played. At any given time, a *playing area* may be hosting one or more *terrains*.

For tournaments, a large playing area is subdivided and marked off (typically using nails and string) into rectangular *marked terrains* (also known as "lanes" (*cadres*) or "pistes") so that multiple games may be carried on simultaneously. For tournament play, a marked terrain is a rectangle at least 4 meters wide and 15 meters long.

In the United States, proponents of pétanque such as author Byron Putman often urge the use of non-dedicated public terrains – public walking paths, playground areas, dirt/gravel parking lots, and baseball infields as terrains.

**Strategy**

**Pointing and shooting**

Generally speaking, a player throws a boule with one of two objectives.

- To make his boule come to rest in a particular spot, usually as close as possible to the jack. This is called *pointing*.
- To make his boule directly hit an opponent's boule with the goal of knocking it away from the jack. This is called *shooting*.

The best throw of all is called a *carreau*. It is a shot that knocks away the opponent's boule, leaving the thrown boule exactly in its place.

Players who are skillful enough to shoot effectively are called *shooters*; players who usually point are called *pointers*. (The French terms are *tireur* and *pointeur*, respectively) As a matter of strategy, pointers play first and shooters are held in reserve in case the opponents place well. Good pointing is what scores points, but national and international championships are usually dominated by skillful shooters, who target any opposing boule that comes close to scoring.

**Throwing a boule**

Some strategic considerations involved in the throw of a boule include:

- Traditionally, a fundamental rule of petanque is *boule devant, boule d'argent* ("A ball in front is a money ball."). A boule located in front of the jack is much more valuable than one behind the jack. A boule in front blocks the opposing team from

easy access to the jack, and it may also (intentionally or accidentally) be hit and pushed closer to the jack.

- As a pointer, if you point a boule *very* close to the jack, you force the opposing shooter to shoot it immediately. That may be a bad thing if you really wanted to keep that boule. Or it may be a good thing if you're trying to force the opposing shooter to exhaust his supply of boules.
- Generally speaking, it is a bad idea to shoot with your team's last boule. In most cases, the better strategy is to "limit the damage" by pointing your team's last boule close enough to the jack to limit the opposing team to winning only one point.

### Throwing the jack

Strategic considerations involved in the throw of the jack include:

- Throw the jack to a distance at which your own shooter is most comfortable, or the opposing shooter is least comfortable.
- Aim for a location on the terrain that your own pointers favor, or that might be difficult for the opposing team's pointers.
- Disorient the opposing team by refusing to get in a rut. At each opportunity, throw the jack to a new position on the terrain, and alternate long and short distances.

### Glossary of special terms

- **to have the point**
  A team is said to "have the point" if one of its boules is closer to the jack than any of the opposing team's boules. A team that has the point is basically in a winning position, so the team that does NOT have the point throws the next boule and attempts to gain the point.
- **boule devant, boule d'argent**
  Roughly "A ball in front is a money ball". This maxim reminds players that when pointing, the most valuable place for a boule is in front of the jack. In that location, it prevents opponents from throwing directly toward the jack, and hitting it will push it even closer to the jack.
- **to point**
  To throw one's boule with the intent of stopping near the jack (also known as placing).
- **to shoot**
  To throw one's boule at an opponent's boule (or at the jack) in an attempt to knock it out of play. When the opposing team has a boule positioned very close to the jack, often the best strategy is to attempt to shoot it. A team in a desperate situation may attempt to save itself by shooting the jack out of bounds.
- **to lob**
  (French: *une portée*) To throw one's boule in a high arc so that when it lands it only rolls minimally. Video: Marco Foyot demonstrates the high lob.
- **carreau**
  (pronounced *care-ROW*). A shot that knocks an opposing boule away from the jack and replaces it (in very nearly the same spot) with the thrower's own boule.

Basically, the perfect shot. Video: Diego Rizzi demonstrates a perfect carreau.

- **to fanny** (mettre fanny in French)
  To win a game without the opposing team scoring any points; a shutout game. When a player loses 13 to 0, he is said to *fanny* ("*il est fanny*", he's fanny, or "*il a fait fanny*", he made fanny) and must kiss the bottom of a girl named Fanny. Virtually everywhere in Provence where pétanque is played, you will find a picture, woodcarving, or pottery figure of a bare-bottomed lass named Fanny. Often, the team that made "fanny" has to buy a round of drinks for the winning team ("*Fanny paie à boire!*", "the fanny pays for the drinks!").

On the international level, the governing body of petanque is the *Fédération Internationale de Pétanque et Jeu Provençal* (FIPJP). It was founded in 1958 in Marseille and has about 600,000 members in 52 countries as of 2002.

**National and International Competitions**

There are a number of important world championship tournaments.

The FIPJP world championships take place every two years. Men's championships are held in even-numbered years, while Women's and Youth championships are held in odd-numbered years.25

Perhaps the best-known international championship is the *Mondial la Marseillaise de pétanque*, which takes place every year in Marseille, France, with more than 10,000 participants and more than 150,000 spectators. 26

The largest annual tournament in the United States is the Petanque America Open, held in November at Amelia Island, Florida.27

Pétanque is not currently an Olympic sport, although the Confédération Mondiale des Sports de Boules which was created in 1985 by several international boules organizations specifically for this purpose has been lobbying the Olympic committee since 1985 to make it part of the summer Olympics.28

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# Politicization of Caste and Identity Politics in the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century Madras Presidency

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**Abstract**

The late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries marked a decisive phase in the evolution of caste as a political category in colonial South India. Within the Madras Presidency, particularly the Telugu-speaking regions, caste associations emerged as influential vehicles of social mobility, economic advancement and political representation. This paper examines the politicization of caste and the rise of identity politics during this formative period, exploring how dominant and upwardly mobile communities such as the Reddys, Kammas and Velamas negotiated their position within the British administrative framework. Drawing upon historical evidence and scholarship by Nicholas Dirks, M.N. Srinivas, Christophe Jaffrelot, Gail Omvedt, Susan Bayly and others, the study situates Andhra's caste mobilizations within a broader national context. It argues that caste-based organization in colonial South India represented both an instrument of empowerment and a mechanism of exclusion, consolidating the privileges of dominant castes while marginalizing Dalits and lower groups. The legacy of these mobilizations continues to shape India's contemporary caste politics, highlighting the enduring interplay between colonial structures, caste identity and democratic representation.

**Keywords**: Caste associations, Madras Presidency, colonial India, identity politics, Dalits, social reform, nationalism.

## Introduction

Caste has long been one of the most defining features of Indian society, structuring social hierarchies, access to resources and modes of political participation. During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, caste underwent a profound transformation from a primarily social institution to a political and organizational identity. Nowhere was this transformation more evident than in the Madras Presidency, a vast administrative unit of British India that encompassed diverse linguistic and cultural regions, including present-day Andhra Pradesh, Tamil Nadu and parts of Karnataka and Kerala.

The intersection of colonial administration, Western education and economic modernization created new opportunities for social mobility among certain castes. In the Telugu-speaking districts, emerging associations such as the Reddy Sangham, KammaMahajana Sabha and Velama Association became

focal points of collective action and identity consolidation (Reddy 2014, 121). These caste organizations mirrored broader trends in South India, where the rise of non-Brahmin movements and reformist societies redefined the relationship between caste, community and political power.

This paper explores the evolution of caste politicization in this historical context. It begins by examining the emergence of caste associations and their socio-economic objectives. It then analyzes their interaction with colonial policies, the influence of social reform movements, and the contradictions inherent in caste-based mobilization. Finally, it discusses the long-term impact of these developments on identity politics in modern India, situating them within a comparative framework of caste transformation across South Asia.

**Colonial Modernity and the Emergence of Caste Associations**

The British colonial state's administrative and economic policies played a critical role in shaping caste consciousness. As Nicholas Dirks (2001) argues, the colonial census, land revenue systems and ethnographic classifications transformed caste from a fluid social order into a rigid bureaucratic category. The enumeration and codification of caste through census operations in the late nineteenth century fostered the emergence of caste-based organizations that sought to leverage their newly defined identities for social and political gain.

In colonial Andhra, dominant agrarian communities such as the Reddys, Kammas and Velamas capitalized on these developments. They established formal associations aimed at promoting education, economic advancement and political representation (Sharma 2017, 89). The Reddy Sangham, for instance, prioritized investment in education—founding schools, providing scholarships, and building hostels, to ensure access to professional and bureaucratic employment (Reddy 2014, 121). Similarly, the Kamma Mahajana Sabha focused on agrarian development, cooperative irrigation and community welfare. These associations served as modern instruments of caste cohesion, combining traditional solidarity with new forms of organizational modernity.

The British Ryotwari and Zamindari systems further entrenched caste-based inequalities. While these policies were designed to create loyal landowning classes, they disproportionately benefited upper and middle-ranking agrarian castes, consolidating their control over land and irrigation (Washbrook 1976, 91). Caste associations exploited these opportunities by lobbying for favorable land policies and administrative appointments. As André Béteille (1992, 120) observes, such groups became "mediating institutions" between the colonial state and the indigenous population, negotiating both privilege and representation.

However, the inclusivity of these associations was limited. While they promoted the rhetoric of social upliftment, their benefits were largely restricted to wealthier members of the same caste. The internal stratification within these

groups mirrored the hierarchical tendencies of caste itself, revealing an enduring contradiction between social reform and exclusionary practice (Bayly 1999, 210).

**Caste, Reform and the Colonial Public Sphere**

The late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries also witnessed the proliferation of reform movements such as the BrahmoSamaj, Arya Samaj and Theosophical Society. These movements, while ostensibly advocating for equality and moral regeneration, often reinforced caste as a unit of social organization rather than dismantling it.

The Arya Samaj's *shuddhi* (purification) campaigns sought to reconvert lower castes to Hinduism, emphasizing notions of ritual purity that paradoxically reinforced caste boundaries (Sastry 2012, 60). Similarly, the Brahmo Samaj's reformist ideals appealed primarily to educated upper-caste elites, limiting their transformative potential (Iyer 2015, 66). In the Telugu-speaking regions, such movements inspired caste associations to adopt progressive rhetoric, especially around education and moral reform, while maintaining internal hierarchies.

M.N. Srinivas's (1956) concept of "Sanskritization" is useful here. The tendency of upwardly mobile groups to adopt upper-caste customs and symbols in pursuit of social mobility was evident in Andhra's caste associations. These groups embraced education, philanthropy, and religious reform not to challenge caste hierarchy but to ascend within it. As a result, social reform became intertwined with status competition, transforming caste from a ritual hierarchy into a modern political constituency.

At the same time, Christian missionary activity introduced alternative models of social equality. Missionary schools provided education to Dalits and marginalized groups, challenging Brahmanical dominance and contributing to the emergence of new forms of caste consciousness (Rauschenbusch-Clough 1899, 47). Yet, as Dirks (2001, 223) notes, even missionary efforts operated within a colonial framework that was itself hierarchical and paternalistic.

Thus, the colonial public sphere became a site of complex negotiation, where caste was simultaneously contested, redefined, and institutionalized through reform, education and bureaucratic engagement.

**Contradictions in Caste Mobilization**

Caste associations in colonial Andhra were paradoxical entities. On the one hand, they represented efforts at collective advancement and self-determination. On the other, they perpetuated exclusion and reinforced social boundaries. Their internal contradictions reveal how modernization and reform often reproduced traditional hierarchies in new forms.

The Reddy and Kamma associations, for example, championed education and welfare but directed their resources primarily toward their elite segments. The poorer members of these castes, as well as Dalits and backward castes, rarely benefited (Sharma 2017, 89; Rao 2010, 152). Their selective inclusivity

transformed these associations into instruments of intra-caste consolidation rather than agents of social equality.

Furthermore, caste associations often opposed affirmative policies favoring marginalized communities. When the British administration introduced limited forms of representation, dominant castes lobbied to secure these seats for their own members, arguing that caste identity was synonymous with regional leadership (Washbrook 1976, 45). This pattern of self-interest foreshadowed the "vote-bank politics" that would later characterize post-independence democracy (Chandra 2004, 112).

The contradictions of caste mobilization underscore what Nicholas Dirks (2001, 97) terms the "colonial invention of tradition." Caste, far from being a relic of pre-colonial society, became a modern political construct shaped by census enumeration, administrative categorization and institutional representation. The colonial state, in seeking to govern through classification, inadvertently transformed caste into a political resource, a process that still defines Indian social life.

**Anti-Caste and Social Reform Movements**

Against the backdrop of dominant-caste mobilization, anti-caste movements emerged as radical critiques of Brahmanical and colonial hierarchies. The Bhakti and Lingayat traditions had long provided ideological precedents for such resistance, emphasizing spiritual equality and rejecting priestly authority. In the Telugu-speaking regions, poet-saints like Vemana used vernacular language to denounce caste hypocrisy and affirm the dignity of labor (Ramaswamy 1997, 218).

During the colonial period, these spiritual traditions merged with secular reformism and rationalist critique. The Self-Respect Movement, founded by E.V. Ramasamy (Periyar) in 1925, was one of the most significant expressions of this trend. Periyar's call for rationalism, gender equality and caste abolition resonated beyond Tamil Nadu, influencing backward caste and Dalit activists in Andhra (Geetha and Rajadurai 1998, 113). His critique of religion as an instrument of social control complemented Ambedkar's structural analysis of caste as an economic and political system of oppression (Ambedkar 1936, 23).

Christian missionary education also provided new spaces for Dalit assertion. As Susan Bayly (1999, 154) and Omvedt (1994, 112) observe, conversion to Christianity allowed many marginalized groups to escape the stigma of untouchability, though it also invited new forms of social hostility.

These anti-caste movements, though diverse in form, shared a commitment to dismantling caste hierarchies and redefining social identity beyond birth-based distinctions. Yet their influence on dominant caste associations remained limited. While reformist discourse circulated widely, it was often appropriated by elite groups to legitimize their own rise rather than promote egalitarianism.

**Caste and Nationalist Politics**

The relationship between caste and nationalism in the Madras Presidency

illustrates another layer of complexity. While the Indian National Congress sought to forge a unified anti-colonial front, it often neglected caste as a structural issue. As Christophe Jaffrelot (2005, 34) notes, the nationalist movement prioritized political sovereignty over social equality, leading to the marginalization of Dalit concerns.

Leaders such as B.R. Ambedkar, Jyotirao Phule, and E.V. Ramasamy Periyar challenged this omission. Ambedkar's demand for separate electorates for the Depressed Classes during the Round Table Conferences (1931–32) and his subsequent confrontation with Gandhi over the Poona Pact revealed the ideological tensions within nationalist politics (Omvedt 1994, 137). While Gandhi's notion of Hindu unity sought to integrate Dalits as *Harijans* within the Hindu fold, Ambedkar viewed caste abolition as incompatible with Hinduism itself (Ambedkar 1936, 56).

In the Madras Presidency, the Justice Party (founded 1916) and the later Self-Respect Movement gave institutional expression to non-Brahmin assertion. Their advocacy for education, representation, and affirmative action prefigured the post-independence reservation system (Rudolph and Rudolph 1984, 143). These movements demonstrated that caste, far from being a vestige of the past, had become a dynamic force in modern political mobilization.

The contradictions between the Congress's nationalist inclusivism and the Justice Party's caste-based politics reveal two competing visions of Indian modernity: one premised on abstract unity and another grounded in social justice. This dialectic continues to shape India's political discourse to the present day.

**Long-Term Legacies and Contemporary Relevance**

The politicization of caste in colonial South India had far-reaching consequences for postcolonial democracy. The structures of representation and mobilization established by caste associations and reform movements evolved into the organizational foundations of modern Indian politics.

The reservation system, shaped by Ambedkar's advocacy, institutionalized caste as a key determinant of state policy (Jaffrelot 2003, 112). The subsequent extension of affirmative action to Other Backward Classes through the Mandal Commission (1980) further expanded the scope of caste-based representation (Chandra 2004, 76). At the same time, dominant agrarian castes, such as the Reddys and Kammas in Andhra, continued to exercise disproportionate political influence, as evidenced by their leadership in regional parties like the Telugu Desam Party (TDP) (Chakrabarti 2005, 75).

As sociologist Gail Omvedt (1994, 145) argues, the persistence of caste in democratic politics illustrates both the success and failure of India's social justice project. While caste has become a means of empowerment for marginalized groups, it has also entrenched identity-based divisions. Jaffrelot (2010, 94) similarly notes that caste-based political mobilization has transformed Indian democracy into a system of "ethnicization of

representation," where social identities serve as the basis for political negotiation.

Thus, the colonial origins of caste politicization continue to echo in contemporary India. The structures of organization, representation and identity that emerged in the Madras Presidency provided the template for modern caste politics, simultaneously enabling empowerment and perpetuating hierarchy.

**Conclusion**

The late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries witnessed the transformation of caste from a social hierarchy into a political identity. In the Madras Presidency, particularly in the Telugu-speaking regions, caste associations emerged as powerful agents of modernization and self-assertion. They engaged with colonial structures, reform movements and nationalist politics to redefine the contours of social power.

However, this process was fraught with contradictions. The same institutions that advanced education and representation for dominant castes also reinforced exclusion and inequality. Anti-caste movements, from Vemana's Bhakti poetry to Ambedkar's radical politics, sought to dismantle this system, yet caste remained deeply embedded in India's political fabric.

The politicization of caste in colonial South India thus represents both a story of empowerment and an enduring challenge. As India continues to grapple with caste-based inequalities in the twenty-first century, revisiting these historical trajectories is essential. Understanding how colonial policies, caste associations and reform movements intertwined allows us to see caste not as a relic of tradition, but as a modern and evolving force that continues to shape Indian democracy.

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# Muslims of Hyderabad Old City: From Mainstream to Margins

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**Abstract**

The socio-economic and political position of Muslims in Hyderabad has undergone a significant transformation from the late Nizam period to the present day. During the rule of the Asaf Jahi dynasty, Hyderabad emerged as a major centre of Islamic culture, education, administration and commerce, where Muslims occupied prominent positions in governance, public institutions and urban life. The integration of the Hyderabad State into the Indian Union in 1948 marked a turning point, leading to substantial political, administrative and economic changes that reshaped the community's position. Over subsequent decades, factors such as the loss of traditional employment, uneven access to modern education, urban poverty, limited representation in public services and changing patterns of economic development contributed to the relative marginalization of many sections of the Muslim population. While a section of the community has continued to achieve progress in business, higher education and the professions, a considerable proportion continues to face challenges related to education, employment, housing and social mobility. This paper examines the historical processes that have influenced these changes and analyses the contemporary socio-economic conditions of Muslims in Hyderabad using historical records, government reports and scholarly literature. It argues that understanding this transition is essential for developing evidence-based policies that promote social inclusion, equal opportunities and inclusive urban development while preserving Hyderabad's pluralistic cultural heritage.

**Keywords**: Muslims, Nizam's Dominions, Ghettoization, Stratification

## Introduction

Hyderabad city, the capital of Telangana State, has the largest single concentration of Muslims as compared to any other city in India. The city is more than 400 years old and is noted for its many mosques, temples, minarets, bazaars and beautiful landscape. Hyderabad's roots are linked with Golconda, the famous medieval town from where, diamonds including the well known 'Kohinoor' were put out to the world markets. Golconda was a fortress of the Hindu rulers of the Kakatiya Dynasty in the medieval times, before Sultan Quli Qutb Mulk, the founder of the Qutb Shahi dynasty made it the capital of his Government, under the Bahamani rulers of the Deccan in 1496 AD.

During the rule of Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah (1580-1611) Hyderabad city was founded in 1591 by on the Musi River five miles east of Golconda. In the 16th century, the city grew spontaneously to accommodate the surplus population of Golconda, which was the capital of the Qutb Shahi rulers. Golconda's fame, strategic location and legendary wealth attracted Aurangazeb (the Mughal Emperor) and invaded it after a long seize in 1687. In that year, the Golconda sultanate was merged with the Mughal Empire. It became a part of the Deccan Subah and a Subedar was appointed as an agent of the Mughal emperor. The city of Hyderabad became a part of Deccan Subah of Mughal Empire.

As the Moghul Empire decayed and began to disintegrate, the viceroy of Deccan, Mir Qamaruddin, who was given the title of Nizam ul Mulk Asaf Jah by the Mughal Emperor, asserted his independence in 1724 and established the Asaf Jahi dynasty.[1] Thus began the Asaf Jahi rule over Golconda with the capital at Aurangabad, which had been founded by the Mughal rulers as the capital of Deccan Subah. It was during the rule of Nizam Ali Khan Asaf Jah II that the capital was shifted from Aurangabad to Hyderabad in 1769 reviving the importance of the city. During the next 224 years of Asaf Jahi dynasty's rule at Hyderabad gained its glory.

**British Control over Hyderabad State**: After the death of Nizam I in 1748, the period 1748–1761 was of intrigues among his aspiring sons to the throne and rivalries between the French and British in the state. British influence over Hyderabad began in the late eighteenth century when Nizam Ali Khan (Nizam II) ascended the throne with British support in 1762.[2] Through a series of treaties, especially the Subsidiary Alliance of 1798 and the Treaty of 1800, Hyderabad gradually lost its sovereignty and became a protected state under the East India Company. Although the Nizams retained internal authority, British control over foreign affairs and military matters steadily increased.3 The Nizams remained loyal allies of the British, particularly during the World Wars, receiving titles and privileges in return.

During the Indian freedom movement, the Nizam opposed integration with independent India and suppressed nationalist activities, restricting the Hyderabad State Congress and other democratic movements. Simultaneously, religiously oriented political organizations such as the Majlis-e-Ittehad-ul-Muslimeen and the Arya Samaj emerged, strengthening communal identities and political mobilization. The rise of the Razakars under Kasim Razvi further intensified communal violence and resistance to Hyderabad's accession to India.

Following the failure of negotiations and increasing lawlessness, the Government of India launched Operation Polo (Police Action) in September 1948. Hyderabad surrendered within five days and was integrated into the Indian Union. The Nizam was retained as Raj Pramukh until the reorganization of states in 1956, when Hyderabad State was divided on linguistic lines and Hyderabad became the capital of Andhra Pradesh, currently Telangana State. These political developments profoundly reshaped Hyderabad's governance, communal relations and the socio-economic position of its Muslim population. Against this backdrop, the present paper examines the historical and contemporary marginalisation of the Muslim community in Hyderabad, with particular reference to the Old City.

**Methodology**

The study is based on both secondary and primary sources. Secondary data were collected from books, newspapers, published and unpublished reports, and survey documents. Primary data were gathered through interviews and group discussions in five Muslim-majority localities of Hyderabad: Falaknuma, Yakutpura, Barkas, Mehdipatnam and Toli Chowki.

Fieldwork in Falaknuma, Yakutpura and Barkas focused on women engaged in the petty business activities like bangle industry & tailoring (Zardosi works), local leaders, senior citizens and members of the Arab community of Barkas area, many of whom are descendants of migrants from Yemen during the Nizam's rule. In Mehdipatnam and Toli Chowki, interviews were conducted with educated professionals, government retirees and businesspersons to understand emerging residential patterns. The study examines the socio-economic conditions of Muslims in the Old City while also exploring the movement of educated and upwardly mobile Muslims to newer localities. Despite better economic opportunities, many continue to settle in Muslim-concentrated neighbourhoods due to concerns about discrimination, housing barriers, cultural identity and insecurity.

**Historical Settlement Pattern of Hyderabad's Old City**

Hyderabad was founded by the Qutb Shahi rulers, who established the city as a centre of Islamic culture while simultaneously incorporating elements of the indigenous Telugu tradition. During the subsequent Asaf Jahi (Nizam) period, the city became increasingly cosmopolitan as migrants from different parts of India and abroad settled in the Old City. Many of these communities have continued to reside in their original neighbourhoods for generations, giving the Old City its distinctive cultural identity and architectural character. [4]

The Old City itself evolved around the historic trade route linking the Golconda Fort with the port of Masulipatnam, intersected by another important north-south route. These roads divided the city into four quadrants, each characterised by specific residential and occupational groups. During the Qutb Shahi period, the quadrants reflected a clear social hierarchy: the north-west housed royal palaces and administrative offices, the north-east accommodated nobles, while the southern quadrants were occupied by jagirdars and senior officials. Under the Asaf Jahis, although this rigid pattern softened, the south-west remained the location of the rulers' and Paigah nobles' palaces. Commercial communities such as the Marwaris and Bohras settled nearby in Hussaini Alam to facilitate trade and financial dealings with the nobility.

Among the prominent ethnic and religious communities were the Arabs, Marathas, Marwaris, Bohras, Kayasths, Khatris and the two major Islamic sects (Shias and Sunnis). The Arabs and Marathas were initially recruited into the Nizam's army and later settled permanently in Hyderabad. Other communities arrived as traders, administrators, bankers and artisans, contributing significantly to the city's economic and cultural life. Their settlements developed into distinct cultural zones that continue to influence the social geography of the Old City.

The north-eastern quadrant, centred around Purani Haveli and the residences of prominent Shia nobles such as the Salar Jung family, became an important nucleus of the Shia community. In the south-eastern part of the city, land allocated to military regiments gave rise to settlements such as Barkas, inhabited largely by Arabs and Shah Ali Banda and Gowlipura, where Maratha communities established themselves. While some Maratha families later migrated to newer commercial areas, the Arab community has maintained a strong presence in Barkas, further reinforced by migration to and from the Gulf countries since the 1970s. [5]

The settlement pattern also reflected social stratification. Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes generally occupied peripheral areas of the Old City, where several long-standing slum settlements later emerged. At the same time, a number of Muslim-majority slums developed within the inner core, illustrating the persistence of socio-economic inequalities alongside Hyderabad's rich cultural diversity.

**Community-wise Population: Size and growth rates, 1951-1981**

| | | Population | | | | | | | | Growth rate (percent) | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Sl. No | community | 1951 | | 1961 | | 1971 | | 1981 | | 1951-61 | 1961-71 | 1971-81 |
| | | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % | | | |
| 1.0 | Muslims | 220613 | 69.15 | 89080 | 54.66 | 116266 | 54.61 | 147791 | 61.33 | -8.67 | 2.70 | 2.43 |
| 1.1 | Shia | 68704 | 21.53 | 9078 | 5.57 | 12541 | 5.89 | 8641 | 3.59 | -18.32 | 3.28 | -3.66 |
| 1.2 | Sunni | 151909 | 47.62 | 80002 | 49.09 | 103725 | 48.72 | 139150 | 57.74 | -6.21 | 2.63 | 2.98 |

| | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 2.0 | Hindus | 81889 | 25.67 | 72776 | 44.66 | 94117 | 44.21 | 91528 | 37.98 | -1.17 | 2.60 | -0.28 |
| 2.1 | Other Hindus | 65734 | 20.60 | 64495 | 39.58 | 83036 | 39.00 | 87521 | 36.32 | -0.19 | 2.56 | 0.53 |
| 2.2 | Marwari | 8117 | 2.55 | 7374 | 4.53 | 9405 | 4.42 | 3626 | 1.50 | -0.96 | 2.46 | -9.09 |
| 2.3 | Kayasth | 8038 | 2.52 | 907 | 0.55 | 1676 | 0.79 | 381 | 0.16 | -19.60 | 6.33 | -13.77 |
| 3.0 | Others | 16526 | 5.18 | 1099 | 0.67 | 2526 | 1.18 | 1643 | 0.69 | -23.74 | 8.68 | -4.21 |
| 3.1 | Jain | 6541 | 2.05 | 431 | 0.26 | 1448 | 0.68 | 423 | 0.18 | -23.81 | 12.88 | -11.58 |
| 3.2 | Sikh | 3379 | 1.06 | 462 | 0.28 | 688 | 0.32 | 461 | 0.19 | -18.04 | 4.06 | -3.93 |
| 3.3 | Buddhist | 1497 | 0.47 | 20 | 0.01 | 47 | 0.02 | 0 | 0.00 | -35.05 | 8.92 | 0.00 |
| 3.4 | Christian | 5109 | 1.60 | 166 | 0.10 | 320 | 0.15 | 722 | 0.30 | -29.01 | 6.78 | 8.48 |
| 3.5 | Misc. | -- | | 20 | 0.01 | 23 | 0.01 | 37 | 0.02 | - | 1.41 | 4.87 |
| | Total | 319028 | 100 | 162955 | 100 | 212909 | 100 | 240962 | 100 | -6.50 | 2.71 | 1.25 |

Source: Office of the Directorate of Census Operations, AP, Hyderabad, cited by Ratna Naidu, *Old Cities New Predicaments: A Study of Hyderabad*, Sage Publications, New Delhi, 1990, p.24.

As per Census of 1881, 123675 people lived in the Old City area and raised to 240962 by 1981 Census. As per the 1951 census, which is immediately after the dismantling of the Nizam's Dominions, when there were 319028 people living in the Old City area, the Muslims formed the majority community, comprising 69 per cent of the people. The Hindus constituted 25 percent and the rest (Jains, Christians, Sikhs, Buddhists and others) formed 5 per cent of the total population. In 1961, the population in the same area was reduced to 162955. This negative trend of decline reflects the turmoil of the years following the integration of Hyderabad State with India and how it forced people from all classes to move in search of security and livelihood.

**Pattern of In-Migration and Out-Migration**

The integration of Hyderabad into the Indian Union in 1948 brought significant demographic changes to the Old City. During the 1951–1961 decade, many elite Muslims migrated to Pakistan, the UK, the US and other parts of India following the political upheaval, communal tensions and the decline of their socio-economic status after the end of the Nizam's rule. The Shia population, which had occupied prominent administrative positions, declined sharply as many families relocated.

At the same time, falling property prices due to distress sales encouraged Hindu business communities, particularly from North India, to settle in the Old City, substantially increasing the Hindu population during the 1950s. In the following decades, however, this trend reversed. As the Old City became increasingly congested and communally sensitive, many Hindus and other minority communities moved to newer parts of Hyderabad, while Muslims from rural districts increasingly migrated into the Old City seeking security and community support.[6]

Dilapidated Infrastructure and the Gradual Decay of Hyderabad's Old City:
Over time, Hyderabad's Old City, once the political and cultural centre of the Nizam's rule, has declined as the city's economic and administrative activities shifted to the northern parts of Hyderabad and Secunderabad. Today, the Old City is widely recognised as a classic example of urban deprivation,[7] characterised by poverty, congestion, deteriorating infrastructure, pollution, unemployment and inadequate civic amenities.

Its historic urban design, narrow winding streets, dense housing, fortified walls and limited public space, was suited to an earlier era but is unable to accommodate the demands of a modern and rapidly growing population. As a result, the area has become increasingly overcrowded, with multiple families sharing small houses and inadequate water, sanitation and other basic facilities. Public infrastructure, including roads, sewerage systems, schools, hospitals and parks, remains overburdened and poorly maintained.

Consequently, the Old City evolved into a predominantly Muslim residential enclave, shaped by both historical attachment and concerns over safety. While this concentration has strengthened community identity, it has also reinforced residential segregation, making the area more vulnerable to communal tensions, socio-economic isolation and urban decline.

The Old City, once home to Hyderabad's elite, is now predominantly inhabited by economically disadvantaged sections of the Muslim community. Rapid population growth and heavy traffic have also led to the demolition of much of the historic city wall, leaving only two of its original twelve gates. While redevelopment is urgently needed, scholars such as Ratna Naidu argue that improvements must balance infrastructure expansion with the preservation of the area's historical heritage and sensitivity to the cultural identity of its residents. [8]

**Case of Multiple Deprivations**
Today, the Old City area can best be described not only as a congested area but it is also a Case of 'Multiple Deprivation' in sociological terms.[9] In the social science literature, the term vicious cycle of multiple deprivation, (for instance, of poor education and training, low income, poor diet and poor hygienic conditions leading to low efficiency and ability to enhance incomes), is analytically applied to understand poverty at the individual, community and class levels.[10]

Again, in the words of Sociologist, Ratna Naidu, "…Deprived of economic opportunities with the dismantling of the feudal structure and deprived of its

elite, who are usually the powerful spokesmen for the enhancement of civic amenities, the Old City as an area languishes in multiple deprivations. To the economic and civic deprivations must also be added deprivation which accrues from the alienation of communities from each other, resulting in frequent communal riots. Thus, we find in the Old City the classic syndrome wherein the 'different types of deprivation mesh into one another to create, for those who must endure them, a total situation shot through and through by one level of deprivation after another.'[11]

**Literacy and Education**

Literacy is a key indicator of socio-economic development and universal access to quality education, particularly for girls, is essential for improving the quality of life. Despite constitutional guarantees, several government reports, NGO studies, and media accounts have consistently shown that the Muslim community in India, including present-day Telangana, lags behind the national mainstream in educational attainment. Encouragingly, there is growing awareness within the community about the need to address this educational backwardness.

The educational divide within Hyderabad is particularly evident when comparing the Old City with the New City. While the New City has benefited from rapid economic growth, modern infrastructure and better public investment, the Old City continues to face inadequate educational facilities. A large proportion of government schools operate from rented buildings and essential amenities such as playgrounds, Anganwadis and parks are significantly fewer than in the New City. These disparities limit educational opportunities and reinforce the cycle of socio-economic disadvantage among Old City residents.

The following table is a glaring example of that. Ninety one percent of the Government Schools are in rented buildings. Number of Play grounds, number of Anganwadis, Parks; in every respect the amenities available to Old City are proportionately much lower than the New City although in terms of population the New City Population is only 6% higher.

**Hyderabad Comparative Information (Old City and New City)**

| S.No | Particulars | Old city | % | New city | % | Total District |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Population (2001) | 1799030 | 47 | 2030723 | 53 | 3829753 |
| 2 | Literacy | 66% | | 71.29 | | 68.80 |
| 3 | Government schools | 471 | 57 | 351 | 43 | 822 |
| 4 | Government schools in rented buildings | 178 | 91 | 16 | 9 | 194 |
| 5 | Government junior colleges | 5 | 26 | 14 | 74 | 19 |

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 6 | Government degree colleges | 1 | 14 | 6 | 86 | 7 |
| 7 | Parks | 34 | 5 | 650 | 95 | 684 |
| 8 | Parks Total Area (Area) | 23.80 | 6 | 367.04 | 94 | 390.84 |
| 9 | Play grounds | 210 | 43 | 279 | 57 | 489 |
| 10 | Play Grounds Total Area (Area) | 32.99 | 37 | 55.99 | 63 | 88.78 |
| 11 | Anganwadi centres | 259 | 40 | 380 | 60 | 639 |

Source: M. Srinivas, "Hyderabad Old City: A Saga of Discrimination", *People's Democracy*, Vol. XXXIV, No. 15, April 11, 2010; statistics tabulated by COVA organisation, under PUCAR Program, Hyderabad, 2010. Here old city area comprises of area south of Musi River.

Although the 2001 Census reported a literacy rate of about **66%** in Hyderabad's Old City, this figure may overstate actual educational attainment, as many residents can read basic Urdu primarily for religious purposes without possessing functional literacy. Government school enrolment is heavily concentrated in the Old City, where poorer families depend on public education, particularly Urdu-medium schools.

As per the interviews of a few academicians of Maulana Azad National Urdu University hailing from Old City and the staff of Confederation of Voluntary Association, (COVA) one of the most important reasons for the deterioration of education standards in Old City is due to depriving Government Schools of permanent buildings and shifting them to private buildings. Out of the total rented Government School buildings, 91 percent are from the Old City.

**Educational Challenges in Hyderabad's Old City**

Educational infrastructure in the Old City remains significantly inferior to that of the New City. A large number of government schools lack basic facilities such as toilets, drinking water, playgrounds and adequate classrooms. Urdu-medium schools face additional challenges, including delayed and error-filled textbooks and shortages of teaching materials. These deficiencies adversely affect the quality of education and student learning.

The Old City also records a substantially higher school dropout rate than other parts of Hyderabad. Poverty, illness or death of earning family members, child labour, the need to assist in family businesses and poor foundational learning contribute to early school leaving. Among girls, household responsibilities, early marriage and inadequate sanitation facilities further increase dropout rates. Overcrowded schools, many operating in structurally inadequate buildings with little space for sports or extracurricular activities, create an unconducive learning environment. Overall, inadequate educational infrastructure, socio-economic hardship and gender-specific barriers continue

to hinder educational attainment in the Old City, perpetuating the cycle of poverty and limiting opportunities for social and economic mobility.

**Employment and Livelihood**

During the Nizams' rule Muslim community's share in economy and employment was fairly substantial. Elite sections and nobility lived on the land revenue in largely as the *Jagirdars* of various strata. Majority of Muslims did not own land on a large scale and were not involved in agricultural activities. There were only a small number shop keepers and entrepreneurs. However, majority of Muslims were into state civil services, army and police. Mostly, the highest offices and the lower ranks were occupied by the Muslims, leaving some room for Hindus and others in the middle level; especially those requiring technical skills or specialised applied services.

These Muslims who enjoyed considerable social and economic status in the administration etc; lost their powers with the end of the Nizam's rule. It also meant the erosion of privileges and their representation in economy and employment in various sectors. Prior to the amalgamation of Hyderabad State, as mentioned above Muslims' enjoyed the economic privileges such as: *Jagirs* and related privileges, employment in the offices of feudal estates like the *Sarf-i-khas* (crown lands), *Paigahs* (highest rank nobility after the Nizam) and other bigger *Jagirs*, employment in government or quasi-Government Departments, domestic service with the feudal families and in the State Military Force. With the abolition of *Jagirdari* system in 1949, both the *Jagirdars* and their immediate dependant families and employees lost their income and employment. The Nizam and his immediate family received a generous privy purse for his maintenance as *Rajpramukh* from the new government. Government took over the assets and lands of the Muslims who migrated to Pakistan after integration of the state into Indian union. However, there is no statistics available for the evacuee lands and properties in the Hyderabad State.

With the migration of majority of elite Muslims to Pakistan, the big business families that continued to live in India had different kinds of experiences. Prominent among them were Mir Laiq Ali, Camar Tyabji, Alladins and Babu Khan. Mir Laiq Ali's properties and companies were taken over by the Government as he moved to Pakistan under dramatic circumstances. Tyabjis were also gone into oblivion due to reasons not known. Out of the prominent Businessmen only Alladin and Babu Khan survived in the new administration as they were not directly linked to the Nizam Government. Alladin's famous factory Allwyn Metal Works used to produce 14000 refrigerators annually before the government took over it in 1969.[12]

The new administration disbanded majority of Hyderabad State Force in 1950

which left around 33000 Muslim individuals and their families' job/income less. If roughly estimated on an average of 5 members per family, the affected Muslims population due to this would be around 165000. Even some of the civil servants were asked to step down or removed or demoted or sent to other parts of India, just because they were Muslims.[13] It is also alleged that '…Indian Income Tax Department had focused on the elite and rich Muslims of Hyderabad and 'Income Tax administration had practically declared a war against them...."[14] However, civil servants who had started their career just before 1948 had escaped discrimination in the new administration because of their non-involvement in Nizam's administration at large.

According to Omar Khalidi, two groups of Muslims i.e., rural poor and the professionals were not affected in the new regime. The small number of engineers, professional health care personnel and a few other professionals felt little change. However, lawyers and teachers trained in the Nizam's legal system and with Urdu medium background began to feel the narrowing of the prospects due to change in the language from Urdu to English and Telugu. School teachers and the faculty at Osmania University were also adversely affected due to the change in the language of instruction.

If looked at the Osmania University's changing employment situation, the presence of Muslim faculty members in OU steadily declined since independence. In 1990, of the 215 professors, 23 were Muslims; of the 60 Chairmen of Board or Studies, a mere 5 were Muslims. In 1997, out of the 332 full professors, there were only 27 Muslims, 12 from the familiar subjects of Arabic, Islamic Studies, Persian and Urdu Departments; if these Departments are excluded, the Muslim numbers will be reduced further.[15] By 2024, the number has gone down further. A look at the University's faculty directory reveals that except in the above said traditional subjects, out of 440 faculty members, there are hardly fifteen faculty members working in different capacities (including part-time and contractual) in other subjects.[16]

If this is the condition of Muslim professionals and educated class, the ordinary Muslims living in the Hyderabad city, majority of whom are semi-skilled and unskilled workers; their plight is worse. One of the important semi-skilled works is bangle making.[17] In addition to the bangle trade which has given the Old City of Hyderabad world-wide recognition, there are a number of other important works conducted particularly by girls and women in the old city area. These include *zari*work (embroidery done on sarees and other textiles with golden, *zari*, threads) *agarbatti* making (making of incense sticks), tie and dye work (printing of designs with dyed colours on textile), *pandan* production (making small boxes of silver and brass, with intricately designed tops, for keeping betel leaves and nuts), leather and rexene work (making

purses, bags, travel bags, scooter and car seat covers from leather and rexene, a type of scrap plastic), and a number of handicrafts.[18]

However today, their condition is deplorable. In addition to poor working condition and low wages, child labour is rampant in this area with both boy and girl children assisting their parents in the various trades. Due to the poverty of families many children are deprived of the opportunity of continuing their studies or of even attending school at all. As a result, although some do receive education, there are also a large number of illiterate children and school dropouts. This is in spite of the fact that many non-Governmental Organisations (NGO's) work for the welfare of the weaker sections of the population in the Old City.

Several research studies indicate that Muslims in the Old City are in lowest ebb of economic conditions. Majority of them are engaged in menial jobs and leading a stressful life. A major study conducted in 1984-86 by Ratna Naidu concluded that 50 percent of the working population in the old city was in the informal sector, Muslims are regularly in debt and the number of unemployed Muslims is more than Hindus. Given the poverty, most of the Old City Muslims are living in single or two room *kutccha* houses.[19] Corroborating the findings of these studies, the AP Minorities Commission's 1989 Survey summarised the Muslim minority's socio-economic status. It reported acute illiteracy and educational poverty among Muslims in all parts of the state, including Hyderabad. When Muslims are educationally poor, it is natural that they cannot compete in the competitive exams with others to enter into government jobs.[20] Muslims represented barely three percent of the successful candidates in the AP State Public Service Commission examination held at all levels of jobs.[21]

The Backward Class Commission also reported low level of recruitment of Muslims in various Government positions in its report on socio economic conditions of Muslims. Out of 4899 positions recruited by competitive exams in Government, Muslims were appointed in 171 positions, i.e. a meagre 3.49 percent only.[22] Since Muslims are not in stable jobs, government employment entitling them to housing loan, home ownership and such other benefits are lacking in the community.

The share of Muslims in small-scale industries was found to be a negligible 0.3 percent. The Muslim participation in various schemes of the Government for people with small means, industrial units formed with bank loans, participation in the training programs organised by the small industry services institute, all seem to leave much to be desired. Indebtedness is the natural outcome of poverty. It is stated that about 55 percent of the Muslim households

were found to be in debt, as against the state average of about 32 percent.[23]

Muslims in general feel that the important reason for this state of affairs is the absence of Muslims in the democratic institutions of the state from the highest level of state legislature and cabinet to the lowest level of Panchayat. It is observed that, no Muslim in Telangana or erstwhile AP State Cabinet has ever become a Finance Minister or Minister for Education, or held any other important Cabinet portfolio, to be able to channel the Government policy in a fair manner, if not biased.

Unemployment is found to be higher among the Old City Muslims with an unemployment rate of 21 per cent as against 10 per cent at all India level. The higher rate of unemployment among the Muslims may be attributed to their past association with the Nizam's administration. About 30 percent of Muslim households in the old city have at least one member or ancestor who has been associated with the Nizam's administration or family in the past.[24] Particularly the lower level echelons from the old city, lost their livelihood after the Police Action and moved downwardly for two reasons. First, the nature of their previous occupations was such that it required no particular qualifications. Employment was granted mostly out of patronage and on the basis of the employee's proficiency in Urdu, the language of the now defunct administration. Many of the old city Muslims working in the Nizam's service could not fit in the newly organised society. Second, families which experienced a sudden fall in status, such as those of the *Jagirdars* and the middle-level officials, continued to maintain a false sense of dignity, preferring to subsist on a meagre pension rather than working in the new administration which was considered below to their dignity.[25]

In a study on women and child labour conducted in old city of Hyderabad it is observed, "….Almost all the women interviewed preferred to be housewives taking in work at home because they felt they had no other skill. They did not want to go out and work as wage labourers or domestic helpers since they considered both occupations to be below their dignity. Neither did they feel capable enough to establish their own petty businesses while salaried jobs were beyond them. Hence most of the women saw themselves as housewives doing extra paid work because of lack of any other opportunities. The husbands and fathers of these women had no salaried jobs and no other major source of income".[26]

**Gulf Employment**

One significant source of economic support for Hyderabad's Muslims has been migration to the Gulf countries since the 1970s. Remittances from migrant workers have contributed to visible improvements in the Old City, including

the expansion of banking services, increased construction activity, rising property values and growth in transport and related businesses.[27] Although Muslims are often perceived to have benefited greatly from Gulf migration, the overall impact has been uneven. Most migrants are employed as unskilled workers on temporary contracts, with limited legal protection and few opportunities to convert their earnings into long-term productive investments.[28]

Some progress has also been made in Muslim entrepreneurship. The proportion of Muslims owning small businesses increased during the 1980s and 1990s, while enterprises such as fruit exports, meat processing, cooperative banking and Urdu business networks reflected growing economic participation.[29] Nevertheless, these gains remain limited. Low educational attainment among a large section of Old City Muslims continues to restrict access to skilled employment, confining many to low-paid occupations.[30] In a context of persistent social and institutional discrimination, improving educational opportunities remains essential for enhancing livelihoods and achieving long-term socio-economic mobility.

**Wakf Property (Muslim Endowment)**

Telangana possesses a substantial number of Wakf properties, including mosques, dargahs, ashurkhanas, graveyards and other religious endowments, with an estimated value of over ₹ 1000 crore according to the 2001 Wakf Survey Commissioner's Report. However, more than half of these properties are under illegal occupation, with even government agencies identified as encroachers in some cases.[31] Despite this valuable asset base, the socio-economic condition of many Muslims in Hyderabad's Old City remains weak. Low educational attainment continues to limit access to skilled employment, confining a large section of the community to low-paid occupations. Improving educational opportunities is therefore essential for enhancing employment prospects and promoting socio-economic development.

**Conclusion**

The history of Hyderabad, particularly the Old City, reflects four centuries of cultural prosperity, political transformation, and social change. Established by Quli Qutb Shahs, the Old City once flourished as a cosmopolitan centre of diverse cultures and communities. However, the gradual neglect of the area and its declining infrastructure has adversely affected the socio-economic conditions and morale of the Muslim community, which has historically been closely associated with the city's development.

Unlike many minority communities elsewhere, Hyderabad's Muslims occupy a unique historical position as descendants of the former ruling community of the erstwhile Hyderabad State. Following the integration of Hyderabad into the Indian Union, the migration of the elite and the political consequences of the Nizam's policies left many middle and lower-class Muslims socially and economically marginalized. This has contributed to increasing residential segregation, institutional discrimination and inadequate access to quality housing, education, healthcare and civic amenities.

Despite these challenges, Hyderabad has one of the largest Muslim populations and educational networks in India, fostering the emergence of a new educated middle class seeking greater social integration and equal opportunities. Nevertheless, rising communal polarization and Islamophobia continue to reinforce exclusion and insecurity. The study suggests that inclusive public policies, equitable urban development, quality education and stronger commitment to secular and democratic values are essential to overcoming marginalization and promoting social cohesion in Hyderabad.

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# Women Trafficking: Police and Administrative Policies

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Trafficking in women and children is the gravest form of abuse and exploitation of human beings. Thousands of Indians are trafficked everyday to some destination or the other and are forced to lead lives of slavery. They are forced to survive in brothels, factories, guesthouses, dance bars, farms and even in the homes of well-off Indians, with no control over their bodies and lives. The Indian Constitution specifically bans the trafficking of persons. Article 23 & others in the Fundamental Rights, Part III of the Constitution, prohibits "traffic in human beings and other similar forms of forced labour". Though there is no concrete definition of trafficking, it could be said that trafficking necessarily involves movement/transportation, of a person by means of coercion or deceit, and consequent exploitation leading to commercialization. The abusers, including the traffickers, the recruiters, the transporters, the sellers, the buyers, the end-users etc., exploit the vulnerability of the trafficked person. Trafficking shows phenomenal increase with globalization. Increasing profit with little or no risk, organized activities, low priority in law enforcement etc., aggravate the situation. The income generated by trafficking is comparable to the money generated through trafficking in arms and drugs. Trafficking in human beings take place for the purpose of exploitation which in general could be categorized as (a) Sex based and (b) Non-sex-based. The former category includes trafficking for prostitution, Commercial sexual abuse, paedophilia, pornography, cyber-sex, and different types of disguised sexual exploitation that take place in some of the massage parlours, beauty parlours, bars, and other manifestations like call girl racket, friendship clubs, etc. Non sex based trafficking could be for different types of servitude, like domestic labour, industrial labour, adoption, organ transplant, camel racing, marriage related rackets etc. But the growing trafficking in women is principally for the purpose of prostitution. Prostitution is an international problem. However, we are aware of the fact that it is legalized in many countries around the globe.

Unfortunately, society remains tolerant of this abominable crime against women. There are assorted ways of getting women into prostitution that are common to many countries; then there are particular unique methods varies to a country. Probably, the three most common methods are false employment promises, false marriages and kidnapping. But what makes women and girls vulnerable are economic distress, desertion by their spouses, sexually exploitative social customs and family traditions. In a recent survey in India, prostituted women cited the following reasons for their remaining in the trade, reasons that have been echoed in all the concerned countries. In descending

order of significance, they are: poverty and unemployment, lack of proper reintegration services, lack of options; stigma and adverse social attitudes, family expectations and pressure; resignation and acclimatization to the lifestyle. The two principal Indian laws that addresses the trafficking and prostitution in particular are the Suppression of Immoral Traffic in Women and Girls Act, 1956 (SITA) and the Immoral Traffic (Prevention) Act,1986 (ITPA), colloquially called PITA, and amendment to SITA. Neither law prohibits prostitution per se, but both forbids commercialized vice and soliciting."

According to ILO, IOM and UNIFEM and other such organisations [based on commissioned studies], the known purposes of trafficking are prostitution, entertainment industry, domestic work, work in carpet, garment, fishing and brick industries, forced labour, camel jockeys, illegal adoption of children, organ transplantation, forced marriage, mail order brides, drug trafficking, begging, circus and other exploitative form of work. But to understand trafficking better we have to understand the main features and internal dynamics of these sectors, especially to the use of trafficked victims – knowingly or unknowingly. [Yokohama MTR, Sri Lanka, Sept 2004]

The root causes include extreme disparities of wealth, continuing and pervasive inequality due to class, caste and most importantly gender biases throughout the region, erosion of traditional family systems and values, iniquitous social conventions, lack of transparency in regulations governing labour migration (both domestic and cross border), poor enforcement of internationally agreed-upon human rights standards, and enormous profits ensured by the trafficking business to the traffickers.

**THE PUSH FACTORS**

- **POVERTY** is the major reason, which makes the majority of children vulnerable, but it should be mentioned here that this is not the only reason for trafficking. Looking at per capita expenditure on social sector by major states we can again see that Andhra Pradesh, Rajasthan, Maharashtra, West Bengal, Uttar Pradesh have gone up but maximum women and girl children are trafficked from these states for brothel based prostitution[2].
- **CHILD MARRIAGE** still exists in our country and so does dowry. If we see the situation closely then we see that any man who does not claim a "dowry" at the time of marriage is considered as the perfect groom and the daughter is carelessly "disposed in marriage". The girls are thus trafficked in the name of marriage. The groom may be no less than a pimp looking for a new victim. Many girls as a result are trafficked in the name of marriage to Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and other states.
- **MAN MADE DISASTERS (INSURGENCIES AND RIOTS), NATURAL CALAMITIES (FLOODS, CYCLONES ETC.), AND OTHER POLITICAL DISASTERS** aggravate the vulnerability of women and children. In a time of unrest with the men away fighting or trying to survive it is the women and the children who suffer the

economic hardships as well as the lack of security, due to the loss of family support system and safe shelter. The traffickers take advantage of this vulnerability and exploit children.

- **SOCIAL STIGMA** associated with single, divorced, unwed, widowed, sexually abused women and young girls also is a major contributing factor. The unwillingness of the society to accept them as an integral part leads to frustration, isolation and with no support system to provide them security, they fall a prey to the traffickers.
- **RATE OF FEMALE INFANTICIDE AND FETICIDE** increases day by day and is dis-balancing the male to female ratio in most parts of the country. So some states like Punjab and Haryana, take on girls from neighbouring states in the name of marriage for commercial sexual exploitation.
- **UNEMPLOYMENT** is still a major problem in the country. When men (supposedly the bread winners) are unable to find jobs, the children undergo immense pressure to fend for the family needs. The traffickers often take advantage of these economic hardships faced by the women and children and victimise them.
- **DOMESTIC VIOLENCE**: Indian women have little economic emancipation especially in the family sphere. On the other hand, some of them may be regularly subjected to domestic violence and abuse, from family and friends. So the woman is forced to opt out of such situations. Many women who opt out or escape often find themselves vulnerable. The children from such situations are vulnerable to run away situations and experiments when they get into the hands of traffickers.
- **FALSE PROMISES AND THE LURE OF JOB / MARRIAGE / LOVE:** Many children are lured out of their homes by false promises of love, marriage or work. They may accompany their friend or lover or acquaintance and then find themselves trapped in a vulnerable situation.
- **TRADITIONAL PROSTITUTION**: Bedia, Nat and Kanjar and other such communities, follow a traditional form of prostitution. The commercial sexual exploitation is not considered as exploitative in the first place.
- **Religious Prostitution**, though banned in the country still exists in a clandestine manner. Minor girls are forced into prostitution in the name of faith especially in the States of Maharashtra and Karnataka.
- **Lack of Employment Opportunities and Training** for girl children in the rural districts of West Bengal compels them to migrate in search of a better tomorrow and make them vulnerable to trafficking.

**THE PULL FACTORS**

- With globalisation and increasing competition, there is a growing **demand** by employers and enterprises for **CHEAP LABOUR** of women and children.
- Development policies and patterns of development promoting **TOURISM, INDUSTRIALISATION AND RURAL TO URBAN MIGRATION** particularly of males has enhanced the demand for commercial sex and ensured a viable proposition for the traffickers by providing them the market and the

infrastructure to sell minors and women for Commercial Sexual Exploitation.

- The **ECONOMICS OF THE TRAFFICKING BUSINESS,** which requires low investments and ensures high returns.

**FACETS OF THE MISERY AND THE EXPLOITATION OF CHILDREN IN BROTHEL PROSTITUTION OR OTHER WORK**

- **LIVING ENVIRONMENT** is deplorable – the physical facilities provided in the so-called work areas are below any acceptable standards.
- The **CONDITIONS OF "WORK" AND TREATMENT** meted out to the women often involves slavery like practices and prison like environments. The hours that they have to spend taking customers are long with no time for rest or recreation. They are often forced to take customers even if they are physically unfit to take one.
- **WAGES PAID ARE LOW**, not at par with the male counterparts (if any) or they are not paid at all. The traffickers, the brothel madams or the employers may withhold the earnings of the women and thus they are rendered without any access to their own remuneration.
- They have **NO ACCESS / LITTLE ACCESS TO HEALTH OR MEDICAL FACILITIES**. Those who are trafficked and forced into commercial sex constantly face the risk of pregnancy, abortions, maternal mortality and the threat of Sexually transmitted diseases, HIV and AIDS.
- Above all of this is the **MENTAL TRAUMA** that these women undergo. They lose their self-esteem and their will to live life. Even when they are being put through processes of reintegration, they have to constantly deal with humiliation, isolation and social ostracization.
- A growing entertainment and commercial sex industry employing a large number of boys and girls and women, as the male clients prefer younger women and virgin girls and also boys in fear of HIV and AIDS and other STD infections.
- In a competitive world of business, employers and enterprises, with no strict ethical policies to guide them, they employ child labour in order to pay less. Children can be controlled well and do not bargain for higher wages. Exploitative and undignified work is imposed on them.
- Certain patterns of economic development in a country or in a region attracts male migrant workers and change the demographic profile of the population, trigger rural – urban migration, cross border migration, tourism etc. generate the demand for commercial sex.

**SOME OF THE OTHER ISSUES THAT MUST BE CAREFULLY ANALYSED**
**PREVENTION**

Most of the Government personnel as well as the Community members are unaware of the Trafficking facet of migration. Those who understand this issue are not willing to acknowledge the presence of this phenomenon in their areas of operation. The magnitude and the misery associated with this gross violence

is not being given the required amount of attention by the concerned personnel in most of the State. There is a great need for awareness generation at all levels and community policing to reduce the vulnerability of women and children and ensure safe migration and options for jobs and income. Special police officers need to be designated to look into trafficking cases specifically under all police stations.

**RESCUE**

Rescue operation of minors, in prostitution or any kind of Commercial sexual exploitation or illegal work purposes, is primarily the State's responsibility. NGOs however have done a much better job by themselves throughout the country. They have been able to identify the minor victims from the red-light areas and more specifically from brothels. They have been able to rescue them with the involvement of the police. More rescues have to be handled professionally by the special police officers designated to look into trafficking cases.

**POST RESCUE**

Rescued children usually live in State Remand Homes and often are in a situation where their minimum Human Rights are denied. Red-tapism, slack investigation and long judicial processes leads to the children spending a majority of their childhood in an unhealthy situation of the Government Homes and other homes.

Children rescued from prostitution often go into "Post-traumatic Stress Disorder" which manifests into other behavioural disturbances, which are typical of children who have been subjected to prolonged and sustained violence. In addition, they suffer from a loss of trust, lack of self-esteem due to isolation, which results in maladjustment in children. When they are taken out of prostitution the children are most sensitive and vulnerable. The problem gets magnified when a child is also infected with HIV. However, both the infrastructure and the personnel in the govt. remand homes are ill–equipped to handle and cater to the different requirements of these children.

**HIV Positive Minors and Women**

Government remand homes have no infrastructure to deal with pre or post-test counselling – they often do not have sensitised and trained counsellors /personnel and pre/post-test counselling centres. The state hospitals in most cases refuse to take HIV patients. If they ever do so their infrastructure is hardly enough to cope with the problem. Therefore, when a girl gets to know that she is HIV positive she has to deal with the trauma on her own. That leads to dire consequences in some cases.

**Rehabilitation**

The rehabilitation that is being done for these rescued women and children are all results of NGOs' initiatives. But it has been observed that the rehabilitation is always difficult. The following may be stated as the reasons for this:

1. Loss of self esteem
2. Loss of trust
3. Impatience to return to family
4. Refusal from the family and the community
5. Illiteracy
6. Unskilled
7. Unstable temperament
8. Social stigma associated with them

[In instances where the root cause of trafficking was poverty, restoring the girl (as per the court orders) in her village without providing her the means to ensure her livelihood would only place the girl in a more vulnerable position and enhance the chances of her being re-trafficked. Also in cases where the girl/boy was trafficked with the consent of the parents, restoring her back to her family makes the girl susceptible to more exploitation and violence]
Though it gives restoration orders, the Govt. does not have any infrastructure in place to provide for women and girls who are not accepted back by their families. NGOs, however, on their own through various means are trying to reach out to these girls and create opportunities for their economic independence and a better life.

**LEGAL HURDLES**

- **Lengthy process –** a victim may be detained in a remand home until and unless her case is resolved. But the accused (traffickers or madams) get bail immediately before or after 90 days.
- **Lack of initiative in submission of charge sheet** - on the part of police also makes it difficult to prosecute the traffickers. The accused (trafficker) gets bail before 90 days because judiciary does not play their role effectively.
- **Lack of investigation in detail –** There have been instances where traffickers and brothel madams have been given custody of the rescued girls because they have feigned to be their parents. The police have not taken time to carry out an in-depth investigation for many a time it has been observed that these girls are adopted when they are very young and brought up by the brothel madams to be induced into prostitution once they grow up.
- **Women cells -** There are no women cells in nearly all the states across the Nation. As a result, the "Madam" when caught is immediately released as the law states that no woman may be kept at a cell without a special cell and without the presence of Women Police Officers.
- **Court and police cells are not child friendly.**
- **In 2000 April,** the **J.J. Act** was amended but not implemented. Thus, the children are not benefiting from the Child Welfare Committee, or the National Plan of Action.

- **ITPA Sec 5** – In the case of trafficking India has a special Immoral Trafficking Prevention Act that caters to all situations in trafficking and commercial sexual exploitation. The Sec. 5, which states "Procuring, inducing or taking persons for the sake of prostitution", is an offence is particularly a significant point. However, this is rarely used.
- Most of the arrests that are done are done during the rescue operations and raids that are conducted by the Police. However, in these times it's often the keeper or the madams who are caught and arrested. Thereby the "**Trafficker" who is the reason for the woman / child to be present in such a situation is rarely caught.**
- The cases that are lodged as kidnapping remain so, even after the Police finds out that they may be trafficking cases. A crime is often not charge sheeted properly. The Sections 372, 373 or the ITPA Section 5 could be put to better use if it were.
- **Lack of coordination** between judiciary and law enforcing agencies, is another reason for the lack of conviction or prosecution of traffickers.
- **Nolaws exist against the Child abuse problem**. Apart from charges of rape, (Sec: 376) we do not have any law against child sexual abuse, molestation and sodomy.
- We have **Child Marriage Act and Child Labour Act** - none of which are implemented.

**REPATRIATION**

It is a fact that India is receiving girls from Bangladesh and Nepal for Commercial Sexual Exploitation. The foreign women and children who are trafficked face the following problems:

- The police tend to charge all adults from Bangladesh under the **14 Foreigner's Act** thereby **transforming all the victims of trafficking into "Accused", for illegal immigration**.
- Victims of trafficking who are originally from **Nepal** are sent back to their points of origin where they become vulnerable once again.
- The women and children become the accused instead of being seen as victims of trafficking. Those who are prosecuted are then referred to a Remand Home. After they are set free, they are pushed back to the same vulnerable situation as before.
- **Pushback** – this system maximizes the vulnerability of women and children. This process always happens after 7.00 p.m. and in darkness. Many people involved get lost while trying to go back to their homes. They also face Sexual abuse by people who are supposed to help them in this process. Moreover, they have a strong possibility of being re-trafficked.
- **Detachment from parents** - When an entire family sells their land and comes to India hoping to get a new life and gets arrested, the adults are sent to jail and children to remand homes. But even after the adults are released the younger children may still be at the home. Sometimes it has been observed that the victims of trafficking are detained at homes for years.

- The cases may take years to get dissolved as a result a child may be forced to spend her or his entire childhood in a foreign land.
- We have a **Law 366B under IPC.** This section states that the children are victims and not the accused, but the police rarely use this law.

**Govt. Initiatives**

- The Prevention of Immoral Trafficking and the Rehabilitation of Prostituted Person's Bill (1993) - a bill that recognizes the rights of prostitutes and initiates the investigation in these matters.
- The Govt. of India has formulated a **National Plan of Action** to combat trafficking and commercial sexual exploitation of children and minors, in 1998. It has been formulated by the joint efforts of the Dept. of Women and Child Development and Ministry of Human Resource Development. This committee has been formed to look into the problems of trafficking and forced prostitution and has brought together NGOs and other organizations, who work on the issues of trafficking.
- In the year 2003, the **State govt. of Andhra Pradesh** has passed a **Government order** to address the issue of trafficking. An Anti – trafficking campaign was organised across the state and it was decided to form Core committees at the district level comprising the District Magistrate, the Superintendent of Police, the Project Director (Dist. Agency of Women Development and Child Welfare) and representatives of NGOs to monitor the situation in the district, formulate and implement necessary initiatives to take cre of the children.

## Recommendations

**GOVERNMENT**

1. The Central and State Government needs to lay more stress on employment and income generation schemes for vulnerable families, along with vocational training and education in the source areas of trafficking (which have already been identified by the NGOs).
2. All States should have a specific monitoring mechanism – a task force / core committee to look into the issue of trafficking and NGOs should necessarily be a part of this Committee.
3. All the concerned Govt. personnel need to be trained to implement and monitor the National Plan of Action.
4. SAARC Convention should be translated in action.
5. The Indian Govt. needs to have bilateral agreements with other countries in order to facilitate safer repatriation processes.
6. The Govt. should carry out time bound collaborations with the High Commissions and Embassies as and when needed.
7. Processes and systems need to be put in place for the regularisation and registration of interstate migration.
8. A databank has to be created at the national and the state levels giving details about missing persons and trafficked persons.

9. Juvenile Boards and Committees need to be formed across all districts in each of the states in the country.
10. More research needs to be carried out to understand the magnitude and the different facets of this malice in the whole of the country.
11. Religious and cultural practices leading to prostitution have been banned but the monitoring of the proper implementation of law has to be done by the Govt.
12. It should be made mandatory for the Panchayats to maintain a record of the people migrating from their respective villages for different reasons – marriage, higher education, employment etc. In case of any untoward happening, the Panchayat should be held accountable on the basis of lack of proper investigation before the migration took place. By involving different personnel from the administration and governance structures as well as from the NGOs and by creating awareness amongst the community, a networking system should be put in place to monitor the movement in women and children.
13. Investigation of missing children needs to be done in the source areas by the Panchayat, which is the nearest formal body, which can identify trafficking.
14. ICDS (Anganwadi workers) with members of panchayat should take initiative to identify and lodge complaints on missing girls with the police.
15. More working women's hostels and shelter homes should be established in districts all over the country with the vulnerable districts getting the top priority.
16. All Govt. Homes should have proper shelter, medical and psychological support, skill training support for the rehabilitation of victims of trafficking.
17. More counselling and vocational training centres should be set up for proper reintegration of the victims of trafficking.
18. Pre test and Post test counselling (under WHO and NACO guidelines) of suspected HIV positive victims should be made mandatory in all Government and NGO Homes.
19. Programmes like Support to Training and Employment Programme (STEP) needs to be started with immediate effect in the vulnerable areas of the country, especially the rural pockets.
20. Marriage registration should be made compulsory and specific responsibility of proper follow up should be given to a particular department.
21. Women should not loose work on account of being married (Article 11 2 a).
22. All customary marriage laws have to be amended to ensure uniform age of marriage.
23. Alternative opportunities for aged prostitutes should be introduced. It has been experienced, often that those who can no longer attract customers by themselves, in order to ensure their incomes, turn into traffickers or brothel madams. Thus, those who had been the victims of violence become the perpetrators of exploitation. This vicious circle needs to be broken.
24. NGOs running reintegration projects should be empowered to work with the Government in carrying out rescue and rehabilitation operations of the victims of trafficking.
25. The right to family benefits to be assured to the women (Article 13 a).
26. Ensure economic survival mechanisms of women in the rural areas (Article 14).
27. In answer to the CEDAW committee's questionnaire – Government of India has reported that there is a need to set up a Nodal Agency on the lines of

'Narcotics Bureau'. But this task is still pending and there is a need to do the needful at an earliest.

**JUDICIARY**

1. Some laws related to trafficking ought to be amended or new laws should be introduced so that people who commit trafficking can be convicted. Also, labour laws need to be amended to protect the rights of women and children as labourers.
2. The task of amending the IPTA was given to the National Law School and the Institution has already done the needful. There is a need to prioritise on it and implement the same.
3. Buying and selling of minors, fake marriages and forced prostitution (372, 373, 366A) should be heavily punished. Sometimes parents or nearest kin are involved in the crime and they should be punished too.
4. There should be speedy recovery of cases: trafficking and all others. Fast track court has been established but we need separate court to deal with cases of trafficking.
5. Push back system should be abolished and new laws for repatriation need to be implemented so that the Bangladesh and Nepal Nationals (women and children) may go back to their country safely.
6. Children should not be charged under 14 Foreigners Act. Instead, they could be produced before the Child Welfare Committee (CWC).
7. The Juvenile Justice Act 2000, which has not yet been implemented, should be done immediately.
8. Members of the Judiciary should be sensitised on laws and various landmark judgments passed by the Supreme Court on the issue of trafficking. Positive interaction should be there while working with these cases with the NGOs.
9. Public Prosecutors in every court dealing with cases of trafficking should be sensitised to object the bail pleas of traffickers, madams and pimps.
10. A SPECIAL CELL TO DEAL WITH TRAFFICKING CASES SHOULD BE FORMED IMMEDIATELY.

**POLICE**

1. ITPA (the special National Act to combat trafficking) is rarely used by the police and needs to be put to practice much more.
2. Provision of punishment of police should be there if they fail to give charge sheet within 90 days.
3. A rescue committee comprising of the police, NGOs, social activists, members of the Judiciary should be formed in cities where brothels exist, to probe into the matter further.
4. In all the states, special police officers have to be recruited and notified under ITPA. Also, it has to be ensured that these police officers are sensitised and equipped with all the relevant information.
5. Members of the police should be sensitised on laws and various landmark judgments passed by the Supreme Court on the issue of trafficking. They should also be more sensitive in handling cases of women and young girl children in trafficking.

6. Police should be aware of using trafficking related laws while filing the case making relevant investigation necessary and easier for the prosecution of the trafficker.

**BSF**

1. BSF should be more active regarding the porous border and should be accordingly sensitised regarding cross border migration and trafficking.

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# Soyam Gangulu and Adivasi Leadership in the Hyderabad Princely State

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The princely state of Hyderabad witnessed one of the most significant agrarian uprisings in modern Indian history, the Telangana Peasant Armed Struggle (1946–1951). Although the movement is often narrated primarily as a peasant revolt against feudal oppression and the Nizam's rule, it also had important implications for the Adivasi communities inhabiting the forested regions of Telangana. For the Koyas, the struggle represented not merely a peasant movement but an opportunity to address long-standing grievances relating to land alienation, forest restrictions, indebtedness, and the growing encroachment of non-Adivasi settlers into their territories.

The Telangana Armed Struggle (1946–1951), launched under the leadership of the Communist Party of India, was one of the most significant agrarian movements in modern India. The movement spread across nearly four thousand villages in Telangana, with its principal centres located in the districts of Nalgonda and Warangal. Although directed against the Nizam's administration and the entrenched power of landlords, the struggle emerged from a complex set of agrarian and social contradictions that had developed over several decades in Hyderabad State.

One of the principal causes of the movement was the extreme concentration of land in the hands of jagirdars, deshmukhs, and other dominant landed interests. Vast sections of the peasantry cultivated land as tenants or sharecroppers and remained subject to various forms of exploitation. Among the most oppressive of these was *vetti* (forced and unpaid labour), which compelled peasants and labourers to provide services to landlords without remuneration. The burden of vetti extended beyond agricultural work and often included domestic service, transportation, and other forms of compulsory labour that reinforced the social and economic dominance of the landed elite.

The conditions of rural society deteriorated further during the years of the Second World War. Increased demands for revenue and food supplies led to the imposition of grain levies and compulsory procurement measures. These policies placed heavy burdens upon cultivators, particularly small peasants and marginal producers who struggled to meet state demands while sustaining their own households. The extraction of grain, coupled with rising indebtedness, land alienation, and exploitative tenancy arrangements, intensified rural

discontent across large parts of Telangana.

The armed struggle thus emerged as a broad-based movement against feudal oppression, forced labour, excessive taxation, and landlord domination. It sought not only economic relief but also a restructuring of agrarian relations through demands for land redistribution, the abolition of vetti, and greater rights for cultivators. While the movement was led by the Communist Party, its social base extended across diverse sections of rural society, including peasants, agricultural labourers, and Adivasi communities. For the Koyas inhabiting the forested tracts of Warangal and Khammam, the struggle provided an opportunity to address longstanding grievances relating to land alienation, forest restrictions, and the erosion of customary rights over natural resources.

The emergence of the Telangana Armed Struggle cannot be understood without examining the political conditions prevailing in the princely state of Hyderabad and the growth of the Andhra Mahasabha. Hyderabad under the Nizam was characterized by an autocratic system of governance in which democratic institutions were virtually absent. There were no elected bodies at any level, from the village to the state. The Nizam administered the state through a centralized bureaucracy comprising nominated ministers, departmental secretaries, and district officials who exercised authority in his name. Governance was conducted largely through *firmans* (royal decrees), leaving little scope for public participation in political affairs.

Civil liberties were severely restricted. Public meetings, literary associations, and political gatherings required prior official permission, while censorship and surveillance limited the circulation of progressive and nationalist ideas. The state's separate customs system and extensive network of checkpoints effectively insulated Hyderabad from political developments in British India. Such restrictions sought to prevent the spread of nationalist, democratic, and socialist ideologies that were gaining strength elsewhere in the subcontinent. Nevertheless, the influence of the Indian national movement gradually penetrated Hyderabad through students, intellectuals, and political activists who had participated in anti-colonial struggles outside the princely state.

It was in this context that the Andhra Mahasabha (AMS) emerged as an important platform for democratic aspirations in Telangana. Organized in 1928 under the leadership of Madapati Hanumantha Rao and other reform-minded intellectuals, the Mahasabha initially functioned as a moderate organisation seeking administrative reforms, educational expansion, and limited civil liberties. Its early conferences, including the first session held at Jogipet in 1930 under the presidency of Suravaram Pratap Reddy, passed resolutions demanding improvements in education, administrative reforms, and certain concessions for the people. However, the organisation largely confined itself

to constitutional methods and avoided direct confrontation with the Nizam's government.

uring the 1930s and 1940s, however, the character of the Andhra Mahasabha underwent a significant transformation. Influenced by the growing nationalist movement, the rise of socialist ideas, and the activities of Communist organizers, a younger generation of leaders entered the organization. Figures such as Ravi Narayan Reddy, Baddam Yella Reddy, Ch. Lakshmi Narasayya, S. Ramanatham, D. Venkateswara Rao, A. Lakshmi Narasimha Reddy, and Kodanda Ram Reddy played a crucial role in radicalizing the Mahasabha. By the early 1940s, many of these leaders had established close links with the Communist Party of India and sought to transform the Andhra Mahasabha from a liberal reformist body into a militant mass organization.

The growing influence of the left shifted the organization's focus from constitutional reforms to the everyday problems faced by peasants, tenants, agricultural labourers, and other oppressed groups. The Mahasabha began campaigning against *vetti* (forced labour), excessive rents, illegal exactions by landlords, tenant evictions, and oppressive taxation. It demanded the abolition of jagirdari, the reduction of rents and taxes, security of tenure for cultivators, and greater political rights. By carrying these demands into villages and mobilising ordinary people around them, the Andhra Mahasabha expanded far beyond its original urban and intellectual base.

A decisive turning point occurred after the split within the Andhra Mahasabha at its Bhongir session in 1944, when the moderate faction withdrew and the left wing consolidated control over the organization. The subsequent session at Khammam in 1945 called upon the people to actively struggle for their rights. By this time, the Mahasabha had become the principal vehicle for mobilizing peasants and rural communities across Telangana. It provided the organizational framework through which grievances against landlords, jagirdars, and the Nizam's administration were articulated and transformed into collective action.

The Andhra Mahasabha thus served as the immediate political precursor to the Telangana Armed Struggle. It created a network of activists, village-level organisations, and political consciousness that enabled the mobilisation of thousands of peasants across the region. For many marginalized communities, including the Koyas inhabiting the forested tracts of Warangal and Khammam, the Mahasabha provided an avenue through which longstanding grievances relating to land, labour, forest rights, and local autonomy could be expressed. The transformation of the Andhra Mahasabha from a reformist association into a militant mass movement therefore marked a crucial stage in the development of the broader struggle that would engulf Telangana between 1946 and 1951.

The spread of Communist Party activity into the Khammam–Madhira–Kothagudem (Palvancha) region constituted an important phase in the development of the Telangana movement. These areas, particularly the forested tracts of Khammam and Palvancha, were inhabited by substantial Koya populations who had long experienced the effects of land alienation, forest restrictions, indebtedness, and exploitation by landlords, traders, contractors, and state officials. Recognizing the strategic and social importance of these regions, Communist organizers extended their activities beyond the agrarian plains and established contacts with Adivasi communities living in the forests.

A significant aspect of this process was the mobilization of Koya youth, many of whom emerged as active participants in village-level struggles and organizational activities. Through the efforts of Communist cadres and Andhra Mahasabha activists, issues such as land rights, forest access, forced labour (*vetti*), illegal exactions, and exploitation by local officials were increasingly articulated in political terms. The movement provided a platform through which Koyas could express grievances that had accumulated over decades of administrative intervention and economic marginalization.

The attraction of the movement among sections of Koya society lay not merely in its promises of agrarian reform but also in its challenge to structures of domination that had undermined Adivasi autonomy. For many Koyas, participation in the struggle represented an opportunity to recover control over land and forest resources, resist the encroachment of outsiders, and assert their rights as inhabitants of the region. In this respect, the mobilization of Koya youth was not simply an extension of Communist politics into the forests but also an expression of indigenous aspirations for dignity, self-rule, and access to *jal, jangal, jameen*.

The involvement of Koyas in the Khammam–Kothagudem region therefore formed an important chapter in the broader history of the Telangana Armed Struggle. It demonstrates how a movement that originated in the agrarian plains acquired a distinct Adivasi dimension as it expanded into the forested frontier. The participation of Koya youth reveals that Adivasis were not passive followers of political movements initiated elsewhere; rather, they actively appropriated the struggle to address their own historical grievances and to pursue long-standing aspirations for autonomy and control over their resources.

The Godavari forest region emerged as one of the principal centres of the Telangana Armed Struggle during its later phase. Following the military intervention of the Indian Union in 1948 and the intensification of repression, Communist squads increasingly retreated into the forested tracts of Palvancha, East Yellandu, Madhira, Mulugu and Bhadrachalam. The scale of state

repression was unprecedented. In some villages, police raids became a routine occurrence; one village reportedly experienced as many as 160 raids within a period of three months. In the Proddutur area, comprising about thirty villages, twenty-one military camps were established, each housing approximately fifteen personnel. Across the four taluks of the region, nearly one hundred camps with an estimated strength of seven thousand police and military personnel were deployed to suppress the movement. The concentration of such forces demonstrates the strategic significance that the state attached to the Godavari forest belt.

he forests of the Godavari valley provided not merely a military refuge but also a social base among the Koya Adivasis. Decades of exploitation by landlords, patels, patwaris, forest officials, contractors, and moneylenders had generated widespread discontent. The movement's emphasis on land rights, higher wages, protection from exploitation, and resistance to forced labour resonated strongly among the Koyas. As a result, the Party was able to recruit approximately four hundred new members from nearly one hundred villages, of whom ninety per cent were agricultural labourers and poor peasants. Significantly, six women's groups were also organised during this phase, indicating the widening social base of the struggle.

The mobilization of the Koyas constituted one of the most remarkable aspects of the movement in the Godavari region. Around two hundred Koya youth joined the Party as organisers, couriers and guerrilla fighters. Approximately one thousand Koyas participated in village squads and village committees, while fifty Koya Party members and nearly five hundred Koya militants remained active in the forest areas even during the final stages of the struggle. The participation of women was equally noteworthy, with around twenty Koya women joining the armed squads alongside their husbands. These figures reveal that the movement was not simply imposed upon Adivasi society from outside but was actively appropriated by sections of the Koya community to pursue their own aspirations for land, forest rights and local autonomy.

The state's response was particularly severe in the tribal areas. Following a strategy resembling the Briggs Plan, authorities attempted to isolate guerrilla squads from their support base by forcibly relocating Koya populations into camps situated outside the forests. Entire hamlets were burnt and villages evacuated. The human cost of these operations was enormous. In the small Banjara settlement of Soyam Gangulu, between fifteen and twenty people were reportedly shot dead. In the Gadepadu camp alone, nearly fifteen hundred Koyas died from cholera within a period of two months. Across the wider region, contemporary accounts estimated that approximately ten thousand Koyas perished from cholera and related conditions in the relocation camps, while a further three hundred were killed by police, military forces, and

landlord militias. These figures underscore the devastating consequences of counter-insurgency operations for Adivasi communities.

Despite such losses, links between the movement and the Koya population were never completely severed. The Party maintained contact through village networks, leaflets, wage struggles, and organisational work among the Kothagudem mine workers. The persistence of support even under conditions of extreme repression illustrates the extent to which the movement had become intertwined with local grievances concerning land alienation, forest restrictions, indebtedness and political marginalisation. The Godavari forest region thus became more than a guerrilla base; it evolved into a major arena where agrarian radicalism intersected with Adivasi aspirations for self-rule.

The experience of the Koyas during the Telangana Armed Struggle demonstrates that the movement cannot be understood solely through the lens of class conflict. For the Koyas, participation in the struggle represented an effort to recover land, defend customary rights over forests, resist exploitation by outsiders, and assert a degree of autonomy within their ancestral territories. The statistical evidence relating to mobilisation, repression, displacement, and mortality highlights both the scale of Koya participation and the immense sacrifices borne by Adivasi communities during one of the most significant popular movements in modern South Indian history.

Among the Koya leaders who emerged during the Telangana Armed Struggle, SoyamGangulu of the Palvancha forest region occupies a significant place. His political trajectory illustrates how Koya participation in the movement developed through lived experiences of exploitation and engagement with wider political currents rather than through mere ideological persuasion. Before joining the Communist Party, SoyamGangulu had migrated to the plantations of the West Godavari district in search of employment. During his period as a plantation labourer, he directly experienced the harsh conditions of wage labour and the exploitative practices of plantation owners. At the same time, he came into contact with the broader nationalist and anti-colonial political atmosphere that was then spreading across the Andhra region. These experiences exposed him to new ideas about social justice, inequality and collective resistance.

Upon returning to his native *gudem* in the Palvancha forests, Soyam Gangulu initially became associated with a Swami residing in the Papikondalu region who was known for his opposition to the Nizam's administration. Like many Koyas dissatisfied with official oppression and the growing encroachment of outsiders, Gangulu regarded such opposition as a possible avenue for challenging existing structures of power. However, his support gradually diminished when he discovered that the Swami maintained close relations with forest officials and was allegedly involved in the illegal extraction and

transportation of timber from the forests. For Gangulu, this exposed the contradictions between claims of resistance and actual practices that benefited from the exploitation of forest resources.

It was during this period that Communist organisers began extending their activities into the forested tracts of Palvancha and neighbouring regions. Unlike earlier reformist efforts, Communist cadres directly addressed issues that affected Koya life, including land alienation, forest restrictions, forced labour, indebtedness, and the exploitation of Adivasis by landlords, contractors, traders, and state officials. They sought to connect these local grievances with the broader objectives of the Telangana Armed Struggle. Through discussions and prolonged engagement, they persuaded Soyam Gangulu that the movement offered a more meaningful platform for challenging oppression and defending the interests of the Koya people.

After considerable deliberation, Soyam Gangulu decided to join the Communist Party and the armed struggle. His decision was not an individual act alone; he brought with him a substantial following from the Koya community. The support he commanded among the Koyas enabled the movement to establish a stronger presence in the forest areas and facilitated the recruitment of Adivasi youth into village committees, guerrilla squads, and Party organisations. Gangulu thus emerged as an important intermediary between the Communist movement and Koya society, helping to translate the language of agrarian struggle into terms that resonated with Adivasi concerns over land, forests, and autonomy.

The political journey of Soyam Gangulu demonstrates that Koya participation in the Telangana Armed Struggle cannot be explained solely through class analysis. His experiences reveal how labour migration, encounters with nationalist politics, disillusionment with local power structures, and grievances relating to forest exploitation collectively shaped the emergence of Adivasi political consciousness.

Within a relatively short period after joining the movement, Soyam Gangulu emerged as one of the most influential Koya leaders in the Godavari forest region. His intimate knowledge of the terrain, his standing among the Koya communities, and his ability to mobilize support enabled him to rise rapidly through the ranks of the movement. He eventually assumed the position of a guerrilla commander in the Palvancha forest area, playing a crucial role in extending the organizational network of the Communist Party among the Koyas and coordinating resistance activities in the forest belt. Under his leadership, the movement strengthened its presence in several Koya villages, drawing increasing numbers of Adivasi youth into village committees, guerrilla squads, and political organizations.

The growing influence of Soyam Gangulu alarmed the authorities. Following the integration of Hyderabad into the Indian Union, the military administration and later the civilian government regarded the Godavari forest region as one of the principal centers of continuing resistance. Among the leaders active in the area, Soyam Gangulu was considered particularly dangerous because of his popularity among the Koyas and his ability to sustain links between guerrilla squads and local communities. Consequently, considerable resources were devoted to locating and capturing him.

Government records and contemporary accounts indicate that special police operations were organized specifically to track and apprehend Soyam Gangulu. Special teams familiar with the forest terrain were deployed, intelligence networks were expanded, and pressure was exerted on villages suspected of assisting him. The determination of the state to capture Gangulu reflected not merely concern about a single individual but recognition of the wider support he commanded among the Koyas. His ability to evade arrest for a considerable period revealed both the difficulties faced by state forces operating in the forests and the protection he received from local communities.

The prominence accorded to Soyam Gangulu by the authorities highlights the central role played by Koya leadership in the Telangana Armed Struggle. Far from being passive participants directed by outside political organizations, Koya leaders such as Gangulu emerged as influential actors who shaped the course of the movement within the forest regions. The state's sustained efforts to hunt him down testify to the extent of his influence and to the importance of Adivasi participation in sustaining resistance in the Godavari forest belt.

It was within this context that the administration adopted the counter-insurgency strategy popularly known as the Briggs Plan. The policy was introduced largely to destroy the support base that leaders such as Soyam Gangulu had successfully built among the tribal population. By forcibly evacuating Koya settlements from the forests and concentrating them in supervised camps, the state sought to sever the connections between Gangulu's guerrilla network and the communities that provided it with shelter, food, intelligence, and recruits. The implementation of the Briggs Plan therefore reflected the extent to which the authorities viewed Soyam Gangulu not simply as an individual rebel leader but as the focal point of a wider Koya mobilisation that threatened state control over the Godavari forest region.

Despite repeated military operations and the implementation of the Briggs Plan, Soyam Gangulu remained active in the Godavari forest region for a considerable period. His ability to evade capture owed much to his intimate knowledge of the terrain and the support he enjoyed among the Koya communities. Contemporary accounts suggest that the authorities ultimately succeeded in apprehending him not through direct military confrontation but

through deception and betrayal. According to local memories and oral narratives, Gangulu was lured into a vulnerable situation through the offer of adulterated or spurious toddy, a beverage that traditionally formed an important part of Koya social and ritual life. The use of such methods reveals the difficulties faced by the security forces in capturing a leader who had become deeply embedded within local society.

Following his capture, Soyam Gangulu was subjected to severe treatment at the hands of the military and police authorities. Oral traditions preserved among the Koyas recount that he was brutally tortured and subsequently killed while in custody. His death marked the elimination of one of the most prominent Koya leaders associated with the Telangana Armed Struggle in the Godavari forest region. For the state, his capture represented an important victory in its efforts to dismantle the resistance network operating in the forests. For the Koyas, however, Gangulu's death came to symbolize the sacrifices made by Adivasi communities during the struggle against both feudal oppression and state repression. Among the Koyas, Soyam Gangulu continues to be remembered with reverence and affection. Popular memory bestowed upon him the title **"Da"**, a term that means **"Tiger"** in the Koya language. The title symbolised his courage, determination, and fearlessness in confronting both feudal oppression and state repression. Much like the tiger that occupies a prominent place in the forests of the Godavari valley, Gangulu came to represent strength, resilience, and leadership. His remembrance as *Da* reflects not only the admiration of his contemporaries but also the enduring place he occupies in Koya collective memory as a defender of the people and their rights over land, forests and water resources.

The life and struggle of Soyam Gangulu reveal the active role played by the Koyas in shaping the course of the Telangana Armed Struggle. His political journey, from a plantation labourer in the West Godavari district to a commander in the Godavari forest region, illustrates how experiences of exploitation, migration and forest oppression contributed to the emergence of Adivasi political consciousness. Unlike colonial representations that portrayed the Koyas as passive forest dwellers or "primitive tribes," Gangulu's leadership demonstrates their capacity to organise, mobilise and challenge structures of domination. The extraordinary measures adopted by the state, including special military operations and the implementation of the Briggs Plan, underscore the influence he exercised among the Koyas and the importance of Adivasi support to the movement. Although he was eventuallycaptured and killed, his death did not erase his legacy. Remembered by the Koyas as **"Da" (Tiger)**, Soyam Gangulu became a symbol of courage, resistance.

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# Tracing the Historical and Cultural Roots of the Telangana Movement: A Political and Socio-Economic Perspective

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**Abstract**

This paper explores the historical and cultural foundations of the Telangana movement, situating it within a broader political and socio-economic framework. It argues that Telangana's distinct historical evolution—from the Satavahanas through the Kakatiyas, the QutbShahis, and the Nizam's rule—produced a unique political culture, social structure, and economic organization fundamentally different from that of the coastal Andhra region. Whereas Andhra society experienced British colonial modernity, canal-based agriculture, English and Telugu education, and social reform, Telangana evolved under autocratic feudalism, rain-fed agriculture, and limited access to modern education and political participation. The 1956 merger of Telangana with Andhra, despite the States Reorganisation Commission's caution, ignored these deep-rooted disparities, resulting in sustained political alienation and periodic movements for autonomy—from the Mulki agitation (1952) and the 1969 Telangana movement to the statehood struggle culminating in 2014. Drawing upon census data, administrative reports, and secondary scholarship, this paper demonstrates that Telangana's political resurgence was not merely a reaction to post-merger grievances but the historical culmination of centuries-old socio-economic and cultural divergences that made the unified Andhra Pradesh experiment structurally unsustainable.

**Keywords:** Telangana Movement; Regional Identity; Socio-Economic Disparities; Internal Colonialism; Nizam's Hyderabad; Andhra Pradesh Merger; Peasant Struggles; Cultural Assertion; State Formation; Regionalism in India

## Introduction

The Telangana movement represents one of the most significant regional struggles in modern Indian history. Rooted in historical memory and regional consciousness, it embodies the quest for recognition, equity, and autonomy in a federal democratic framework. While often viewed as a post-1956 political phenomenon, its origins lie much deeper—in the region's distinct historical trajectory, cultural evolution, and socio-economic structures. Telangana's political identity was shaped by centuries of governance under indigenous and Islamic regimes, from the Satavahanas and Kakatiyas to the Qutb Shahis and Asaf Jahis, which produced localized administrative systems, linguistic patterns, and cultural practices (Eaton 2005; Talbot 2001).

In contrast, the coastal Andhra region, part of the Madras Presidency under British rule, experienced early exposure to colonial education, bureaucracy, and reformist movements, producing a politically aware middle class by the late nineteenth century (Bayly 1999). This historical divergence—between Telangana's feudal polity and Andhra's colonial modernity—resulted in stark differences in literacy, land tenure, economic infrastructure, and social mobility by the mid-twentieth century (Census of India 1951).

The merger of Telangana with Andhra in 1956, following the Gentlemen's Agreement, was thus not a natural union of kindred Telugu speakers but a political decision that disregarded centuries of structural divergence (States Reorganisation Commission 1955). The result was a persistent sense of marginalization among Telangana's people, reflected in recurrent agitations—the Mulki movement, the 1969 uprising, and finally the successful movement for statehood in 2014 (Jayashankar 2011; Reddy 1979).

Telangana's historical evolution, marked by distinct political systems, socio-economic structures, and cultural traditions, created a regional identity fundamentally different from that of Andhra. The 1956 merger ignored these divergences, producing structural inequalities that eventually transformed into a powerful political movement for statehood.

This study employs a historical–analytical and comparative approach. It draws upon: Primary sources, *Census of India* (1901–1951); *Hyderabad Administrative Reports* (1900–1948); "*States Reorganisation Commission Report* (1955); *Gentlemen's Agreement* (1956)"; archival gazetteers and government orders from the Hyderabad State archives.

Secondary sources include the scholarly works of P. Sundarayya (1972), Raghunadha Rao (1979), Jayashankar (2011), Eaton (2005), Talbot (2001) and Reddy (1979). Quantitative data from census and administrative tables are used to compare literacy rates, landholdings, and irrigation patterns between Telangana and Andhra regions, while qualitative analysis situates these findings within the theoretical frameworks of regionalism and internal colonialism (Hechter 1975; Jaffrelot 2011). The methodology integrates both macro-historical narrative and micro-level data to demonstrate how centuries-old cultural and structural inequalities culminated in a modern political demand for separate statehood.

**Historical and Political Background: From Satavahanas to 1948**

The historical evolution of the Telangana region reveals a pattern of distinct political and socio-cultural development that set it apart from coastal Andhra long before the 1956 merger. From the Satavahana dynasty to the Nizam's Dominion, Telangana's trajectory was shaped by autonomous governance systems, local agrarian structure, and unique religious and linguistic identities that influenced its later political consciousness.

**Early Historical Foundations: The Satavahanas and the Deccan Order**

The earliest political formation of significance in the Telangana region was the

Satavahana dynasty (c. 1st century BCE – 3rd century CE), which established one of its earliest power centres at Kotilingala (present-day Telangana), before expanding its authority from Pratishthana (modern Paithan) and later Amaravati, laying the foundation for political integration and economic prosperity across the Deccan.While both regions shared some Satavahana influence, the cultural nucleus of Telangana was oriented toward the Deccan plateau, emphasizing local administrative autonomy through village assemblies and agrarian settlements (Raychaudhuri and Habib 1982). Epigraphic evidence from Karimnagar and Nalgonda districts demonstrates early patterns of decentralized governance and land grants to local elites and temples, laying foundations for later agrarian hierarchies (Talbot 2001).

**Medieval Telangana: The Kakatiya Legacy**

The Kakatiya dynasty (12th–14th centuries) marked a crucial phase in shaping Telangana's regional identity. Centered in Warangal, their administration fostered a sense of local pride and economic resilience through irrigation tanks, agrarian expansion, and temple-based Shaivite patronage. The "Kakatiya inscriptions" refer to the ruler as "Andhra Rajadhani," yet their political geography corresponded largely to present-day Telangana, not coastal Andhra (Talbot 2001, 85). The Kakatiyas' decentralized military–bureaucratic system, involving the "nayankara" and "samanta" classes, produced an agrarian and warrior elite who later re-emerged as the "Doras" under the Nizam's feudal order (Rao 1979, 42).

**Islamic Deccan and Cultural Synthesis**

After the fall of the Kakatiyas, Telangana came under successive Islamic dynasties, the Bahmanis and later the QutbShahis of Golconda (1518–1687). The Qutb Shahis transformed Hyderabad into a cosmopolitan center of Persian, Arabic, Telugu and Dakhni culture. Importantly, this period marked the consolidation of "Shaivite–Sufi" syncretism, distinct from the Vaishnavite cultural dominance that emerged in coastal Andhra under the Vijayanagara Empire (Eaton 2005, 198–205). Administrative use of Persian and later Urdu entrenched linguistic differentiation, which would persist into the 20th century.

**The Asaf Jahis and Nizam's Rule (1724–1948)**

Under the AsafJahi dynasty (1724–1948), Hyderabad State emerged as one of the most complex princely states in colonial India. The Nizams maintained internal autonomy under British paramountcy, preserving a feudal socio-economic order characterized by vast jagirdari estates and limited public education. By contrast, the coastal Andhra districts, under direct British rule in the Madras Presidency, witnessed the spread of English education, modern administration, and a vernacular press, which fostered political awareness and reform movements (Bayly 1999).

According to the "Hyderabad Administrative Report (1938–39)", only 4.3%

of Telangana's population was literate, compared to 15.7% in the Madras Presidency (Census of India 1941). English-medium education was confined largely to the Hyderabad elite, while the majority were educated in Urdu, a language unfamiliar to rural Telugu-speaking peasants. Meanwhile, in the Madras Presidency, Christian missionary and government schools expanded rapidly; by 1901, there were over 10,000 schools with nearly 500,000 enrolled students, compared to fewer than 1,200 schools in Hyderabad State (Census of India 1901, Vol. XVII).

**Socio-Economic Contrasts under the Nizam and British Rule**

The agrarian structures of Telangana and Andhra also diverged sharply. Telangana's agriculture depended primarily on rain-fed tanks (cheruvulu) and wells, with only 10% of cultivable land under assured irrigation as of 1941 (Hyderabad State Gazetteer 1941). In contrast, the Krishna and Godavari delta regions of coastal Andhra benefited from British canal irrigation projects such as the "Dowleswaram Anicut (1850)" and the "Krishna Anicut (1855)", which converted them into high-yield agrarian economies (Reddy 1979, 56).

Land tenure data from the Hyderabad Revenue Department (1945) show that 43% of cultivable land was controlled by jagirdars and deshmukhs, with tenant peasants bearing heavy rents and unpaid labor obligations (vetti). This feudal dominance fostered the Telangana Peasant Armed Struggle (1946–51) against landlords, which became one of the largest agrarian revolts in Indian history (Sundarayya 1972). Andhra's peasantry, in contrast, had begun transitioning toward smallholding patterns under colonial land reforms, further widening the developmental gap.

**Political Awakening and the Hyderabad Liberation (1948)**

While coastal Andhra had been exposed to the Indian National Congress, reform movements, and nationalist journalism since the late nineteenth century, the Nizam's Hyderabad remained politically restricted. Only about 1% of the population participated in any form of representative politics before 1946 (Hyderabad State Administrative Report 1945–46). The Nizam's suppression of the Hyderabad State Congress and Communist Party delayed mass political awareness until the postwar years. The "Hyderabad Liberation (1948)", culminating in "Operation Polo", brought an end to autocratic rule but left Telangana socio-economically backward relative to the rest of India.

By the mid-twentieth century, Telangana's structural profile—low literacy, feudal agriculture, minimal industrialization, and restricted political participation—stood in stark contrast to the comparatively modernized, educated, and politically mobilized Andhra region. These differences were not incidental but historically rooted in centuries of divergent political and cultural development. As the "States Reorganisation Commission (1955)" later noted, "Telangana's social conditions, administrative traditions, and economic structure differ fundamentally from those of Andhra." The 1956 merger, therefore, united two regions that shared a language but not a common

historical experience.

**Socio-Economic and Cultural Divergences (1857–1956)**

The socio-economic and cultural trajectories of Telangana and Andhra between 1857 and 1956 reveal long-standing structural asymmetries that later crystallized into political discontent and regional consciousness. Under distinct administrative regimes—the Nizam's Dominion in Hyderabad and the British-controlled Madras Presidency, the two regions evolved contrasting systems of education, agriculture, land tenure and cultural development, which together explain the deep-rooted causes behind the Telangana movement's emergence.

**Education and Literacy**

In Telangana, under the Nizam's rule, education was limited, Urdu was the medium of instruction, and literacy remained largely confined to the urban elite and minority communities. According to the "Hyderabad Administrative Report" (1941), literacy in the Hyderabad State stood at merely 6.8 percent in 1931, with rural female literacy below 1 percent (Government of Hyderabad, 1941). In contrast, the "Madras Presidency Census Report" of 1931 recorded a literacy rate of nearly 21 percent for the Coastal Andhra and Rayalaseema districts combined (Government of India, 1931).

This educational gap was a result of structural differences: Andhra's integration into the colonial education system exposed its people to English and Telugu schooling, producing a class of bureaucrats and reformers. Telangana's educational institutions, meanwhile, were restricted and oriented toward Persian-Urdu bureaucratic needs, depriving the majority of Telugu-speaking population of linguistic and modern education (Reddy 2014, 45). Thus, by independence, Andhra society had nearly a two-century-old exposure to print culture, reformist movements and political awareness, while Telangana remained socio-educationally marginalized (Pingle 1996, 67).

| Year | Region | Literacy (%) | Primary Schools per 10,000 Population |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1901 | Telangana (Hyderabad) | 3.2 | 0.4 |
| 1901 | Andhra (Madras) | 9.8 | 1.2 |
| 1931 | Telangana (Hyderabad) | 6.8 | 0.7 |
| 1931 | Andhra (Madras) | 21.0 | 1.8 |
| 1951 | Telangana (Hyderabad) | 13.3 | 1.1 |
| 1951 | Andhra (Madras) | 32.5 | 2.3 |

(Compiled from Census of India 1901–1951; Hyderabad State Administration Reports 1931–1948.)

**Land, Agriculture, and Irrigation**

Agrarian structure formed another major point of divergence. Telangana's economy was dominated by a semi-feudal system under "Doras" (local landlords) who held large tracts under the "jagirdari" and "samasthan"

systems. According to the "Hyderabad Revenue Department Report" (1944), nearly 40 percent of cultivable land was under the control of just 6 percent of landholders (Government of Hyderabad, 1944). Irrigation largely depended on tanks ("cheruvulu") and monsoon rains, with only limited canal systems.

In contrast, the British introduced systematic land revenue settlements and large irrigation projects like the Godavari and Krishna delta canals in Andhra, beginning in the 1850s (Baker 1984, 102). The "Madras Presidency Irrigation Report" (1941) shows that by 1940, more than 45 percent of the cultivated area in Coastal Andhra was canal-irrigated, creating a class of prosperous peasant proprietors and cash-crop cultivators (Government of Madras, 1941). The Telangana farmer, dependent on erratic rainfall and feudal intermediaries, remained trapped in debt, tenancy and subsistence agriculture (Rao 2017, 59). These differences laid the foundation for the later "Peasant Armed Struggle" (1946–51), which erupted in Telangana against oppressive landlords and the Nizam's forces, an uprising absent in Andhra, where agrarian reforms had been partially achieved under colonial policy (Dhanagare 1983, 215).

**Industrial and Infrastructure Development**

Industrialization and infrastructure followed a similar unequal pattern. Hyderabad State's industry was concentrated in the capital city, textiles, arms and a few modern enterprises like the Hyderabad Allwyn factory, serving state needs rather than regional development (Hyderabad Gazetteer 1941, 223). Road and rail networks were limited; by 1940, Telangana had only 2,600 km of surfaced roads compared to over 8,400 km in the Andhra districts of Madras Presidency (Government of Madras, 1941).

In Andhra, British infrastructural expansion, urbanization of port cities like Machilipatnam and Visakhapatnam, and integration with global trade promoted capitalist and middle-class growth. Telangana's isolation under princely rule meant economic stagnation and dependence on agriculture for nearly 80 percent of employment (Reddy 2014, 102).

**Cultural-Linguistic and Administrative Duality**

The linguistic divide reinforced these material inequalities. Urdu dominated Telangana's official and cultural life, while Telugu, the mother tongue of the majority, was marginalized. The "Hyderabad Education Commission Report" (1939) reveals that only 6 percent of schools used Telugu as a medium, while 64 percent used Urdu or Persian (Government of Hyderabad, 1939). In contrast, Andhra's vernacular press "Andhra Patrika" (founded 1908) and "Krishna Patrika" (1902), created a politically conscious Telugu public sphere (Rao 2017, 89).

This duality shaped differing political cultures: Andhra's intelligentsia engaged with constitutional reforms, nationalism, and modern politics, whereas Telangana's remained fragmented by linguistic and administrative exclusion. The Mulki (local) vs. non-Mulki employment disputes during the 1930s already foreshadowed tensions that resurfaced during the 1969

Telangana agitation (Pingle 1996, 124).

**Social Movements and Political Consciousness**

Telangana's Dora system, Vetti (bonded labor), and extreme feudal repression led to distinct resistance movements, unlike the reformist and constitutional approach of Andhra's elites. The "Telangana Peasant Armed Struggle" (1946–51), led by communists, mobilized over 3,000 villages and 300,000 peasants (Dhanagare 1983, 221). Its roots lay in centuries of exploitative land relations and isolation from modern governance. Meanwhile, Andhra experienced early social reform movements led by Kandukuri Veeresalingam and others since the late nineteenth century, focusing on education, widow remarriage and caste reform (Baker 1984, 118).

Thus, Telangana's political consciousness emerged from class-based struggles and anti-feudalism, while Andhra's evolved through bourgeois reformism and nationalist integration. These differing trajectories would later clash when both societies were merged under the "States Reorganisation Act" (1956).

**Consequences and Synthesis**

By 1956, the merger of Telangana (Hyderabad State) with Andhra (Madras Presidency) brought together two regions shaped by historically divergent socio-economic, cultural, and political experiences. Telangana entered the union with low literacy, limited irrigation, and entrenched feudal hierarchies, while Andhra contributed a politically articulate, economically advanced, and educationally developed society. The resulting imbalance fueled feelings of subordination and exploitation among Telangana people, laying the groundwork for the 1969 agitation and the eventual formation of Telangana in 2014.

In retrospect, these disparities illustrate that the Telangana movement was not a sudden outburst but the culmination of a long historical continuum of inequality rooted in differential colonial and princely state trajectories.

**The Merger of 1956 and Its Political Consequences**

The integration of Telangana (the Telugu-speaking districts of the former Hyderabad State) with the Andhra State in 1956 marked one of the most controversial episodes in post-independence Indian federal history. Though publicly justified as an act of linguistic unification under the States Reorganisation policy, the merger disregarded the profound historical, socio-economic, and cultural disparities between the two regions, as earlier sections have shown. The political process surrounding this merger, and its eventual unraveling, demonstrate how historical inequities, administrative neglect and cultural alienation combined to transform the Telangana movement into a sustained political force spanning nearly six decades.

**The States Reorganisation and the Gentlemen's Agreement**

After the accession of Hyderabad State into the Indian Union in 1948, Telangana entered a phase of democratic experimentation under the newly formed Hyderabad Legislative Assembly (Reddy 2014, 109). However, the

linguistic reorganisation debates that followed the creation of Andhra State in 1953 reignited demands to merge Telangana with the Telugu-speaking Andhra districts of the Madras Presidency. The States Reorganisation Commission (SRC) of 1955, chaired by Fazl Ali, recognized the distinct historical and socio-economic trajectory of Telangana and explicitly warned against an immediate merger. The SRC Report noted that "the Telangana area has a surplus budget and a system of land tenure and administration distinct from Andhra; therefore, it would be unwise to merge them hastily" (SRC Report, 1955, 162).

Despite this caution, political pressure and elite negotiations led to the "Gentlemen's Agreement" of February 1956, which promised constitutional safeguards for Telangana, including the protection of Mulki (local) employment, equitable distribution of resources, and a separate regional council to oversee local development (Pingle 1996, 141). The agreement was, in essence, a political compromise that ignored the region's deep-rooted disparities. Within a year, the promises began to erode as administrative and financial control increasingly centralized in coastal Andhra-dominated bureaucracies (Rao 2017, 132).

**Immediate Consequences: Political and Economic Discontent**

The years following the merger saw rising discontent among Telangana's educated youth and employees, who felt marginalized within the new Andhra Pradesh administration. The imbalance in resource allocation was evident: between 1956 and 1968, nearly 70 percent of major irrigation projects were concentrated in coastal Andhra, while Telangana's tank-based systems deteriorated (Government of Andhra Pradesh, Five-Year Plan Report, 1969). Similarly, the "Mulki rules", which guaranteed employment preference for locals, were frequently violated, resulting in widespread resentment among Telangana government employees (Reddy 2014, 122).

These grievances culminated in the "1969 Telangana Movement", the first organized post-merger uprising. Led primarily by students and employees, it reflected deep frustrations over the betrayal of the Gentlemen's Agreement and continuing regional imbalances. The agitation witnessed large-scale protests across Hyderabad and Warangal, leading to police firings and hundreds of deaths (Pingle 1996, 157). Importantly, this movement transformed Telangana's regional identity into a coherent political ideology centered on self-respect (Atma Gauravam), administrative justice and economic equity.

**Political Repression and Temporary Consolidation**

The central government's response to the 1969 movement was characterized by both repression and co-option. The Congress leadership managed to contain the agitation through political concessions and appointments of Telangana leaders to symbolic positions, but the structural issues persisted. The subsequent "Jai Andhra Movement" (1972) in coastal Andhra, which

demanded separation from Telangana, ironically underscored the inherent instability of the merged state (Rao 2017, 148). The "Six-Point Formula" of 1973 attempted to resolve these issues through administrative decentralization and development boards, but in practice, it failed to address the fundamental imbalance in irrigation, education and employment opportunities (Reddy 2014, 131).

**The Long-Term Political Evolution: From Regionalism to Statehood**

By the 1980s and 1990s, the Telangana question had receded from the national agenda but remained alive in the collective consciousness. The region's continued economic lag, coupled with cultural alienation, fueled local political assertion. The emergence of the "Telangana Rashtra Samithi (TRS)" in 2001 under K. Chandrashekar Rao marked a decisive shift, transforming a socio-regional grievance into a structured political movement (Rao 2017, 173). The TRS effectively drew upon historical memory, invoking not only post-1956 injustices but also the deeper civilizational distinctions stretching back to the Nizam and Kakatiya periods.

Census data and planning documents from the early 2000s further validated these concerns. The "Planning Commission Report" (2008) noted that Telangana's per capita income remained nearly 25 percent lower than coastal Andhra's, and its irrigation coverage was still below pre-merger levels (Government of India, 2008). Public employment patterns also continued to show Andhra dominance in higher bureaucratic and academic posts (Reddy 2014, 182).

**Cultural Assertion and Political Culmination**

Beyond economics, the cultural assertion of Telangana identity played a crucial role in the movement's resurgence. Folk traditions like "Bathukamma, Oggu Katha and Bonalu" became symbols of distinctiveness, countering the homogenizing tendencies of Andhra's cultural narratives (Pingle 1996, 189). Telugu language itself became a terrain of identity, Telangana dialect, once stigmatized, emerged as a marker of pride and authenticity in political discourse and media.

The final phase of the movement (2009–2014) combined mass mobilization, cultural revival, and strategic political negotiation. The central government's decision to form Telangana in June 2014 represented the culmination of a century-long struggle, not merely a reaction to administrative inequity, but the political realization of deep historical and cultural separateness.

**The Historical Blunder and Its Legacy**

In retrospect, the 1956 merger stands as a historical blunder, born from linguistic idealism but blind to centuries of divergence. The Telangana region's distinct evolution — feudal under the Nizam, agrarian and Urdu-influenced, socially stratified yet culturally rich, clashed fundamentally with Andhra's colonial-modern trajectory of education, political reform and capitalist agriculture. The merger, sustained for nearly six decades, repeatedly

fractured under the weight of these contradictions until it finally dissolved in 2014.

The Telangana movement thus exemplifies how historical and cultural roots can resurface as potent political forces. Its trajectory underscores that regional identity in India is not a mere product of administrative boundaries but of enduring historical experiences, socio-economic structures, and cultural memories. Telangana's statehood, therefore, stands as both a correction of a historical wrong and a testament to the resilience of regional consciousness within Indian democracy.

**Conclusion**

The Telangana movement was not merely a political agitation of the twentieth century but the culmination of centuries of historical, socio-economic, and cultural differences between Telangana and Andhra regions. The divergence between the two regions can be traced to their distinct political trajectories, Telangana under the Nizam's Hyderabad State and Andhra under direct British colonial administration. While Andhra society witnessed the early spread of Western education, social reform, and political consciousness from the mid-nineteenth century, Telangana remained isolated under feudal domination and limited access to modern institutions (Rao 1987; Reddy 2014).

The legacy of the feudal Dora system, the peasant armed struggles of the 1940s, and the exploitative agrarian structures under the Nizam shaped Telangana's unique socio-economic fabric. In contrast, the canal-based agrarian prosperity of coastal Andhra and the rise of an educated middle class fostered contrasting developmental trajectories (Subrahmanyam 2012; Bawa 1992). These structural disparities created deep-rooted grievances when the two regions were merged in 1956 to form Andhra Pradesh, a decision later seen as a historical miscalculation (Rao and Reddy 2010).

The post-merger decades witnessed repeated eruptions of dissent, from the Mulki agitation to the 1969 Telangana movement, all reflecting the persistence of historical inequities and the sense of political and cultural marginalization among Telangana's people. The eventual bifurcation of Andhra Pradesh in 2014, therefore, was not an abrupt political event but a historically determined outcome rooted in centuries of divergent experiences of governance, economy, and identity (Suri 2014; Srinivasulu 2011).

The Telangana movement embodies the assertion of a region long excluded from the benefits of modernity and self-rule. Its trajectory demonstrates how uneven historical development, shaped by geography, polity, and class relations, can manifest in regional consciousness and demands for self-determination. Recognizing these deep historical and socio-cultural undercurrents is essential for understanding both the origins of the Telangana movement and its enduring legacy in contemporary Indian federalism.

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# The Contribution of Sarala Sagar to Agrarian Sector in the Kotakota Region

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## Abstract

Wanaparthy Samsthan was the most important Samsthan which was originally known as Sugur Samsthan. Wanaparthy Samsthan was bounded on the North by the Nagar Kurnool Taluk and various jagirs, diwani lands of the Nizam, the Gadwal Samsthan across the river Krishna to the South, on the West by the Amarachintha Samsthana, on the South - East border by the Jataprole Samsthan and on the North - east side by the Gopalpet Samsthan.It had an area of 640 Square miles with 152 villages and 26 hamlets. According to the Census of 1901, the total population of this Samasthan was about 63000. Earlier Sugur was the capital for this Samsthan, Raja Ramakrishna Rao - I shifted the capital from Sugur to Wanaparthy.

Wanaparthy was an important Samsthan under the Nizam of Hyderabad, with its rulers serving as his vassals. The Samsthan was founded by Veera Krishna Reddy of the Motati Reddy community, who had earlier served the Vijayanagara rulers in the Nandiyal region. Ramakrishna Rao was the first ruler of Wanaparthy and received the title "Raja Bahadur" from the Nizam. He was succeeded by his adopted son, Raja Rameshwara Rao I, who served both the British and the Nizam. He introduced the Permanent Settlement System in Wanaparthy and maintained a small army. During the 1857 Revolt, his forces supported the British and the Nizam, earning him the honour of "Killat", along with a rifle, sword, and revolver. He was also appointed Inspector General of the Government Field Force by the Nizam.

The Last ruler of Wanaparthy Samsthana was Raja Rameshwara Rao III. He studied higher education in other countries. The Raja of Wanaparthy Samsthan constructed several works like rest houses for travelers, buildings, schools, temples, mosques and irrigation facilities. The most important Irrigation Project "Sarala Sagar" was constructed by Raja Ramakrishna Rao –III, which is the focal point of the present study.

**Keywords**: Wanaparthy Samsthan, Sugur, Raja Rameshwar Rao, Permanent Settlement System, Killat, irrigation facilities, Sarala Sagar project, land tax, water reforms

**Important Dates**

Foundation stone of the Sarala Sagar project laid by Major General J.N. Choudhary, military governor of Hyderabad on15th September, 1949.

- Date of Commenced: 10-07-1947
- Date of Completion: 01-05-1959
- Water 1st time Layout is: 26-07-1959, By Sri .J.V.Narsinga Rao Minister for P.W.D. (AP). Total Cost of Project: 35 Lakhs.

**Sarala Sagar Project**

Sarala Sagar project is a Medium Irrigation Project constructed across ChinnaVagu a tributary of river Krishna about 4 Miles from Wanaparthy Road Railway station on South Central Railway. This project was originally planned and preliminary construction on the same was begin during the Jagir time under the orders of Sri Raja Rameshwara Rao, Raja of Wanaparthy samsthan.The construction work was actually commenced 10-07-1947.After the irrigation of Jagir into Khalsa the project was taken over by the Irrigation project branch of the irrigation department of Hyderabad P.W.D. sanction to the scheme was accorded vide G.O.No.1.B./418/T/50/4250,Dated 19-11-1951 for RS.24.61 lakhs and subsequently revised to RS.35.30 lakhs.

The project has a syphon spillway for disposing the maximum floods during the rainy season. This is one of the specialties of the project and supposed to be the biggest project in the world with such type of surplus disposal arrangements. The main advantage of this type of surplusing arrangements is practically no additional submergence at the time of floods. But the construction part is very difficult. This has been designed and executed by our eminent Engineer Late Sri Rama Krishna Raju. The project was completed in all respects and water let out for irrigation first time on 26 July 1956 A.D.

**Location**

The Dam site is located nearly 9.400 ft up stream of the railway bridge at mile 103 in the Secunderabad - Dronachalam section of the south-central railway. The Dam line starts from a ridge of the south-central railway. The Dam line starts from a ridge in Survey No. 327 of ShankarampetVillage.On the left bank to another ridge in Survey No. 400 of Konnur Village at the right bank. Because of the availability of good hard granite as surface sheet rock not only in the riverbed portion but also a Major distance on the right bank. The present dam site was considered ideal.

**Functioning of the Priming Syphon of Sarala Sagar Project**

The Dam is consisting of 4 units of priming volute type of Syphons and 17 units of Hood siphons. The 17 Units of He as siphons are divided into 4 batteries and three batters are consisting 4 Syphons each and while the fourth consisting of 5 siphons. This will be taken care of by the priming volutes type of siphons. When the water levels in the reservoir comes to a level of + 331.93 M (1089.00 ft) water starts entering into the funnel of priming siphon No. 1 then the de primers will suck the water level comes down to + 331.93 M ( 1089.00 Ft.) the air will entire into de primers and disconnect the functioning of the Syphon. Similarly, when the water level in the reservoir comes to +

332.00 M (1089.25) + 332.08 (1089.0 FT) + 332.15 M (1089.75 FT) The priming siphon and 4 will starts functioning respectively and when the levels comes down the air will enter de primers and it will disconnect the functioning of the siphons.

**Functioning of Hood Syphons**

The crest of the Hood siphons are also kept and No.1 and similarly the battery No. 2, 3 and 4. But the Hood siphons will starts automatically with the help of priming siphons. When the priming siphons starts functioning the sluice into the throat of the hood siphon and will push the water with a result the out let in the Hood siphon will seal and the siphon will start into operation.

**Project Capacity**

On the continent of Asia Discharged water downstream with automatic siphons in the first project Sarala Sagar. Sarala Sagar project was built with a capacity of 0.5 TMC. The project is spread over 1572 metric cube feet in 771 acres. The siphons open automatically when water, while the project reaches the full water level of 1089 feet, while 1089.25 feet. Level is 1054 feet, if the water reaches 1067 feet, the water will be canal and if it reaches 1072 feet, the water will be released from the right canal release 82 cusecs of water through the left canal release and flows for 16 kilometers and irritates 3,769.20 acres in eight villages ,6.89 cusecs of water is released through the right canal to 4.50 kilometers it flows along and Irrigates 388.22 acres of two villages.

**Principal features of Sarala Sagar Project**

1. LOCATION: a) Longitude 77 " - 54 East
b) Latitude 16 " - 25 North
2. CATCHMENT OF AREA: 66.00 Sq.miles or 106.26 Sq.km
Intercepted. 404.00 " or 650"
Total: 470.00Sq.mis or 756.70 Sq.km
3) HYDROLOGY: a) Average Monson rainfall 27.34 Inches or 694.44 Mcum
b) Total Yield 1372 .00 Mcft or 38.85 Mcum
c) Available Yield 884.40Mft.of25.04 Mcum
d) Maximum floods discharge: 62.834cusecs 17779.24
e) Area Submerged - 771 Acre

PARTICULAR OF DAM: LENGTH
a) Earthen Dam + 3537 FET Top Width 8 " Ft 1078 M
b) Syphon Spillvay + 391 Ft Height 43"Ft. 119 M
c) Gravity Dam + 520 Ft T.W 4"Fet158 M

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Total: 1355
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The process of extraction of air from the Syphon and creation of the desirable degree of vacuum on order to enable Hood Syphon to operate at full capacity

is called priming siphon. The depth of water requires to flow over the crest of the siphon in order to prime the Syphon is called priming depth. For a siphon to be efficient it should not only prime quickly but do so function with a low priming depth.

In order to prime the Hood siphon quickly and with a minimum priming depth a priming siphon of the volute type one is used for each battery and connected to the Hood siphons. Thus, four priming siphons are provided to prime the four batteries of Hood siphons. Thus, discharging capacity of each priming siphon is 500 Cusecs and for hood siphon.

The discharging capacity of each priming siphon is 500 Cusecs and for hood siphon is 3440 Cusecs. In addition to this there is also a MS by wash weir of 550 Ft. Length with 1.5 Ft. Head to discharge about 2354 Cusecs.

The Following are details of the "SURPLUS ARRANGEMENTS":

a) Length of siphon spill way 391 Ft
b) 17 Numbers of Hood siphons 17×3440 - 58,480 Cusecs
c) 4 Numbers of priming siphons 4×500 - 2000 Cusecs
d) 550 's Long MS by wash weir with 1.5 Ft. Head - 2,354 Cusecs

Total: 62,834 Cusecs

The main advantage of this type of surplus arrangement is practically to avoid the additional submergence at the time of flood.

**Functioning of the Syphons**

Priming Syphone: There are four priming siphon with a chance of 0.25 Ft. different crest levels with each other connected with hood siphons. The following are the Crest levels of the priming siphons.

| Syphon Numbers. | Crest Level |
|---|---|
| a) Priming Syphon No.1 | + 331.93 1M |
| b) Priming Syphon No.2. | + 332.00 7M |
| c) Priming Syphon No.3. | + 332.083 M |
| d) Priming Syphon No.4. | + 332.159 M |

SLUICE:

a) Left Canal - AT.CH.14.20 - V.3' × 4' .9
Carrying Capacities. 82.00 Cusecs
Bed, width 9' 2.74 M
F.S.L. 4' 1.20 M

Length. 16 km
Ayacut 3769.20 Acms
No.of villages. 8 villages

b) Right Canal at C.H.55.50-3'dia Pipe:
Carrying Capacities. 6.89 Cusecs
Bed, width. 3'.00.90 M
FSL 4' 1.20 M
Length. 2.50 Miles 4.50 Km
No.of Villages 2 No's Ayacut 388.22 AC

**Particular of Ayacut**
a) Paddy 1693 - 76 Ha or 4185-12 acres
b) Number of Villages served 10 villages

**Submergence**
a) No.of Village Submerged. Nil
b) No.of hours Submerged Nil
Area submerged. 771. Acres.

**Village Benefited**:10 Nos.4185 Acers

a)R.F.Canal :
I) R.F.Canal Nelvidi 176 - 12 Acers.
II) R.F.Canal Narsinghpur 212 - 20 Acers.
---
Total : 388 - 32 Acers
---
b) L.F. Canal:
1)Shankarampet. 97 - 27 Acers
2) Dhanthanur. 113 - 01 Acers
3) Madhanapur 128 - 09 Acers
4) Thirmalaipally. 282 - 17 Acers
5) Waddawata. 138 - 06 Acers
6) Cherlapally. 162 - 03 Acers
7) Ramanpad. 766 - 12 Acers
8) Ajjakollu. 2108 - 27 Acers
---
Total: 3796 - 20 Acers
---

**Conclusion**
The Samsthan was a part of the Daccan regioin under Nizam’s rule and was located on the border of Madras presidency. During the visits to Kurnool and

Madras, Raja Rameshwara Rao was much influenced by what he had seen. He made changes to bring the Wanaparthy Samsthan in line with Madras system of civil and criminal courts. He surveyed entire Samsthan and settled by officials of the Madras revenue establishment. Moreover, to some degree he adopted a European life style. Raja Rameshwara Rao - III was the last ruler of Wanaparthy Samsthan. He took higher education from Nizam college, Hyderabad and also in Madras in a ceremony officiated over by general J.N. Chaudhary, Rama Rameshwar Rao - III. Transferred power over the Samsthan to the interim government of Hyderabad on 15 September 1949. He has during his term of office, done his best for his people. Assembly representing of Zamindars and Jagirdars. Later on, he was elected as Member of Parliament and actively participated of member in ministry of Foreign affairs.

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# A Study on Traditional Wooden Accessories: A Case Study of the Folding Table for Rural Utility Wood Accessories, Techniques, Aesthetics and Cultural Significance

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## Abstract

Wooden craftsmanship in India dates back to the 11th century, evolving from intricate carvings on temples and palaces to functional and decorative household objects. Over centuries, each region developed unique styles based on local traditions and available wood species. Among them, Saharanpur in Uttar Pradesh emerged as a major center, where Kashmiri artisans introduced refined carving techniques, blending them with local materials and designs. This heritage has been preserved through generations of skilled craftsmen who continue to create handmade wooden accessories admired worldwide. In southern India, particularly in Andhra Pradesh and Telangana, wooden craft has ancient roots linked to temple architecture and folk-art traditions. Regions such as Tirupati, Etikoppaka, Kondapalli and Nirmal are renowned for their wooden toys and carvings that reflect cultural stories and spiritual symbolism. The present study explores the evolution of wooden craftsmanship and its connection to modern design, focusing on the development of a functional folding table. Field interactions at Shilparamam, Telangana, provided insights into artisans' skills, materials, challenges and sustainable practices. The research highlights the integration of traditional art with contemporary design principles to preserve and promote India's enduring wooden craft heritage.

**Keywords:** Wooden Craftsmanship, Traditional Artisans, Handicrafts, Sustainable Design, Folding Table Design, Ergonomics, Cultural Heritage, Craft Revival, Shilparamam Telangana, Traditional Techniques

## Introduction

Andhra Pradesh and Telangana share ancient roots tracing back to the Satavahana dynasty, known for promoting Telugu culture and Buddhism. The Kakatiya rulers of Warangal advanced art and architecture in Telangana. After independence, both regions formed Andhra Pradesh in 1956, later bifurcated in 2014, creating Telangana and reorganized Andhra Pradesh.

**History of Kakatiya Dynasty (12th–14th Century CE): Period:** Approximately **1163 CE to 1323 CE, Capital:** *Orugallu* (modern-day

Warangal, Telangana)

**Prominent Rulers:**

- Prola II (1163–1195 CE)
- Rudradeva (Prataparudra I) (1158–1195 CE)
- Ganapati Deva (1199–1262 CE)
- Rani Rudrama Devi (1262–1289 CE) – one of India's earliest female monarchs
- Prataparudra II (1289–1323 CE) – last ruler, defeated by the Delhi Sultanate

**Wooden craft, Art & Architecture**

The Kakatiyas were great patrons of temple art, sculpture and wood craft, seen in the Thousand Pillar Temple (Hanamkonda) and Ramappa Temple (Palampet). Their legacy influenced later South Indian craft traditions, including wooden carvings and decorative architecture.

## British Painting Schools in India

During the British colonial period (18th–20th centuries), formal art and painting schools were established across India to promote European academic art education. These institutions aimed to train Indian artists in Western techniques, such as perspective, anatomy, oil painting and realism, while later evolving into centers of Indian modern art**.**

***1. Madras School of Art (now Government College of Fine Arts, Chennai) – 1850***

- Founded by Alexander Hunter.
- Among the first art schools in India, focusing on industrial design, woodwork, lithography, and academic painting.
- Combined craft traditions with modern art education.

***2. Calcutta School of Art (now Government College of Art & Craft, Kolkata) – 1854***

- Established under Lord Dalhousie's initiative.
- Trained artists in European academic realism.
- Later became the cradle of the Bengal School of Art, led by Abanindranath Tagore, who revived Indian styles in response to colonial art.

***3. Sir J.J. School of Art, Bombay (now Mumbai) – 1857***

- Founded through the bequest of Sir JamsetjeeJeejeebhoy.
- Became a major center for oil painting, sculpture, and architectural drawing.
- Encouraged Indo-European art synthesis during the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

***4. Government School of Art, Lucknow – 1911***

- Promoted decorative arts, miniature painting, and applied design.

- Supported the fusion of Mughal decorative elements with British naturalistic styles.

***5. Kala Bhavana, Visva-Bharati, Santiniketan – 1919***

- Founded by Rabindranath Tagore**.**
- A reaction to rigid colonial academicism.
- Encouraged freedom of expression, blending traditional Indian art philosophy with modernist ideas**.**

**Research Design Pilot Study of Project**

1. Implications for Main Study: Villages of Patancheru, and Rayadurgam Telangana State
2. Naguluru, Mylavaram, Kothanaguluru Reddy Gudem, Krishna district, Andhra Pradesh

**Product History: Folding Table**

The folding table is a versatile and space-saving furniture product designed to be easily collapsed and stored when not in use. Its origins can be traced back to ancient civilizations, including the Romans and Egyptians, who used early forms of collapsible furniture for mobility during military campaigns and travel. In modern history, folding tables became popular in the 20th century with the rise of compact living spaces and the need for multi-functional furniture. Initially made of wood, these tables evolved to include metal frames and plastic or composite tops, increasing their durability and portability. Folding tables are now commonly used in households, offices, schools, outdoor events, and industrial settings due to their practicality and ease of storage. The design has continued to evolve with ergonomic improvements, lightweight materials, and user-friendly locking mechanisms, making them both functional and user-centric. Today, folding tables are recognized not only for their utility but also for their adaptability to different environments and user needs.

**Objectives of the Study**

- To design a functional, ergonomic and portable folding table for rural use.
- To integrate traditional wooden craftsmanship with modern design principles.
- To study techniques, materials and aesthetics of regional wooden crafts.
- To promote sustainable and culturally inspired wooden product design.

**Problem of Identification:** A functional, space-efficient, and user-friendly furniture solution that meets the needs of individuals in both residential and

commercial settings in these idea I have to implement for design for society. The design aims to provide:

- Portability – Easy to transport and relocate with minimal effort.
- Space-saving functionality – A collapsible structure that allows for compact storage when not in use.
- Ease of use – Simple folding and unfolding mechanism suitable for users of all ages.
- Durability – Use of strong yet lightweight materials to ensure long-term usability.
- Cost-effectiveness – Economical design that is affordable without compromising quality.
- Adaptability – Suitable for various applications such as dining, studying, working or outdoor activities.

**Research Methodology**

**Descriptive Research:** Conducted a descriptive field study in the villages of Patancheru, Naguluru and Rayadurgam as part of a pilot study. Our team interviewed 10 to 15 individuals to identify challenges related to specific products. Based on this research, we developed and implemented a research design focused on creating a functional folding table. The design was tested and constructed both in the field and at the FDDI laboratory. Overall, the methodology involved planning, field data collection, analysis, and translating insights into a practical final product.

**Secondary Research:** Secondary research involved reviewing literature on**traditional wooden crafts**, **furniture design**, and**rural utility products**. Studies on **Saharanpur, Etikoppaka and Kondapalli crafts** provided insights into materials, techniques, and cultural value. Research on **ergonomics and folding mechanisms** supported the design and development of the functional folding table.

Pilot study:



Image 1: Folding table for rural utility pilot study in Patancheru , rayadurgam.[3,4]

**Product Sketch**

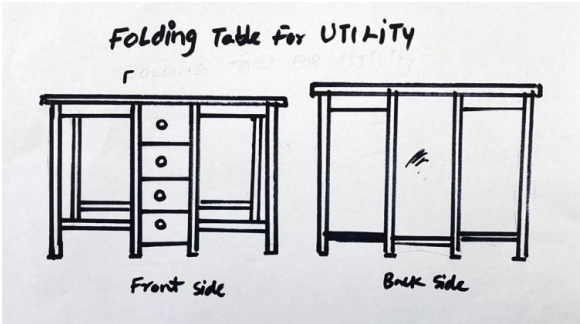



Image 1 & 2: Folding Table for Rural Utility – Concept Sketch and Developed Indian Ink Drawing.[5]

**Final sketch Rendering:**

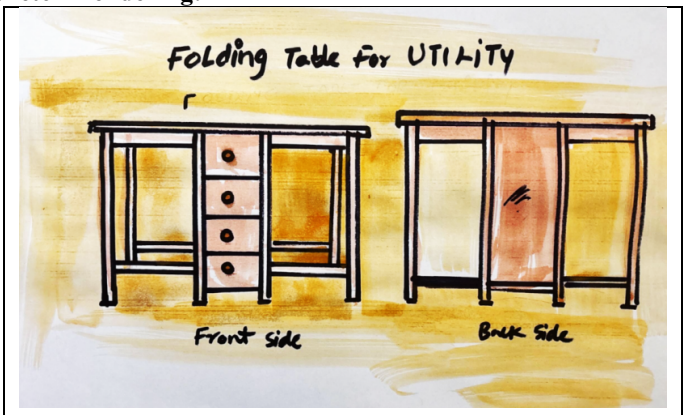


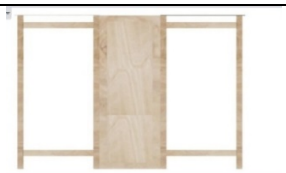

Image 1 & 2: Folding Table for Rural Utility – Concept rendering Developed water colours Drawing.[6]

**Digital product sketch**

| **3d CAD /2D CAD photo /Manual sketch** |  |
|---|---|

**Product views:**

| **Product views** | **Product views** |
|---|---|
| **Front view of product** |  |

| | |
|---|---|
| **Back view of product** |  |
| **Side view of product** |  |
| | |
| **Top view of product** |  |
| Image 4 : Folding Table various Views of CAD design.[7] | |

**Product brief:** The design process focuses on solving real-world user problems identified through field research and aims to deliver a product that blends utility, comfort, and aesthetic appeal.

**Review of literature:**

Seethal C. P. (Travel of the Carved Wood: Reading Architectural Carvings and Designs in Asian Context**)** The author discusses thehistory and evolution of wood carving in India, focusing on regional variations and their uses. The paper gives special attention toSouth Indian wood carvings**,** highlighting their artistic, architectural, and cultural significance. Kalyan Kumar Dasgupta (Wood Carving of Eastern India)**:** Dasgupta's work explores the aesthetic and utilitarian significance of wood carvingin Eastern Indian states like West Bengal and Odisha**.** It highlights how traditional homes feature intricately carvedceilings, doors, and pillars**,** showcasing regional artistry that combinesfunctionality, beauty, and cultural heritage**.**

**Design process raw materials and details:**

| S.N. | **Structural Components** | **Function/Uses /Raw materials** |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | Table top | Plywood, MDF, or solid wood |
| 2 | Frame | Steel pipes, aluminum pipes, or wooden frames |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 3 | Legs | Steel or aluminum pipes, or folding metal legs |
| 4 | Hinges | Metal hinges to connect the folding mechanism |
| **Additional Materials:** | | |
| 1 | Screws and bolts | To assemble the frame and attach the table top |
| 2 | Glue: | To reinforce joints and bonds |
| 3 | Finishing materials | Paint, varnish, or laminate to protect and enhance the appearance |
| 4 | Folding mechanism | Latches, locks, or clips to secure the table in folded position |
| **Optional Features** | | |
| 1 | Carrying handle | To make the folded table easier to transport |
| 2 | Locking mechanism | To secure the table in folded or unfolded position |
| 3 | Adjustable legs | To level the table on uneven surfaces |

Table 1: material and technical components.[8]

**Various Dimensions:** Length x Width x Height

| SL | Length x width x height | Uses/notes |
|---|---|---|
| **1** | Small utility table : 600 x 450 x700 mm | For study, laptop, or side use |
| **2** | Picnic folding table: 800 x 500 x 800 mm | 2–4 seater |
| **3** | Adjustable camping table : 600×700×80mm | Variable height options |
| **4** | Laptop: 600 x 400x 700 mm | Ideal for compact spaces |
| **5** | Writing / drawing table: 900 x 600x 730mm | Ergonomic for sitting posture |
| **6** | Workstation / seminar table: 1200 x 600 x740 mm | Used in classrooms, labs |

Table 2 : Standard Folding Table Sizes mm.[9]

**Process of product design**

| Steps | Detailing process |
|---|---|
| **Step 1** | Plan the Design: Decide the table's size, height, folding style, and materials. |
| **Step 2** | Gather Materials & Tools |
| **Step 3** | Cut the Tabletop: Cut the tabletop to the desired size and Smooth the edges using sandpaper. |
| **Step 4** | Prepare Folding Legs: Cut the table legs to height and attach folding hinges. Use a stable design (like L-shaped or U-shaped folding legs). |
| **Step 5** | Attach Hinges to Legs: Fix the hinges to the legs and then attach the other side to the tabletop. |

| | |
|---|---|
| **Step 6** | Add Support Braces: Install locking braces or crossbars to stabilize the legs when open. |
| **Step 7** | Test the Folding Mechanism: Fold and unfold the table several times to ensure smooth movement. Make adjustments if hinges are stiff or misaligned |
| **Step 8** | Finish & Polish: Apply paint, varnish, or protective coating. Add rubber feet or a handle for easy carrying. |
| Table 3: Folding Table detailing process.[10] | |

**Findings: Folding Table Advantages of Folding Table:**

| SL | Folding Table Advantages | Disadvantages of Folding Table |
|---|---|---|
| **1** | Space-Saving Can be folded and stored easily, making it ideal for small spaces or temporary use. | Lower Stability May not be as sturdy as traditional fixed tables, especially for heavy use. |
| 2 | Portability Lightweight design and foldable structure allow easy transportation. | 2. Limited Aesthetics Functional design often takes precedence over visual appeal in basic models. |
| 3 | Multi-Functionality Suitable for a variety of uses—dining, studying, workstations, outdoor events, etc. | Weight Capacity Limitations Usually cannot support very heavy items compared to non-folding tables. |
| 4 | Easy to Use Quick setup and collapse; convenient for users of all age groups. | Wear and Tear on Joints Hinges and folding mechanisms can wear out over time with frequent use. |
| 5 | Cost-Effective Generally more affordable than permanent furniture, with the benefit of flexibility. | NA |
| 6 | Low Maintenance Most designs require minimal upkeep and are easy to clean. | NA |
| Table 4 : Folding Table Advantages of Folding Table.[11] | | |

## Solution: Folding Table

The folding table provides a practical and efficient solution to common space and mobility challenges in both residential and institutional environments. Designed based on user feedback and field research, the solution focuses on combining functionality, convenience, and structural integrity. Key aspects of the solution include:

| SL | Result | Brief |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | Compact Design | The table can be easily folded flat, making it convenient to store in small spaces such as under beds, behind doors, or in closets. |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 2 | Lightweight Materials | Constructed using durable yet lightweight materials like aluminum or engineered wood, ensuring portability without compromising strength. |
| 3 | User-Friendly Mechanism | A simple, intuitive folding and locking mechanism allows for quick setup and takedown, requiring minimal physical effort. |
| 4 | Structural Support | Reinforced joints and anti-slip leg caps improve stability and prevent wobbling during use. |
| 5 | Multi-Purpose Use | Designed to adapt to a variety of tasks such as studying, dining, working, or even outdoor activities—making it versatile for diverse users. |
| 6 | Cost Efficiency | The affordable design reduces manufacturing costs while still maintaining quality, offering an accessible option for users with budget constraints. |
| 7 | Analysis | Folding table issues such as space limitations, portability, and ease of use, the folding table serves as an effective and sustainable furniture solution tailored to modern living needs. |
| Table 5: Result and analysis folding table case study.[12] | | |

**Conclusion**

**Folding Table: Future-Ready Design with Comfort and Utility**

The folding table is designed with a forward-thinking approach, using comfortable and sustainable materials suitable for future generations. It addresses the growing need for space-saving, versatile furniture by offering a compact, portable solution that can be used in a variety of environments homes, institutions, rural areas, and outdoor settings. The product is thoughtfully developed to meet a low-budget requirement without compromising on quality**,** durability

Aesthetics**.** Every element from the folding mechanism to the materials and finishes—has been carefully selected to provide long-term value, ease of use, and visual appeal. This design showcases how innovative thinking, combined with real-world field research, can lead to a socially relevant product that balances comfort, affordability, and practical functionality.

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5. Image 1: Folding table for rural utility pilot study in Patancheru, Rayadurgam.
6. Image 1 & 2: Folding Table for Rural Utility – Concept Sketch and Developed Indian Ink Drawing"

7. Image 1 & 2: Folding Table for Rural Utility – Concept rendering Developed water colours Drawing.
8. Image 4 : Folding Table various Views of CAD design.
9. Table 1: Material and technical components.
10. Table 2 : Standard Folding Table Sizes mm.
11. Table 3: Folding Table detailing process.
12. Table 4 :Folding Table Advantages of Folding Table.
13. Table 5: Result and analysis folding table case study

# Lambadi Lives: Exploring the Legacy and Evolution of a Tribal Community

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**Abstract**

The Lambadi tribe, Banjara or Sugali, is a significant yet often under appreciated group within India's tribal communities. Its historical roots and cultural practices offer a fascinating glimpse into its evolution over time. This article explores the Lambadi tribe's origins, demographic distribution, physical characteristics and intricate social structures. Originating from Rajput warriors who transitioned to a nomadic lifestyle, the Lambadi have historically been prominent traders and transporters, contributing to their distinctive cultural identity.

Today, the Lambadi's are dispersed across Andhra Pradesh, Telangana, Karnataka, and Maharashtra, with notable shifts in their traditional occupations due to modernization and urbanization. Their physical characteristics reflect a blend of northern Indian traits and regional variations, while their social organization is marked by complex clan systems and a hereditary leadership structure.

The article also examines the Lambadi tribe's material culture, including their traditional dwellings (Tandas), dress, and tattooing practices, which highlight their rich cultural heritage. As the Lambadis navigate modern challenges such as economic transition, land rights issues and gender inequality, they continue to balance the preservation of their cultural identity with the pressures of contemporary life.

Through a detailed analysis of their religious practices, economic activities, social structures and interactions with other communities, this article underscores the resilience and adaptability of the Lambadi tribe. It emphasizes the importance of recognizing and supporting their unique cultural contributions while addressing the challenges they face in a rapidly changing world.

**Keywords:** Lambadi, Banjara, Sugali, Tribal Communities, India, Cultural Identity, Nomadic Lifestyle, Migration, Demographics, Physical Characteristics, Social Structure, Clan Systems, Traditional Dress, Material Culture, Economic Transition, Modernization, Religion, Syncretic Practices, Social Change, Land Rights, Gender Equality, Cultural Preservation.

## Introduction

The Lambadi tribe, also known as Banjara or Sugali, is one of India's most intriguing and historically rich tribal communities. Renowned for their vibrant

culture, nomadic roots and adaptability, the Lambadis have played a significant role in the social and economic fabric of India, particularly in regions like Andhra Pradesh, Telangana, Karnataka and Maharashtra. With a history that traces back to ancient times, the Lambadis have evolved from being formidable traders and transporters to becoming an integral part of India's rural and urban landscapes.

This article delves into the journey of the Lambadi tribe, exploring their origins, cultural identity, and the various transformations they have undergone over the centuries. It examines their migration patterns, social structure, religious practices and the challenges they face in a rapidly modernizing world. The Lambadis, with their distinct physical characteristics, unique family systems, and rich material culture, offer a fascinating glimpse into the resilience and adaptability of tribal communities in India.

As the Lambadis continue to navigate the pressures of modernity while preserving their traditional ways of life, this article sheds light on their struggles and triumphs, highlighting the ongoing efforts to ensure their social, economic and cultural well-being. Through this exploration, we gain a deeper understanding of the Lambadi tribe's contribution to India's diverse cultural mosaic and the importance of preserving their heritage in the face of change.

**Origins and Identity**

The Lambadi tribe has a complex and multifaceted identity. The various names by which they are known—Lambada, Banjara and Sugali, reflect different aspects of their history and culture. The term "Lambadi" is believed to have originated from the Sanskrit word "Lavana," meaning salt, a reference to their historical role as salt traders. The name "Banjara" is thought to derive from "Vanijya," meaning trade, emphasizing their traditional occupation as traders and transporters.[1]

**Historical Legends and Rajput Origins**

The Lambadi's claim descent from Rajput warriors who fled into the forests after the defeat of Prithviraj Chauhan by Muhammad Ghori in the 12$^{th}$ century. According to their oral traditions, these Rajput soldiers, to escape persecution, adopted the name "Banjara" and lived a nomadic life. Over time, they became known for their expertise in trading and transporting goods, particularly during the Mughal and British periods.[2]

**Migration and Settlement**

The migration of the Lambadi to South India, particularly the Deccan region, is a significant chapter in their history. While the exact period of migration is unclear, historical records suggest that the Lambadis moved southward with the Mughal armies, serving as grain carriers. By the time of the British colonial period, they were well established in the Deccan, playing a crucial role in the supply chains of the British military campaigns.[3]

**Distribution and Demographics**

The Lambadi tribe is widely distributed across India, with significant populations in Andhra Pradesh, Telangana, Karnataka, Maharashtra and other states. The 1961 Census provides a snapshot of their population distribution, highlighting the significant growth in their numbers over the 20th century.[4]

**Population Trends**

The population of the Lambadis has seen a dramatic increase, particularly in the Telangana region. This growth can be attributed to various factors, including migration, natural population growth and the tribe's inclusion in the Scheduled Tribes list in Andhra Pradesh. The demographics of the Lambadis reflect a community in transition, with increasing urbanization and shifts in traditional occupations.

**Regional Variations**

While the Lambadis are primarily concentrated in rural areas, there are significant regional variations in their settlement patterns. In some states, they are recognized as a Scheduled Tribe, while in others, they are classified as a Scheduled Caste or Denitrified Tribe. These classifications have implications for their access to government benefits and social status within the broader Indian society.

**Physical Characteristics**

The physical characteristics of the Lambadis have been a subject of interest for anthropologists and ethnographers. Their distinct appearance, including their height, complexion, and facial features, sets them apart from other communities in the regions where they live.[5]

**Somatoscopic Observations**

Ethnographic studies have noted that Lambadis typically have a robust build, with a height range of 151.1 cm to 171.4 cm. Their skin color varies from dark brown to medium brown and they exhibit a range of hair textures, including wavy, straight, and curly hair. Facial features such as prominent noses, oval faces and projected chins are common among the Lambadis, linking them more closely to Northern Indian populations.

**Regional Differences in Physical Traits**

There are also regional differences in physical characteristics within the Lambadi community. For example, Lambadis from Northern India tend to have fairer complexions, while those from the Deccan are often darker-skinned. These variations reflect the diverse origins and migrations of the Lambadi people over centuries.

**Family, Clan, and Kinship Structures**

The family and clan systems of the Lambadis are integral to their social organization. These systems dictate marriage alliances, inheritance patterns and social interactions within the community.

**Family Structure**

Nuclear families are the most common household unit among the Lambadis,

although joint families are also present, particularly in rural areas. The father is the head of the household and his authority is respected by all members. Sons inherit the family's property, while daughters, once married, become part of their husband's clan.

**Clan and Sub-Clan System**

The Lambadi tribe is divided into several exogamous clans, with the three main clans being Rathod, Pamhar and Chawhan. These clans are further divided into sub-clans, each with its own distinct identity and customs. Marriages within the same clan are strictly prohibited and violations of this rule can result in excommunication.

**Kinship and Inheritance**

The descent among the Lambadis is patrilineal, and inheritance is typically passed down from father to son. In cases where a family has no male heir, adoption is common, with the adopted son usually coming from within the same clan or a closely related family. This system ensures the continuity of family lines and the preservation of property within the clan.

**Dwelling, Dress, and Material Culture**

The material culture of the Lambadis is rich and diverse, reflecting their nomadic past and their adaptation to settled life. Their distinctive dress, jewelry and dwellings are key markers of their cultural identity.

**Traditional Dwellings (Tandas)**

Lambadi settlements, known as Tandas, are typically located on the outskirts of villages. These settlements often consist of rows of houses facing each other, with a central street running between them. The houses are usually oblong in shape and constructed from mud, thatch and bamboo. Tandas serve as the social and economic hubs of Lambadi life, where community members engage in various activities, from agriculture to social gatherings[6].

**Dress and Ornamentation**

Lambadi women are famous for their vibrant and heavily ornamented attire. They wear colorful skirts (ghagras) and blouses, often adorned with intricate embroidery, mirror work, and shells. Their jewelry is equally elaborate, including necklaces, bangles, nose rings and anklets made from silver, beads, and coins. These ornaments are not just decorative but also carry social and cultural significance, indicating a woman's marital status, clan identity and social standing.

**Tattooing and Body Art**

Tattooing is a traditional practice among the Lambadis, with specific patterns and designs used to signify various life stages and social roles. For instance, certain tattoos are applied during puberty or after marriage, serving as permanent markers of these significant life events. The designs vary by region and clan, reflecting the diversity within the Lambadi community.

**Economic Life and Occupational Shifts**

The economic life of the Lambadis has undergone significant changes over the

centuries. From their origins as nomadic traders, the Lambadis have gradually transitioned to settled agriculture and other forms of employment.

**Traditional Occupations**

Historically, the Lambadis were known as traders and transporters, particularly in salt, grain, and other commodities. Their role as grain carriers for the Mughal and British armies was crucial, providing them with a stable source of income and social status. However, with the advent of modern transportation systems, their traditional occupations became less viable, leading to a gradual shift towards agriculture and other forms of livelihood[7].

**Modern Economic Activities**

Today, the Lambadis are engaged in a variety of occupations, including farming, livestock rearing, and wage labor. The transition from a nomadic to a settled lifestyle has been challenging, particularly in terms of adapting to modern agricultural practices and accessing land and resources. Despite these challenges, the Lambadis have made significant progress in education and literacy, enabling them to participate in a wider range of economic activities.

**Challenges in Economic Transition**

The shift from traditional occupations to modern employment has not been without difficulties. Many Lambadis face issues related to land ownership, access to credit, and market integration. Government programs aimed at providing vocational training and financial assistance have had mixed success, with some communities benefiting more than others.

**Religion and Belief Systems**

The religious practices of the Lambadis are a unique blend of Hinduism and indigenous beliefs. Their rituals and ceremonies are deeply intertwined with their agricultural calendar and life cycle events.

**Syncretic Religious Practices**

Lambadis worship a pantheon of deities, including Hindu gods and goddesses such as Shiva, Durga, and Vishnu, alongside local spirits and ancestors. Their religious practices are syncretic, combining elements of mainstream Hinduism with their traditional animistic beliefs. Rituals are performed to ensure good harvests, protect against disease, and seek blessings for marriages and births[8].

**Festivals and Ceremonies**

Festivals play a central role in Lambadi religious life. Major Hindu festivals such as Holi, Diwali, and Dussehra are celebrated with great enthusiasm, often accompanied by traditional music, dance, and feasting. In addition to these, the Lambadis have their own unique festivals, such as the worship of village deities (gramadevatas) and ancestral spirits. These ceremonies often involve elaborate rituals, including the sacrifice of animals, the offering of food and drink and communal feasts.

**Role of Religious Leaders**

Religious leadership within the Lambadi community is typically vested in individuals known as Naiks, who also serve as community leaders. The Nai**k**

is responsible for overseeing religious ceremonies, resolving disputes and maintaining social harmony within the Tanda. In some cases, the Naik may also act as a mediator between the Lambadis and the wider society, particularly in dealings with government authorities and other external entities.

**Social Structure and Leadership**

The social structure of the Lambadis is hierarchical, with a strong emphasis on clan and family ties. Leadership within the community is typically inherited, with the Naik serving as the head of the Tanda.

**Role of the Naik**

The Naik is the central figure in Lambadi society, responsible for maintaining law and order, resolving disputes and organizing community events. The position of Naik is usually hereditary, passed down from father to son. However, in some cases, the Naik may be chosen by the community based on his leadership qualities, wisdom and ability to command respect.

**The Panchayat System**

The Lambadi Panchayat, or council of elders, plays a crucial role in the governance of the community. The Panchayat is responsible for making decisions on a wide range of issues, from marriage disputes to property inheritance. The decisions of the Panchayat are binding on all members of the community, and those who violate its rulings may face sanctions, including fines or ex-communication.[9]

**Social Hierarchies and Gender Roles**

Social hierarchies within the Lambadi community are based on clan membership, age, and gender. Men generally hold positions of authority, while women, although highly respected, have less formal power. However, women play a significant role in maintaining social cohesion, particularly through their involvement in rituals, festivals, and family life. Gender roles are clearly defined, with men typically responsible for economic activities and external relations, while women manage the household and family affairs.

**Challenges and Social Change**

The Lambadis, like many other tribal communities in India, face significant challenges as they navigate the pressures of modernity and economic development.[10]

**Social Reform and Welfare Programs**

The Indian government has implemented a range of welfare programs aimed at improving the socio-economic status of Scheduled Tribes, including the Lambadis. These programs focus on areas such as education, healthcare, housing and employment. While these initiatives have had some success, many Lambadis continue to face challenges related to poverty, illiteracy and lack of access to basic services.

**Education and Literacy**

Education is seen as a key factor in the social and economic advancement of the Lambadi community. Over the past few decades, there has been a

significant increase in literacy rates among the Lambadis, particularly among the younger generation. However, access to quality education remains a challenge, particularly in remote and rural areas where schools are often under-resourced.

**Land Rights and Economic Security**

Land ownership is a critical issue for the Lambadis, many of whom are small-scale farmers. Access to land is often limited, and disputes over land ownership are common. The government's efforts to provide land titles and secure land tenure for tribal communities have had mixed results, with many Lambadis still facing uncertainty about their land rights.

**Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment**

Gender inequality remains a significant issue within the Lambadi community, with women often facing discrimination in areas such as education, employment and inheritance. However, there are signs of change, with increasing numbers of Lambadi women pursuing education and employment outside the home. Women's self-help groups and microfinance initiatives are also helping to empower Lambadi women and improve their economic status.

**Inter-Community Relationships**

The Lambadis have historically maintained a distinct identity, often living in separate settlements and engaging in occupations that set them apart from other communities. However, their interactions with neighboring castes and tribes have evolved over time.

**Relations with Other Communities**

The Lambadis have traditionally had limited interaction with other communities, particularly in rural areas where they live in separate settlements. However, as they have moved into urban areas and taken up new occupations, their interactions with other groups have increased. These interactions are generally harmonious, although tensions can arise over issues such as land use, social hierarchy and access to resources.

**Integration into Mainstream Society**

As the Lambadis become more integrated into mainstream society, there is a growing concern about the preservation of their cultural identity. Efforts are being made to document and promote Lambadi traditions, including their language, folklore and handicrafts. At the same time, the Lambadis are also seeking to assert their rights and improve their socio-economic status through participation in political processes and advocacy for their rights.

**Cultural Exchange and Adaptation**

Cultural exchange with neighboring communities has led to some changes in Lambadi traditions and practices. For example, Lambadi weddings, which traditionally involved elaborate rituals and customs, are increasingly incorporating elements of mainstream Hindu wedding ceremonies. Similarly, Lambadi cuisine, dress and festivals are being influenced by the practices of neighboring communities, leading to a blending of cultures.[11]

**Leisure, Recreation, and Child Play**

Leisure and recreation are important aspects of Lambadi life, with traditional music, dance and storytelling playing a central role in community gatherings and celebrations.

**Traditional Music and Dance**

Lambadi music and dance are integral to their cultural identity. Traditional dances such as the Lambadi dance, performed by women in colorful attire, are a common feature of festivals and social gatherings. These dances are often accompanied by folk songs that narrate the tribe's history, legends and everyday life. The music is typically played on traditional instruments such as the dhol (drum), flute and harmonium.

**Storytelling and Folklore**

Storytelling is another important aspect of Lambadi culture. Elders in the community often tell stories that have been passed down through generations, preserving the tribe's oral history and cultural heritage. These stories often revolve around themes such as bravery, love and the triumph of good over evil. Folklore also plays a role in educating the younger generation about the tribe's customs, values and traditions.

**Child Play and Education**

Children in Lambadi communities engage in traditional games and play activities that reflect their cultural heritage. These games are often passed down from older siblings or taught by elders in the community. In recent years, there has been a growing emphasis on formal education, with many Lambadi children attending school and learning alongside children from other communities. This has led to a blending of traditional and modern educational practices, ensuring that Lambadi children receive a well-rounded education.

**Conclusion**

The Lambadi tribe, with its rich cultural heritage, historical significance and adaptive resilience, stands as a testament to the diversity and complexity of India’s tribal communities. From their origins as nomadic traders and transporters to their current roles in various rural and urban settings, the Lambadis have continuously evolved, navigating the challenges of modernization while striving to preserve their unique identity. Their journey reflects a broader narrative of change, where traditional practices and beliefs meet the pressures and opportunities of a rapidly changing world. Despite facing significant challenges, including economic transition, social marginalization and the struggle for land rights, the Lambadis have shown remarkable adaptability and perseverance. The community's ongoing efforts to improve education, gender equality and economic security are crucial steps towards a more inclusive and prosperous future. As the Lambadis integrate further into mainstream society, it is essential to recognize and respect their cultural distinctiveness. The preservation of their language, customs and

traditional knowledge not only enriches India's cultural mosaic but also strengthens the social fabric of the nation. Continued support through government initiatives, social reforms and community-driven efforts is vital in ensuring that the Lambadis can thrive while maintaining their cultural heritage. In understanding the Lambadi tribe, we gain insight into the broader dynamics of India's tribal populations, highlighting the need for balanced development that honors tradition while embracing progress. The story of the Lambadis is not just one of survival, but of cultural richness, resilience and the enduring human spirit.

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# Cotton Duty – Swdeshi Agitations as Fore Runners of National Movement in India (1885-1940)

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**Abstract**

Cotton was the main commercial crop of India from Harappan Days. The Harappan people were the main producers of finest variety of cotton cloth which were used for different purposes. Thus, cotton closely associated with our day today life of the people of this country. British, who came with the purpose of trade and its profit, considered Cotton grown abundantly in India as a commodity of trade and started to export raw cotton and imported cotton textile from England. Indians who feared the closure of all our prestigious cottage industries, especially cotton weaving, protested through calling boycott of English textile and encouraged production through swadeshi. Thus, cotton Duty of English turned Indian national movement an interesting episode of our national pride.

**Keywords**: Boycott, Swadeshi, Homespun, Charaka, Satyagraha

## Introduction

India is known for centuries as producer of best cotton and manufacturer of cotton cloth. Its finest woven cotton textile especially sarees and cloth used as draperies were used extensively in the houses of the rich and nobility. Karl Marx called India as 'mother of cotton', who draped with her cloth for centuries. It's not an exaggeration, as early as Harappan culture piece of cotton cloth was found in a jar at Harappa. Starting from that day most part of India grew cotton and used it. In this respect India was self-sufficient. Cottage industries which produced finest variety of cloth, sarees, dhotees, cloth material, towels spreads over the subcontinent. Each part had seen its best variety of cotton production. Presently the government is making same mistake of importing raw cotton and surprisingly at low tariff. It will lead to discouragement of cotton growers in the country. Exactly hundred and twenty - thirty years back Indians faced similar condition, a awkward situation. British the rulers of India followed faulty policy considering cotton here more faced same problem as British government keen on supply of cotton textile through its Lancashire, Manchester followed similar policy exported cotton grown here at low tariff, brought back the same as manufactured cloth dumping. This was major issue throughout British rule. British accepted the principle of free trade, as it was more beneficial to them. It is this profit motto made them to creep interior parts of India, administrative policies building telegraph lines, Highways, railways focused on facilitating easy transport of goods to harbors.

Devastation of cottage, village industries, more unemployed fell on agriculture, under employment, unemployment, meager resources to be shared by many, overburdened agriculture, heavy taxation resulting in frequent famines. The harsh picture of recurring famines population subsided, untold suffering grave pictures of populace was the result of Cotton Duties of the British inclined more on export of raw cotton almost nil tariff, import of finished cotton textile for a very low tariff, dumping of textile, made Karl Marx the critique of Capitalism was the first observe this anomalies He wondered how 'mother of cotton being inundated with cotton textile'. In 19th century fifteen severe famines visited India, 8 lakh people perished in Bengal alone. A sorry state of affairs for the land which had such glory and fabulous wealth for centuries. Akbar's wealth, vastness of his empire dimmed the glorious rule of Queen Elizabeth in Europe Harsh reality of the British rule, depressing conditions, sufferings of the people brought realization among Indians by 1880's. Problems around Cotton tariff was the unifying factor for Indian nationalists, , organized themselves by 1885 into a party symbol of Unity, carrying on peoples struggle, focused activities on economic exploitation. Feeling of economic exploitation as a heavy load was strong.

First protest came surprisingly at London with book released by Dada Bhai Naovroji titled 'Poverty and unBritish rule in India highlighted a bold proclamation that Indian poverty was the result of the British exploitative rule. Followed by Romesh Chunder Dutt in his 'Economic History of India' and in his 'Open Letter to Lord Curzon on Famines**',** discussions led on pitiable conditions in Europe as well as among Indians. Distress, unemployment, exploitative cotton duties are the major factors. Call for Swadeshi is not for as a protest, but to rebuild Indian collapsed structures, trade imbalance; especially Cotton Duties were in focus. Gandhijis boycott of foreign goods, call for Swadeshi, wearing Khadi as national pride was to revive cotton industries. These are close to the heart of the people. During Annual sessions of National congress Cotton duties were in the agenda for discussion. The public interest, problems of the cotton growers of North and western India were in main focus.

**'Swadeshi' as protest against Cotton duty**

It is Bengal the province directly under Governor General. Governor Generals Council had its station at Calcutta. Bengal was in the lead for swadeshi. The Partition of Bengal province into two divisions in 1905 was a turning point in the History of India. Eastern Bengal having Muslim majority and Western Bengal having Hindu majority, Calcutta as the headquarters, came under separate Lt. Governors. This partition of dividing Bengal population on communal basis led to strong reaction from Bengalis resulted in widespread agitation 'Vanga-Banga' *Cheluvali* throughout Bengal supported by the people of other provinces was the first national agitation in British India.

**Anti-Partition agitation in Bengal 1905-11**

Bengali's agitation against partition of the province mainly adopted swadeshi

and boycott of foreign goods, well knowing where it hurts the British more. Uses of cotton textile made in cottage industries were in demand. Other provinces were also in the forefront of Swadeshi Cotton grown in the provinces were not sold to British companies but utilized domestically. This agitation curtailed export of raw cotton to English factories. Another issue is boycott of British goods except books and candles (referring to knowledge and light to flow freely). National Congress Session adopted resolution supporting the Bengali's demand for annulling the partition. Tilak in Maharastra involved in *swadeshi* movement in western India, and other leaders of Bombay Presidency not just supported swdeshi movement, they called for Indian industrialists, capitalists to start their own cotton mills. Thus, in short span of time several cotton mills were opened in Bombay utilizing cotton grown in Bombay Presidency, Gujarat and western India.

The Anti-partition agitation in Bengal and other places brought realization among Indians the force of peoples unified demand or movement, which can set aside the strongest forces and bring back people's voice. The British Government unable to curtail peoples peaceful agitation, losses faced by Factories in England , the heat of the strong movement of the people in Calcutta where everyday there used to be rallies, agitations of students, peasants, women, common mans interest in protecting the pride of their language and culture brought realization among the British .Thus in 1911 the British government annulled the Partition of Bengal, reunited two provinces, segregated Orissa and Bihar from Bengal province. Secondly, they find it difficult to run central Government from Calcutta and announced Delhi as the Capital of India in 1911, where they conducted a grand Durbar in 1911. This was the victory of the People.

**Gandhian Satyagrah- Swadeshi, Boycott and propagation of Khadi**

Cotton duty of the British not only destroyed our famous cottage industries, it ruined our economic stability at hinter-land. From time immemorial Indian economy sustained on its cottage and village industries. They were the symbol of self-sustenance; utilization of cotton grown in the region was utilized to make cloth needed for peasantry and other neighbors. It created other auxiliary industries like Dyeing, weaving, taking out yearns and marketing are other professions depended on them. Thus, these cottage industries, weavers' villages or symbol of self respect to artisans, weavers and associates connected with the profession. Thus, every village in India was a self-sustaining unit[2]. By taking out raw cotton from Indian villages, the British broke this self-sustenance, self respect of our peasant, artisan classes.

Gandhian strategy was twofold. Foremost attention was toward revival of cottage industries, that to revival of cotton weaving in villages which could indulge people in self employment, every village was to be self sustenance, which could automatically create dignity and self respect, which will lead to national pride. Thus, Gandhiji equated cotton with national pride. His policy

of reviving cottage industries was through making every village self sustaining. This will also check migration of youth to cities in search of employment.

His answer was production, manufacture of cotton textile to be done through voluntary service or home industry. He simplified the procedure to make it adoptable by everyone; collection and cleaning of raw cotton, making it as thread, spindling with *charakha*, to loom. He advised all congressmen to propagate *Khadi* (hand spun), wear it, use khadi for domestic, commercial purpose, propagate and sell. During 1920-40s Khadi *prachar* was done on missionary zeal. National movement also turned into economic revival of cottage industries. Surprisingly this simple technique attracted the attention of all and *Khadi* became a symbol of national pride.

Few nationalists encouraged Indian entrepreneurs to establish Cotton mills. First Cotton mill Empress Mill established in at Poona followed by several of them across Bombay. Bombay became centre of cotton textile of India. It was made easy because the region of Bombay presidency, especially surrounding areas of Marathawada, Gujarat, and Deccan were known for growth of high quality cotton. Thus, establishment of cotton Mills in Bombay and its outskirts was another point of our economic revival. Gandhiji took tour of the country for asking people to follow swadeshi, boycott foreign goods, even called for and picketing the shops that were selling foreign goods. It caught the imagination of all of young-old, men-women thus really turning into a national issue.

National Congress demand for protective taxation on raw Cotton sale, revival of cottage industries surprisingly became symbol of national agitation. Though there were other ideals of coming out of the tyranny of foreign rule. Gradually Cotton imports were reduced. Whole Bengal, Deccan Bombay and other regions succeeded in giving tough fight for cotton textile imported to India. A simple article like cotton, cotton duties and its export of raw cotton and import of textile led to an agitation in the form of swadeshi, and associated with national pride.

In 1900-40s British policy on Cotton import was very cautious. National Congress had taken strict measure to oppose import of cotton textile, and export of raw cotton to factories in Lancashire and Manchester. Call for use of *swadeshi* or cotton textile manufactured in India. Gandhiji's use of Khadi, insisting on industrialists to start cotton mills in the neighborhood of cotton fields. Bombay utilized much of cotton grown in Gujarat and Maharastra. Whole of Bombay studded with cotton mills helping Bombay to grow tremendously. It also created slums and few issues with labour problem.

There was spontaneous response for cotton agitations, Khadi production and Khadi propaganda. Every Congressman should have been voucher of Khadi production, use of Charaka, and its sale. Congress exhibitions during the annual session of Congress, there used to be exhibition of Charaka Sanghas,

its production and demand for khadi caps, sarees, flags and other productions of cottage industries. Thus, cotton was at the centre of Satyagraha, annual resolutions in the sessions of National Congress.

Few congressmen like Tagadur Ramachandra Rao in princely Mysore were a strong vouchary. Every day he used to push a cart attached to his cycle and roamed the city of Mysore asking people to use only handspun cotton cloth. Later he established a Khadi Bhandara where he sold home spun cotton he established two khadi production centers in his native Tagaduru and another at nearby Badanvalu for khadi production and sale. Both of them are still working. I visited Badanvalu Khadi centre to have a personal experience of how cloth was spun in to cloth.

To conclude, Cotton which has greater role in popularizing cotton cloth and it's multipurpose. From time immemorial it intertwined with destiny of this country. Here is an attempt to just analyzing how in modern days too it has played a greater role in stabilizing not just the trade but also with Indian culture.

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# Cultural Heritage and Sustainability: A Historical Perspective

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**Abstract**

This paper examines the inter-relationship between cultural heritage and sustainability through a historical lens. Beginning with the roots of heritage conservation and evolving notions of sustainability, the study traces how societies have valorized tangible and intangible heritage, how heritage has been mobilized for economic, social and environmental ends, and how sustainability thinking has gradually infused heritage discourse. It shows how cultural heritage has been treated as a resource, a symbol and a responsibility across different periods. The paper then explores key dimensions of sustainability, economic, social and environmental as they apply to heritage, drawing on historical examples and contemporary scholarship. Finally, it highlights challenges and opportunities in linking heritage and sustainable development and outlines a way forward through integrated frameworks and community-driven governance. The historical perspective reveals that although the terms have varied, the underlying concern for transmission of cultural meaning and continuity of place and practice has long been evident. The paper argues that for heritage to contribute meaningfully to sustainable development, a shift is needed from mere preservation to dynamic reuse, community involvement and systemic thinking.

**Keywords**: cultural heritage; sustainability; historical perspective; tangible heritage; intangible heritage; sustainable development; community engagement; conservation policy

## Introduction

Cultural heritage, comprising tangible assets such as monuments, buildings, artifacts, and landscapes, and intangible elements such as traditions, practices, knowledge and skills, embodies the legacy of past generations to be maintained for the benefit of present and future generations. Over the last several decades, the concept of sustainability, which originally referred to ecological and economic continuity, has broadened to include cultural dimensions. The intersection of cultural heritage and sustainability is thus an increasingly important topic in academia, policy and practice. As noted by Marzano & Castellini in their systematic review, the literature on sustainability in the cultural heritage sector has surged but remains fragmented in method and scope.

From a historical standpoint, societies have sought to preserve their heritage in various ways, be it through ritual, conservation, repair or reuse and in doing

so they have engaged implicitly with questions of sustainability: what to keep, what to adapt, and how to transmit meaning across generations. This paper situates this interplay historically, then unpacks how cultural heritage contributes to three pillars of sustainability (economic, social, and environmental) and finally addresses challenges and pathways for future work.

**Historical Roots of Heritage and Sustainability**

**Early heritage notions and conservation**

The concept of cultural heritage in the modern sense is relatively recent (19th–20th centuries), but the impulse to protect monuments and sites is far older. Historical examples abound: ancient civilizations preserved sacred sites, reused architectural elements, and passed on craft traditions. For instance, historic cities often evolved by layering new functions onto older buildings. This continuity implicitly reflects a sustainability mindset — maintaining utility, identity and memory over time.

In the modern era, conservation charters (e.g., the Faro Convention of the Council of Europe) formalized the value of heritage for society and future generations. The Faro Convention states that "rights relating to cultural heritage are inherent in the right to participate in the cultural life of the community" (Article 1). This signaled a shift: heritage ceased to be merely owned by elites, and became a public good tied to citizenship.

**Emergence of sustainability thinking**

The term "sustainability" itself became prominent with the 1987 Brundtland Report — development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own. Over time the concept expanded from environmental concerns to integrated frameworks of social, economic and ecological sustainability. In heritage studies, scholars emphasize that cultural heritage may act as the "glue" among these systems: it binds communities, economies and environments.

Historically too, one may observe that reuse of historical structures (e.g., converting an old warehouse into a cultural centre) responded both to economic efficiency and identity preservation. Thus, the heritage-sustainability nexus is not entirely new, though vocabulary and frameworks are.

**Integration of heritage and sustainability**

Only more recently have heritage and sustainability been explicitly integrated in research and policy. For example, policies of the European Commission recognize cultural heritage as a strategic resource for sustainable development. Acknowledging the multidimensional values of heritage — intrinsic, social, economic — this reflects the recognition that heritage contributes beyond tourism and aesthetics.

In the heritage field, authors like Marzano & Castellini note that sustainability factors (economic, social, environmental) are increasingly addressed but significant gaps remain in methodology, interdisciplinary collaboration and

community involvement. Hence a historical perspective reveals: (1) heritage conservation is longstanding; (2) sustainability has matured over recent decades; (3) their intersection is emergent but growing.

**Dimensions of Sustainability in Heritage**

This section analyses how cultural heritage contributes across the three classical dimensions of sustainability — economic, social, environmental — and then discusses how the historical perspective enriches each.

**Economic Dimension**

Cultural heritage has long been valorized as an economic asset: monuments attract visitation, heritage districts raise property values, and craft traditions underpin local livelihoods. In recent decades, heritage tourism has become a major field. For example, in a bibliometric study of "cultural heritage tourism and sustainability", it was shown that heritage tourism can generate economic benefits, yet may also threaten authenticity and resource integrity if unmanaged.

From a historical perspective, the economic reuse of heritage has taken many forms: adaptive reuse of historic industrial buildings, heritage crafts employing traditional skills, or cultural landscape conservation that supports local economies. But sustainability demands more than growth: economic benefits must be inclusive, long-term and not degrade heritage value.

**Social / Cultural Dimension**

The social dimension concerns identity, inclusion, cohesion and well-being. Heritage gives communities a sense of continuity, belonging and meaning. As Throsby and others have argued, cultural heritage plays a key role in humanizing cities and enabling participation.

Historically, heritage was passed down through rituals, apprenticeship, and collective memory. Places and practices created community coherence. In modern sustainable frameworks, heritage becomes a tool for empowering communities, preserving intangible heritage (languages, craft, oral histories) and promoting social justice. For instance, local community involvement in heritage governance is increasingly seen as central to sustainable outcomes. Hence, from a historical lens, we see that what might be termed "living heritage" connects generations, and sustainable heritage practice must preserve not only the physical fabric but the social practices and meaning.

**Environmental Dimension**

While heritage studies often focus on socio-cultural aspects, the environmental dimension is increasingly recognized: heritage sites are embedded in landscapes; traditional buildings often include vernacular ecological design; their conservation overlaps with environmental protection. The 2011 Historic Urban Landscape Recommendation by UNESCO emphasizes the systemic interrelationship between economic, social, environmental, cultural aspects.

Historical practice of reuse or adaptation of heritage often reduced resource consumption (e.g., repurposing buildings rather than demolishing). In

contemporary thinking, sustainable heritage management involves minimizing environmental impacts, using energy-efficient retrofits sensitively, and acknowledging the heritage value of landscapes and ecosystems. A recent study argues that sustainability is now one of the five pillars in the framework for action for cultural heritage. Therefore, heritage and environment are intertwined historically and

**Synthesis and Interconnections**

The interlinkage of economic, social and environmental dimensions means heritage sustainability cannot be compartmentalized. For example, a heritage site converted into a tourist attraction may generate economic revenue, but if local communities are excluded (social dimension) or the restoration uses unsustainable materials (environmental dimension) then it may undermine sustainability. As Marzano & Castellini emphasize, interdisciplinary methods are needed to grasp these interactions. From a historical perspective, the practice of heritage conservation often balanced multiple considerations — what to preserve, how to fund, what to adapt — even if not labelled "sustainability." Recognizing this helps deepen current practice.

**Historical Case Illustrations**

Although full case studies are beyond this paper's scope, two illustrative historical points help ground the argument.

**Adaptive Reuse of Heritage Structures**

In many historic towns, industrial heritage buildings (factories, warehouses) were abandoned but later repurposed into cultural centres, museums or mixed-use developments. This is not only economically efficient (saving demolition cost, leveraging existing fabric) but socially and environmentally conscious (preserves identity, reduces new construction). Literature on heritage reuse argues such strategies contribute to sustainable development. Historically, even prior to modern sustainability discourse, communities evolved old buildings for new uses rather than discarding them — an example of what might retrospectively be called sustainable heritage practice.

**Heritage Landscapes and Urban Sustainability**

Studies on heritage and urban sustainability demonstrate how cultural heritage can aid sustainable city planning. For instance, retention of historic urban structure fosters walkability, sense of place and reduces urban sprawl. A study on urban sustainability found that heritage is linked to creative cities and sustainable futures. Historically, cities that maintained their heritage often preserved street layouts, communal spaces and crafts clusters, which enhance social cohesion and identity — key elements of sustainable communities.

**Challenges and Risks**

While the potential of heritage for sustainability is significant, there are multiple challenges:

**Commercialization and Authenticity Loss**

Heritage tourism can generate income but also negative impacts:

overcrowding, commodification of culture, erosion of authenticity. As the tourism-heritage literature shows, unchecked tourism can damage heritage values even while delivering short-term economic benefits. Historically, some heritage sites have become "theme-parks" rather than living places, losing their continuity of meaning.

**Unequal Benefits and Community Exclusion**

Sustainable heritage requires inclusive participation. Yet often heritage regimes privilege external investors, tourist flows or conservation elites, sidelining local communities. The social dimension of sustainability is thus compromised. Marzano & Castellini note the need for more community involvement in heritage-sustainability research. From a historical lens, heritage custodianship was often communal; modern top-down models can disconnect communities.

**Environmental and Material Pressures**

Heritage conservation sometimes uses interventions that are environmentally unsound (e.g., heavy material transported long-distance, high-energy restoration practices) or fails to adapt to climate change, disaster risk and changing environmental realities. A recent paper states that heritage sustainability must engage with climate action, disaster risk reduction and peacebuilding. Historically, buildings and sites that remained viable did so through adaptation to changing environment; lack of adaptation leads to decay.

**Measurement, Indicators and Governance**

One of the gaps identified in the literature is the lack of robust indicators and interdisciplinary methods to evaluate heritage-sustainability outcomes. Without measurable frameworks, heritage initiatives may be symbolic rather than effective. Governance mechanisms also remain fragmented: heritage agencies, planning agencies, tourism agencies may not coordinate.

**A Way Forward: Integrating Heritage into Sustainable Development**

Given the historical roots and current challenges, how can heritage meaningfully contribute to sustainability? Below are key propositions:

1. Adopt a holistic framework: Recognize heritage not just as a relic to be preserved, but as a resource for sustainable development. This means integrating economic, social, environmental and cultural objectives. The European Commission's shift towards an "integrated approach to cultural heritage" exemplifies this.
2. Promote adaptive reuse and dynamic heritage: Rather than freeze heritage, allow its evolution in symbiosis with contemporary needs. Adaptive reuse provides economic viability, community use and environmental conservation. Historical practice already illustrates this.
3. Community participation and co-governance: Heritage sustainability is strengthened when local communities are active stakeholders in decision-making, benefit sharing and interpretation. Participation fosters social inclusion and sustaining cultural meaning. The study on cultural tourism

noted local communities can contribute to global Sustainable Development Goals through participatory approaches.

4. Sustainability in materials, environment and climate resilience: Heritage conservation must adopt environmentally conscious practices — retrofits sensitive to building fabric, renewable energy use, disaster risk reduction. The "climate-culture" special issue underscores this imperative.
5. Develop interdisciplinary research, indicators and data: To gauge heritage's contributions to sustainability, we need better methodologies, metrics and long-term monitoring. The systematic review by Marzano & Castellini identifies this as a major gap.
6. Link heritage to policy and planning: Heritage should be mainstreamed into urban planning, regional development, education and economic strategies rather than treated as an isolated sector. The UNESCO Recommendation on Historic Urban Landscape emphasizes this systemic view.

**Conclusion**

This paper has offered a historical perspective on the interrelationship between cultural heritage and sustainability. From early conservation impulses to contemporary integrated frameworks, the journey shows that heritage has always been about continuity — of places, practices and identities. Sustainability enriches that horizon by embedding long-term thinking, inclusivity and environmental consciousness. The dimensions of economic, social and environmental sustainability each resonate with heritage, but only when treated conjunctively does heritage fulfil its potential. Historical case illustrations show adaptive reuse and urban heritage sustainability as practical manifestations. Meanwhile, the challenges of commercialization, exclusion, environmental mismatch and weak measurement must be addressed. A way forward lies in holistic frameworks, dynamic adaptation, community engagement, environmental sensitivity, stronger metrics and policy integration. For countries like India — and regions such as the Deccan, where you are researching — this means treating heritage not simply as a site to conserve, but as a living actor in sustainable regional development: a driver of identity, economy and ecological harmony. In sum, heritage and sustainability are two sides of the same coin. To preserve the past without compromising the future requires a thoughtful, inclusive and system-wide approach. The historical perspective underscores that much of what we now call "sustainability" was already implicit in heritage practice; our task is to make it explicit, structured and equitable.

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# Role of Folk Art Forms in Telangana Movement – A Study

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**Abstract**

The Telangana region possesses a rich and diverse heritage of folk art forms that have historically played a vital role in shaping its social, cultural, and political consciousness. These folk traditions not only preserve the collective memory and identity of the region but have also served as effective instruments of socio-political mobilization, especially during the struggle for a separate Telangana state. Through their performances, folk artists conveyed messages of resistance, unity, and regional pride, thereby transforming artistic expression into a medium of political awareness and collective assertion. This paper examines the major folk-art forms of Telangana—*Dhoom Dhaam, Oggu Katha, GollaSuddulu, Harikatha, Yakshaganam* and *Burrakatha*—that significantly contributed to the Telangana Movement. Employing local dialects, familiar narratives, humour, music, and dramatic techniques, these art forms succeeded in communicating complex socio-political ideas in simple and relatable ways. They not only entertained the masses but also educated, inspired, and mobilized them towards a common goal. By converting traditional devotional and entertainment-based performances into channels of political expression, these art forms fostered social unity and regional consciousness. Ultimately, they played a crucial role in consolidating the people's determination, leading to the successful realization of a separate Telangana state.

**Keywords:** Telangana Movement, Folk Art, DhoomDhaam, Oggu Katha, Burrakatha, GollaSuddulu, Yakshaganam, Harikatha, Cultural Mobilization, Regional Identity

## Introduction

The Telangana region possesses a rich variety of folk art forms that have played significant roles in shaping its socio-cultural and political identity. These folk traditions not only reflect the lives and emotions of the people but also serve as powerful tools for social awareness and collective mobilization. Historically, the Telangana Movement stands as one of the most powerful and radical struggles initiated by the people of this region. This paper examines the reconstruction and use of Telangana's folk art forms during the movement, highlighting how these cultural expressions functioned as instruments of revolution, mobilization, and identity formation. The leaders of the movement

effectively employed folk arts to represent regional culture, voice socio-political concerns, and protest against injustice, poverty, and discrimination. Thus, this study focuses on the pivotal role played by folk art forms in the Telangana Movement.

Before discussing their specific role in the movement, it is essential to understand the concept of *folk*. The study of folk traditions, known as *folklore*, encompasses myths, legends, folktales, jokes, proverbs, riddles, chants, charms, blessings, curses, oaths, insults, toasts, tongue twisters, greetings, and farewell expressions. It also includes folk costumes, dances, dramas, beliefs, medicine, musical instruments, songs, speech, and poetry—ranging from oral to written forms.[1]The American folklorist Richard M. Dorson classified folklore into four main categories: (1) Folk Literature, (2) Material Culture, (3) Social Folk Customs, and (4) Performing Folk Arts.[2]Folk Literature, also called *Verbal Art* or *Expressive Literature*, includes all traditional verbal expressions—words, sounds, and songs—and is often subdivided into *folk narrative* and *folk poetry*. These oral traditions have laid the foundation for classical literature. Material Culture, closely linked to folk literature, involves practical skills and knowledge derived from observation and imitation, such as crafts, technology, and folk medicine. Social Folk Customs integrate both literary and material elements, encompassing community beliefs, religious practices, rituals, festivals, and collective gatherings.[3]

Folk art, in particular, represents the humble yet profound creative expression of the rural population—a mirror of their customs, beliefs, joys, sorrows, and shared experiences. It is not merely a form of entertainment but also a medium of spiritual and emotional connection, often serving as a channel for religious devotion and expression. Folk life and folk art are inseparably intertwined; every stage of human experience—birth, marriage, or death—finds resonance in folk songs and performances. Through these oral traditions, people convey their emotions, struggles, and aspirations.[4]However, after the decline of the Kakatiya dynasty, many of Telangana's folk art forms experienced a significant decline and nearly vanished.

**Separate Telangana Movement – An Overview**

The southern Indian state of Telangana, the youngest state in India, was officially formed in 2014 after being separated from Andhra Pradesh, comprising ten districts. This creation was the result of a prolonged and multifaceted struggle known as the Telangana Movement, which emerged from the deep-rooted social, economic, and cultural oppression faced by the people of the region.

Before India's Independence, Telangana was part of the princely state of Hyderabad, ruled by the Nizam. Following Independence, Hyderabad was annexed by the Indian government through the "Police Action" of 1948 and later merged with the newly formed Andhra Pradesh in 1956 on a linguistic

basis, combining three distinct regions with different socio-economic and political backgrounds, of which Telangana was one.

Despite the inclusion of special safeguards and developmental promises for Telangana at the time of the merger to address the apprehensions of its people, these assurances were neither implemented nor fulfilled. Consequently, Telangana experienced prolonged neglect and discrimination, leading to widespread dissatisfaction and disillusionment. The people of Telangana, feeling betrayed by successive political parties and their opportunistic politics, ultimately recognized that the formation of a separate state was the only viable solution to ensure their progress and identity. The Telangana Movement can broadly be divided into two major phases:

1. Early Phase (1952–1970) – The initial struggle for a separate Telangana.
2. Later Phase (1971–2014) – The renewed movement that culminated in the formation of the state.

**Role of Folk Art Forms in Separate Telangana Movement - Later Phase:**

During the later phase of the Telangana Movement, particularly from the 1990s onward, folk art forms emerged as a crucial cultural force that revived and reinforced the spirit of Telangana identity. As the political agitation for a separate state gained renewed momentum, these traditional art forms became vibrant mediums of resistance, awareness, and cultural assertion. Performances such as DhoomDhaam, along with revived traditions like *Oggu Katha, GollaSuddulu, Harikatha, Yakshaganam,* and *Burrakatha* performances, transcended their earlier ritualistic and entertainment functions to acquire a distinctly political and transformative character.

Folk artists and cultural activists skilfully reinterpreted indigenous songs, narratives, and performances to highlight issues of social inequality, regional neglect, and cultural subjugation. These performances became dynamic spaces for collective participation, allowing people from rural and marginalized backgrounds to express their aspirations and frustrations in culturally resonant forms. The *Dhoom Dhaam* troupes, founded and popularized by artists like Rasamayi Balakishan, played a pivotal role in taking the message of the movement to every corner of Telangana. Through emotionally charged lyrics, rhythmic drumming, and symbolic enactments, these performances fostered a sense of regional pride, unity, and self-respect, making culture itself a tool of political awakening.

Thus, folk art during this period was not merely a reflection of Telangana's cultural heritage but an active agent in its political transformation. It bridged the gap between intellectual discourse and grassroots sentiment, transforming the movement from a political demand into a mass cultural revolution. This paper, therefore, seeks to explore the significance and contributions of major folk art forms in shaping public consciousness and sustaining the momentum of the separate Telangana Movement during its later phase.

***Dhoom-Dhaam***

*Dhoom-Dhaam* is a political art form that emerged from the grassroots level, using folk traditions to highlight social injustices and promote socio-political change. It became a key cultural instrument in the formation of the Telangana state. Essentially, *Dhoom-Dhaam* represented a cultural revolution that united the people of Telangana in their collective struggle for a separate state. The movement was founded in 2002 by the renowned folk singer and Ex.MLA Rasamayi Balakishan, who stated that *Dhoom-Dhaam* played an instrumental role in all the agitations that ultimately led to the creation of Telangana.

Historically, folk arts and folk songs had played a vital role even during the Telangana Armed Struggle, helping people resist the oppressive Nizam rule. Similarly, during the modern movement, folk art forms once again became a means to provoke, sensitize, and mobilize people towards the cause. *Telangana Dhoom-Dhaam*, conceptualized as a Cultural Revolution, was supported by Telangana-oriented political parties, leaders, intellectuals, poets, and singers. It became a vibrant platform that aimed to entertain, educate, and inspire the masses, while also voicing demands for self-respect, justice, and the formation of a separate Telangana state.

Artists composed and performed original folk songs and dramas that reflected regional identity, cultural concerns, aspirations for equality, and opposition to political and social injustice. The overwhelming public enthusiasm for *Dhoom-Dhaam* quickly turned it into a mass cultural phenomenon. Recognizing its influence, pro-Telangana political parties and intellectuals identified *Dhoom-Dhaam* as a major weapon to attract large gatherings and strengthen the movement. Numerous *Dhoom-Dhaam* cultural events were organized across Telangana, drawing thousands of participants and generating strong public support for the cause.

Political parties provided significant space and recognition to folk artists and their performances. After the cultural programs, politicians frequently used the *Dhoom-Dhaam* stage to deliver speeches that motivated and energized the masses. The *Dhoom-Dhaam* performances and their artists gained immense popularity, leading to the production and distribution of CDs and DVDs featuring the songs and dramas. Additionally, the rise of new Telangana-based television channels further amplified this movement by offering extensive media coverage to *Dhoom-Dhaam* events, transforming them into a powerful cultural and political force that united the people under the banner of Telangana's self-determination.

**Oggu Katha**

*Oggu Katha*, which literally means "*Oggu* tales," is considered one of the ancient folk theatre art forms of Telangana. The term "*Oggu*" refers to a small hand drum associated with Lord Shiva. Traditionally, *Oggu Katha* involved the narration of legends related to Mallanna and Beerappa, the presiding deities of the *Gollas* and *Kurumas*.[6]Initially, this performance was confined to these

communities, as devotion was its primary purpose. Over time, however, *Oggu Katha* has evolved into an art form that transcends caste boundaries, incorporating elements of entertainment and comedy alongside devotion. It is therefore both a spiritual and cultural expression of Telangana's folk heritage. The performers, those who are playing *oggus* are called *Oggollu*,[7] are rural folk artists trained to narrate stories either in a single day without losing the essence or prolong them over several days. This skill is acquired only through prolonged and intensive training. Over the years, *Oggu Katha* has crossed caste and rural barriers, gaining popularity throughout Telangana, making it a distinctive art form of the region.[8]

A typical *Oggu Katha* troupe consists of 5 to 6 members. Two serve as the main narrators, one of whom may perform a female role, while two others play drums and cymbals and provide choral support. The remaining members assist the main narrators by performing additional roles as needed, returning to their original positions afterward. This requires all troupe members to be versatile in both singing and acting. Traditionally, all performers are male, with one dressing as a woman whenever the story demands a female character.[9]

The attire of the *Oggollu* is unique. The main narrator traditionally wears a coarse dhoti tied at the knees with a red border, a kerchief around the head like a turban, and various ornaments including a Danda Kadiyam (bracelet), silver rings, an ankle bracelet, toe-ring, Nagabandham (waistband), and a chain of seven shells around the neck. He also carries a leather strap and a stick. Over time, costumes have become more colourful, with silk or terry-cotton dhotis, shirts, and modern accessories. The narrator performing the female role grows his hair, removes facial hair for smoothness, and wears ornaments and garments provided by the family hosting the performance. He dramatizes the emotions of a woman during the narration. Instrumentalists and chorus members similarly wear dhotis and shirts, occasionally dressing as boys, girls, men, or women depending on the role, while holding kerchiefs used creatively as sticks, weapons, or bags during performance.[10]

The instruments used in *Oggu Katha* include: Oggu (Damarukam), Dolu (drum), Taalaalu (cymbals), Kanjara (tambourine), ChoopuduKarra (pointer), Gajjelu (tinkling bells), ToluPattee (leather strap), Bandari Sanchi (leather pouch), and Chekka Palakalu (wooden slats or Kangollu[11]

During the Telangana Movement, nearly thousand *Oggu Katha* performers adapted their narratives to dramatize social, economic, and political injustices inflicted upon Telangana by the rulers of Andhra. Performances ranged from street-level (*Galli*) presentations to larger town-level events, even reaching audiences in Delhi. In this way, *Oggu Katha* played a significant and prominent role in the Telangana Movement, educating, mobilizing, and inspiring the common people to participate in the struggle for a separate Telangana state.

**Golla Suddulu**

The *GollaSuddulu* are a dependent caste of the *Gollas* in Telangana, traditionally receiving benefaction exclusively from the *Golla* community. They are known for narrating the ballads of Katamaraju and the stories of Krishna leela. The Gollas treat them as part of the family and offer benefaction according to their means, thereby continuing to patronize this community. Historically, the *Golla Suddulu* belonged to the Erra Golla and Puja Golla sub-sects, with the Erra Gollas more frequently narrating parables or offering advice. The Telugu term *Suddulu* means advice, parable, or maxim, and the GollaSuddulu earned their name due to their role in narrating the ballads of Katamaraju and stories of Krishna leela in the form of Suddulu.[12]

According to tradition, Bhakteeranna, the elder son of Katamaraju's paternal uncle Poluraju, travelled to Kasi and returned with twelve disciples, instructing them to earn their livelihood by narrating the ballads of Katamaraju and receiving benefaction from the Gollas. The GollaSuddulu are generally believed to be descendants of these twelve disciples. Scholars such as Tangirala Venkatasubba Rao trace the term Golla Suddulu to *Gollasuktulu*, identifying them as a distinct community narrating Katamaraju's ballads.[13] Suravaram Prataparedi notes that some Gollas earn a living by narrating Krishna's stories (Krishnaleelalu) and Katamaraju ballads,[14] while R.V.S. Sundaram highlights that the GollaSuddulu perform using scrolls and instruments such as Kommulu (horns), Veeranaalu (double drums), and Sankhalu (conch shells).[15]Poets and scholars like Ayyalaraju Narayanaamatyudu and Mikkilineni Radhakrishna also document their narrative methods, attire, instruments, and performances in works such as *Hamsavimsati* and *Teluguvari Janapada Kalasrupalu*.[16]MarreboinaJayadev notes that they perform at *Golla* households or in front of shrines such as Goddess Gangamma, seeking benefaction while narrating the ballads.[17]

The art form enjoys considerable popularity in Telangana. The narratives are depicted on scrolls, which help rural audiences easily comprehend the stories. Typically, three performers take part, with one serving as the main narrator and the other two forming the chorus. The main narrator traditionally wears a coarse dhoti with red borders folded up to the knees, a kerchief tied around the head, earrings, bracelets, ankle ornaments, bell straps on the legs, and a blanket draped over the shoulder. He carries a long stick and appears like a shepherd (*Golla*). The chorus members wear similar attire.

Performances follow a structured sequence. Performers emerge from among the audience one by one. The main narrator first enters the dais, acting as a shepherd searching for missing sheep and interacting with the chorus. The assistants follow, each performing their roles while engaging in playful banter, often including traditional jokes such as: *"GollalaGotraluGorrelakuEruka, Gorrela Gotralu Gollalaku Eruka, Veeri Vaari Gotralu Todellaku Eruka"* (The sheep know their master, the master knows his sheep, yet the wolf knows both the Golla and his sheep.)

Before narrating the ballads, the main narrator and chorus offer paeans to the ancestors of the Gollas, acknowledge benefaction, and salute the community elders. They begin with a prayer to Lord Ganesha and worship the *Golla* community's presiding deity, Goddess Ganga, before commencing the ballads. The main narrator recites the verses while holding a kerchief, with the chorus repeating the lines. The narrator then explains the story in simple language accessible to rural audiences, with the chorus providing refrains. The clear language, simple terminology and engaging storytelling make the art form highly effective for communication.[18]

During the Telangana Movement, Praja Natya Mandali and other revolutionary groups adapted *Golla Suddulu* performances to disseminate political messages, including information about the Rytu Coolie Sangham and the Telangana Movement.[19]Revolutionary balladeers such as Gaddar donned the attire of the *GollaSuddulu* to perform songs that raised awareness among the people. The simplicity of the costume and minimal reliance on instruments ensured that the audience focused on the spoken words, allowing the message to be delivered directly and effectively. Similarly, *Oggu Katha* was co-opted for revolutionary propaganda. In both folk art forms—*Golla Suddulu* and *Oggu* Katha—the use of local dialect, accent and literary style resonated deeply with the Telangana people, earning widespread appreciation, support and active engagement.

**Harikatha**

Harikatha is a traditional art form practiced in the Telugu-speaking regions of Andhra Pradesh and Telangana. In this performance, a single artist narrates a story for a period of three to four hours, skilfully combining storytelling, singing, dancing, and acting to engage the audience. Despite the lengthy duration, the performance never feels monotonous, as the artist introduces interludes, humour, witty dialogues, and moral lessons to maintain audience attention. Through Harikatha, the artist not only entertains but also teaches ethics, values, and social awareness, highlighting social evils and ethical conduct.

The performer's attire is simple yet elegant, typically consisting of a cotton dhoti, an angavastram (upper cloth) around the waist, a garland, and Chitathas in hand. The visual simplicity emphasizes the artist's skill and the content of the narration rather than flamboyant appearance. Traditionally, Harikatha was used to spread religious teachings: The Jangamas propagated Shaivism through Jangama stories, while the Dasaris disseminated Vaishnavism via Brahmanaidu stories. These performances commonly recounted stories from the Ramayana, Mahabharata, and Bhagavata, often during festival occasions such as Ganapati celebrations, Navaratri, Dussehra, Krishna Janmashtami, Mukkoti Ekadasi, Sankranti and Sri Rama Navami. The art and craft of Harikatha are unique to the Telugu region, which has produced many great

Harikatha artists. Aadhibatla Narayana Dasu is recognized as the father of Harikatha, whose fame extended beyond India.[19]

During the later phase of the Telangana Movement, Harikatha artists adapted their performances to create political and social awareness. They used this traditional art form to portray the injustices faced by Telangana under the rule of Andhra leaders, making complex socio-political issues accessible to the common people. Many artists even sacrificed their artistic pursuits to support the movement. Consequently, Harikatha played a significant role in mobilizing public consciousness and fostering support for the separate Telangana state.

**Yakshaganam**

Yakshaganam is one of the most ancient folk-art forms of the Telugu-speaking regions, widely performed in Telangana and Andhra Pradesh. Contemporary street plays are considered modern extensions of this traditional art. The form that developed later, known as VeedhiBaghothalu, emerged from Yakshaganam. Traditionally, Yakshaganam performances were sung by Yakshas, and in Telangana, the Jakkula tribe became the primary performers. Over time, the term "*Yaksha*" evolved into "*Jakka*," referring to the performers themselves. From the 15th century onwards, Yakshaganam gained popularity through the Jakkula tribe, with works such as Proluganti Chinna Suri's *Sourabha Charithra*. The dance movements of Yakshavanithas and Yakshakaminis are described in *Chittra Bharatham* of the 16th century, which helped shape new trends in Yakshaganam performance. According to S.V. Joga Rao (*YakshaganaVangmayam*), Yakshaganas were composed in Telangana during the 18th century. Initially, these performances were chanting recitals rather than staged dramas, including SheshachalaKavi's *Dharmapuri Ramayanam* (1780) and Maddhakavi's *Mandhana Ramayanam* (1834). Stage performances began in the latter half of the 19th century. Dr.Mikkilineni Radhakrishna Murthy, in *Teluguvari Janapada Rupalu*, notes that approximately 465 writers composed 802 Yakshaganas, of which only 542 survive today.[20]

Scholars classify Yakshaga Vangmayam as a Desi (local) tradition, distinct from classical cultural forms. In earlier times, Yakshas, Kinneras, Kimpurushas and Gandharvas sang devotional songs melodiously. In Telangana, Chindollu or Chindu Madigas are the inheritors of this tradition, performing Yakshaganas across various districts. Chindu Yakshaganam is particularly popular for its humorous elements, use of colloquial and coarse language (referred to as "Grayam language"), and emphasis on makeup and elaborate costumes. Performers enact roles of kings, queens, ministers, and commoners, using attire and jewellery to convey their characters clearly to the audience. Dedication and skill are more important than theatrics, allowing spectators to easily recognize each role. In some regions, performers sustain themselves through begging and their art, a practice that has evolved into a traditional caste occupation. The Chindu Madigas are socially positioned just

above Madigas and rely entirely on their art for livelihood.

During the separate Telangana Movement, Chindu artists used Yakshaganam as a medium to create awareness and political consciousness. Their performances highlighted the injustices faced by Telangana under Andhra rule, helping ordinary people understand the socio-political issues through art. Many performers sacrificed their art to support the movement. Consequently, Chindu Yakshaganam played a crucial role in mobilizing public opinion for the formation of Telangana. After the establishment of the Telangana state, the government recognized these artists and provided employment, securing their livelihoods and preserving this traditional art form.

**Burrakatha**

Burrakatha is a traditional folk storytelling art form that shares similarities with other Telangana folk-art forms such as Sarada Kathalu and Pichukuntla Kathalu. It was introduced in the Telangana region by the Praja Natya Mandali and was initially performed by mendicant communities. Over time, it became formalized and performed professionally. While Burrakatha has its origins in Andhra Pradesh, the Praja Natya Mandali played a key role in adapting and rooting it within Telangana's folk-art tradition.[21]

The performances in Telangana often utilized Burrakathas written by Andhra Pradesh artists, including notable figures such as Nasar and Sunkara Satyanarayana.[22]During the Telangana Movement, many of Nasar's Burrakathas gained popularity, with *Moscow Polimeralina* being particularly well-received. Similarly, *KasthaJeevi* by Sunkara Satyanarayana was adapted by members of the Praja Natya Mandali and became widely successful. These performances transformed traditional narratives—historical and mythological stories—into political and revolutionary messages, educating the people about the importance of individual participation in the movement.

Although the roots of *Burrakatha* lie in Andhra Pradesh, it soon became a popular and significant art form in Telangana. Local artists began composing their own *Burrakathas*, tailoring the performances to serve the objectives of the Telangana Movement and effectively mobilizing public awareness and support.

**Conclusion**

The various phases of the Telangana Movement—including the armed struggle, peasant movements, Dalit movements, and other socio-political campaigns—were significantly influenced by culturally revolutionary folk-art forms. In the separate Telangana movement later phase also, these art forms played a pivotal role, spearheading cultural mobilization through platforms like Dhoom-Dhaam and contributing crucially to the eventual formation of Telangana. Traditional cultural expressions highlighted in folk arts reflected the people's identity, heritage, and struggles, becoming a major strategy to unite and inspire the masses. During later phase separate Telangana movement, folk-art forms narrated stories of social discrimination, economic

exploitation, and political injustice inflicted by Andhra rulers, using local dialects that the common people could easily understand. This accessibility helped mobilize widespread participation, including Telangana-origin communities abroad. These art forms were therefore vital instruments in spreading awareness and sustaining the movement. However, after the formation of Telangana, many of these folk-art forms have been neglected, leaving numerous folk artists unemployed or struggling to sustain their craft. Preserving these traditions is not only the responsibility of society but also of the government. The Telangana government must take active measures to support artists, promote folk traditions, and invest in research to ensure that these invaluable cultural expressions survive for future generations.

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# Major Irrigation Works of the Nizams: A Historical Overview

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**Abstract**

The Nizam's dominion, historically known as Hyderabad State, was marked by significant agricultural activity reliant on effective irrigation. The Nizams, ruling this princely state, undertook major irrigation projects that transformed the agrarian landscape, combating famine and drought risks in a semi-arid region. This article provides a comprehensive overview of the major irrigation works initiated and completed under the Nizam's rule, highlighting their impact on agriculture, economy and society.

**Keywords**: Nizam's Dominions, Irrigation, Agrarian conditions, Famines, Agriculture

## Introduction

The Nizam's Dominion, historically known as Hyderabad State, was marked by significant agricultural activity reliant on effective irrigation. The Nizams, ruling this princely state, undertook major irrigation projects that transformed the agrarian landscape, combating famine and drought risks in a semi-arid region. This article provides a comprehensive overview of the major irrigation works initiated and completed under the Nizam's rule, highlighting their impact on agriculture, economy and society.[1] Irrigation was essential for Hyderabad State's agriculture, primarily located on the Deccan plateau with unpredictable monsoon rainfall. Before modern projects, agriculture depended heavily on traditional tanks, wells and rivers. The Nizams recognized the critical need to harness water resources for consistent agricultural output and famine prevention.[2]

## Key Irrigation Projects under the Nizams

### 1. Nizam Sagar Project

The most notable irrigation work was the NizamSagar Project, constructed between 1923 and 1931 across the Manjira River, a tributary of the Godavari River. Directed by Chief Engineer Nawab Ali Nawaj Jung Bahadur and Executive Engineer P.S. Raju, this dam was the largest project of its time in Hyderabad State.[3] The Nizam Sagar reservoir had a planned capacity of nearly 30 TMC (thousand million cubic feet) of water, initially providing irrigation to around 2,75,000 acres in areas including Nizamabad, Bodhan and Banswada. This project greatly improved water availability, helping farmers shift from rain-fed farming to irrigated commercial crops like sugarcane and cotton. Though the reservoir suffered from siltation over time, it marked a significant engineering milestone signaling modern irrigation development in

the state.[4]

**2. Osman Sagar and Himayat Sagar Reservoirs**

Apart from Nizam Sagar, the Nizam's administration-built Osman Sagar and Himayat Sagar reservoirs primarily to provide drinking water to Hyderabad city but also supporting nearby agricultural lands. These projects helped stabilize water supply during droughts and contributed to urban growth as well.[5]

**3. Canal and Anicut Projects**

The Ghanpur Anicut, built in 1904, was an early irrigation canal across the Manjira River, diverting water to irrigate thousands of acres. Later, canals such as the Right and Left Canals (Fatch Nahar) were added to expand irrigation coverage. These canals facilitated an increase in cultivated acreage and introduced systematic water management in the region.[6]

**4. Tank Irrigation and Minor Water Works**

Traditional tank irrigation, with numerous small reservoirs and ponds, was widespread in Telangana. The Nizam's administration focused on maintaining and expanding these tanks, improving their storage capacity and outlets. This tank irrigation system was vital to rural areas and small farmers.

**5. Paleru Reservoir**

Constructed in the 1920s, the Paleru reservoir in Khammam district (formerly part of Warangal) was another important irrigation project aimed at supporting drought-prone areas. The dam and its associated canal systems helped irrigate lands on both sides of the river, assisting farmers during irregular monsoons.[7]

**Socio-Economic Impact of the Irrigation Projects**

The Nizam's irrigation projects facilitated the introduction and expansion of commercial crops such as cotton, sugarcane, and tobacco, boosting the local economy. The use of reliable irrigation reduced rural distress caused by monsoon failures, enhancing food security and agricultural productivity.[8] Land revenue policies further incentivized irrigation development by linking water availability with increased agricultural revenue. This helped finance more infrastructure projects, creating a cycle of growth.

**Challenges and Legacy**

While many projects were engineering successes, some faced challenges like rapid siltation, funding limitations, and maintenance issues post-independence. However, the irrigation infrastructure laid during the Nizam era formed the backbone for later developments in Telangana and Andhra Pradesh.[9]

**Conclusion**

The Nizams showed foresight in recognizing irrigation's importance for Hyderabad State's prosperity. Their major irrigation projects not only enhanced agricultural output but also stabilized the economy against climatic uncertainties. These works continue to influence water management and agriculture in the region today.

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# Hyderabad- The City of Pearls: An Analytical Study

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**Abstract**

Hyderabad is the Capital of Telangana. Muhammad Quli Kutub shah established Hyderabad in 1591. Asaf Jha founded Asaf Jahi Dynasty, Hyderabad is known for its pearl 'Industry and was nicknamed the city of pearls'. In 1321 the Kakatiya dynasty was annexed by Malikafur in 1518. Quli expanded and fortified the old mud fort of Golconda and named the city "Mohammad Nagar". He established the Qutb Shahi dynasty. In 1689, the Golconda sultanate came under the rule of the Mughal Emperor. In 1714, Farukhsiyar appointed Asaf Jah I as Viceroy. Hyderabad is listed by UNESCO as a Creative City of gastronomy.

**Keywords**: Gastronomy "UNESCO, Illustrious, Smoldering, Rebel, Centurions, Emperor, Sultanate, Ocean".

## Introduction

Hyderabad is the capital and the largest city of the Indian state of Telangana. It is in the Deccan plateau. It is situated on the banks of the river Musi. Until the 19th century Hyderabad was known for its pearls industry and was nicknamed the city of pearls[1]. It was the only trading centre for Golconda diamonds in the world. Hyderabad means 'Hayder's city or lion city' from Haydar lion as a bad city a popular legend suggests that the founder for the city, Muhammad Quli Qutb named it 'Bhagya' Nagar (The fortunate city 'After Baghmati a local / dance Girl') whom he married.

## The main objectives of the study

The study aims to examine Hyderabad, popularly known as the "City of Pearls," by exploring its historical, cultural and architectural heritage. It seeks to understand the evolution of Hyderabad as a renowned centre of the pearl trade, while also examining the contributions of its rulers, particularly the Qutb Shahi and Asaf Jahi dynasties, to the city's growth and development. The study further investigates the distinctive architectural features of Hyderabad, including its monuments, palaces, forts and religious structures, which reflect its rich cultural diversity. Finally, it aims to assess the enduring legacy of Hyderabad in terms of its historical significance, cultural traditions and lasting influence on the social, economic and artistic life of the region.

## Methodology

This paper is an analytical study and a descriptive paper. This study adopts a **qualitative historical research design** to examine the history, cultural

significance, and socio-economic contributions of the *Pearl of Hyderabad*. The research relies on both primary and secondary sources. Primary data was collected through field visits to Hyderabad's traditional pearl markets, interviews with pearl merchants, artisans, jewellers and industry experts and direct observation of pearl grading, processing and marketing practices. Secondary data was gathered from books, research articles, government reports, archival records, museum collections, trade publications and historical documents related to the pearl trade in Hyderabad. The collected data was analyzed using historical and thematic analysis to trace the evolution of the pearl industry, its role in Hyderabad's cultural heritage and the challenges and opportunities facing the industry in the contemporary period. The study also employed a descriptive approach to interpret the findings within the broader context of heritage conservation, craftsmanship and regional economic development.

**Historical Background**

The Kakatiya Dynasty was reduced to a vassal of the Khalji Dynasty in 1310 after the defeat by Sultan Allauddin Khalji of the Delhi Sultanate. In 1321, the Kakatiya dynasty was annexed by Malik Kafur, Khalji's General. During the period**,** Khalji took the Koh-i-Noor diamond, mined from the Kollur mines of Golconda, to Delhi. In 1496, Sultan Quli was appointed a Bhamani Governor of Telangana[2]. Here built, expanded and fortified the old mud fort of Golconda and named the city "Mohammad Nagar". In 1518, he revolted against the Bhamani sultanate and established the Qutb Shahi Dynasty[3].

The Fifth Qutub Shahi established Hyderabad on the banks of the Musi River in 1591 to avoid the water storage experienced at Golconda[4]. During his rule, he had the Charminar and Mecca Masjid built in the city on 21 September 1689; the Golconda sultanate came under the rule of the Mughal Emperor as the province Hyderabad Subah. Mughal rule in Hyderabad was administered by three main Governors. Jan Sipar Khan (1668-1700), his son Rustom Dil Khan (1700-1713) and Mubarak Khan (1713 - 1714). [5]

In 1713, Mughal emperor Farukshiyar appointed Mubarak Khan Governor of Hyderabad. During his time, he fortified the city and controlled the internal and Neighbouring threats. In 1714, Farukshiyar Asaf Jahi was viceroy. In 1724 Asaf Jahi I, the Mughal Viceroy declared his sovereignty and founded the Asaf Sahi Dynasty also known as the Nizam of Hyderabad served as the imperial capital of the Asaf Sahi from 1769 to 1948. Hyderabad was annexedby the Indian Union in 1948. After the States Reorganisation Act of 1956, Hyderabad was made the capital of the newly formed Andhra Pradesh. In 2014 became the joint capital of both Telangana and Hyderabad after the bifurcation of Andhra Pradesh.[6]

**Media**

One of Hyderabad's newspapers The Deccan Times, was established. The Deccan Times was published in the 1780s. Telugu dailies published in

Hyderabad are Enadu, Sakshi and Namaste Telangana. The English papers are The Times of India, The Hindu, and The Deccan Chronicle. The major Urdu papers include the Siasat daily. Deccan Radio was the first radio for public broadcast station in the city, in February 1935. The available channels in Hyderabad include the All India radio, Radio Mirchi, Radio City, red FM, Big FM and Fever FM Radio stations in Andhra Pradesh. All India Waves original on 5th November 2011.

Golconda – Historic fortress and ruined city, lying 8km west of Hyderabad in Western Telangana state in Southern India From1518 to1591, it was the capital of the Qutub Shahi Kingdom (1519 – 1087) one of the five Muslim Sultanates of the Deccan In 1687 the ruling degrading of Qutub Shahi was overthrown by the Mughal Emperor Aurangzeb and Golconda was annexed to the Mughal Empire. The ortrees is 3 miles in circumference. Palaces, mosques, and the Qutub Shahi Tombs remain intact. Historically, the Golconda region was renowned for the Diamonds and the Koh-i-Noor Diamond.

**Legacy of Hyderabad**

The Public auditorium, Ravindra Bharathi, provides a venue for dance and drama festivals. The Salar Jung Museum, established in 1951, has a unique collection of rare Pieces, including jade jewellery, paintings and furniture.

**Conclusion**

The Mecca Mosque can accommodate 10,000 people. It was the site of a bombing attack in 2007 that killed several Muslims and injured many others. Hyderabad was known for its beauty and affluence, but that glory last only as long as the Qutub Quli Shahi dynasty. The Mughals conquered Hyderabad in 1685. The Mughal occupation was accompanied by plunder and destruction and was followed by the intervention of European powers in Indian affairs. Secunderabad grew as a British containment.

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# Living Heritage: Leveraging Nirmal Handicrafts for Sustainable Tourism Promotion

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**Abstract**

The magnificent tradition of Nirmal handicrafts, a 400-year-old art form from Telangana, India, India was truly flourished under the patronage of the Mughal rulers, who were captivated by the vibrant paintings. The art form reached its zenith during the rule of the Nizam of Hyderabad, when it became a symbol of royal elegance and a prized possession among the elite. The Nizams were great admirers of the craft and commissioned a wide range of Nirmal products, from elaborate furniture to home decor items. Following the decline of the Nizam's rule, the craft faced a period of decline. To ensure the sustainability of the craft, the artisans organized themselves into the Nirmal Toys and Arts Industrial Co-operative Society in 1955. This cooperative helped in preserving traditional techniques and providing a stable livelihood for the artisans. In 2009, Nirmal paintings and toys received the Geographical Indication (GI) tag, a legal recognition that protects their unique identity and promotes their quality, securing the legacy of this cherished art form for future generations. However, artisans faces critical challenges to its continuity amidst modern market pressures. Renowned for its exquisite wooden toys, furniture, and delicate miniature paintings in the *Naqashi* style, this unique craft's cultural and economic viability is currently threatened by issues like artisan retention and competitive mass production. This research investigates the indispensable relationship between tourism development and the long-term sustainability of the Nirmal artisan cluster. Examination of the socio-economic and environmental impacts of tourist engagement reveals a dual reality. On one hand, tourism provides a vital direct market link and is a primary driver for income generation, significantly improving the socio-economic status of many artisan families. On the other, the pursuit of rapid production has led to a noticeable decline in the use of traditional, eco-friendly natural dyes and poniki wood, with modern commercial alternatives compromising the craft’s environmental footprint and authenticity. Furthermore, a fragmented value chain ensures that a disproportionate share of tourism revenue benefits intermediaries rather than the original craftspeople. To ensure the survival of this heritage art, a shift towards a sustainable cultural tourism model is essential. This model must prioritize experiential tourism (hands-on workshops and immersive visits), implement robust fair-trade practices across the supply chain, and establish targeted programs for the reintroduction of traditional, eco-conscious raw materials. By strategically linking cultural preservation with economic empowerment through responsible and authentic

tourist engagement, the unique legacy of Nirmal art can achieve both market resilience and intergenerational sustainability.

**Introduction**

The global economy's reliance on cultural tourism has intensified the debate over how best to leverage visitor engagement to ensure the survival of traditional arts and crafts. Across the developing world, heritage craftsmanship—often a vital source of livelihood for local communities—is simultaneously uplifted by market access through tourism and threatened by the commercial pressures and lack of sustainability planning that often accompany it. The challenge lies in developing models that move beyond mere commercial transactions to foster genuine resilience and intergenerational knowledge transfer. In India, a nation rich in artisanal traditions, this delicate balance is particularly evident in the case of Nirmal handicrafts, an art form with a 400-year history originating in Telangana. Renowned for its intricate Naqashi paintings and delicate wooden artifacts, Nirmal art embodies centuries of regional aesthetic and craft innovation. However, like many other heritage crafts, its future is uncertain. Artisans struggle with fluctuating market demand, the rising cost and scarcity of traditional raw materials (such as poniki wood and natural dyes), and the difficulty of attracting younger generations to a financially precarious profession. While existing literature broadly acknowledges the economic benefits of tourism for the craft sector, there is a distinct gap in detailed research that specifically addresses the three-dimensional sustainability (economic, socio-cultural, and environmental) of GI-tagged heritage crafts like Nirmal art within a structured tourism ecosystem. Current studies often fail to provide actionable frameworks for integrating fair-trade practices, authentic production methods, and tourist engagement to create a truly resilient system.

This paper aims to critically analyze the intersection of tourism and sustainability within the Nirmal handicraft sector. Specifically, the study seeks to:

1. Evaluate the current socio-economic impact of tourism on the Nirmal artisan community.
2. Identify the key environmental and cultural challenges threatening the long-term sustainability and authenticity of the craft.
3. Propose a framework for a sustainable cultural tourism model that leverages visitor engagement to support the preservation of traditional skills and eco-conscious raw material usage, thereby ensuring the enduring legacy of Nirmal handicrafts.

The current literature primarily focuses on the history, documentation, raw material crisis, and government/cooperative society intervention. Significant

gaps remain in the areas of marketing, financial analysis, impact assessment, and cultural preservation strategies.

**Economic and Market Gaps**

The literature acknowledges the economic struggles but lacks deep quantitative analysis. S. Harpal Singh (2011) and The Hans India (2016) note rising costs and lack of profit, no study quantifies the artisans' profit margin at different points of sale (direct, cooperative, middleman, export). Challa Lakshmi & Manisha Gahlot (2020) and Gaatha.org mention the shift from traditional to modern designs and the use of duco/acrylic paints. There is no clear cost-benefit analysis or market reception study comparing products made with traditional natural dyes/designs versus modern materials/styles

**Social and Demographic Gaps**

While the problem of artisans shifting professions is noted (Sama Raja Reddy, 2013), the underlying social factors are not fully explored. The literature points to the younger generation seeking "more lucrative professions". There is no dedicated sociological study on the incentives, challenges, and support systems needed to encourage the children of *Naqqash* artisans to continue the craft. Handicraft sectors often heavily rely on women for specific processes, yet the current review lacks any specific mention of their roles, economic contribution, or the challenges they face within the Nirmal artisan community.

**Raw Material and Ecological Gaps**

The *Poniki Vanam* initiative is a solution, the ecological context is still sparse. The *poniki* wood crisis is well-documented, but there's a lack of formal, peer-reviewed material science research on the best indigenous or sustainable alternative softwoods that could substitute for *poniki* in the short term, without compromising the art's quality.

A robust methodology for studying the tourism and sustainability of Nirmal Handicrafts (including the famous Nirmal Toys and Paintings) must adopt a mixed-methods approach—combining quantitative and qualitative data to address the identified research gaps.

**Research Design and Phases**

The proposed methodology is structured into 3 main phases

Phase 1: Diagnostic Assessment (Quantitative & Qualitative)

This phase aims to establish a baseline understanding of the current state of the Nirmal Handicraft cluster and its connection to tourism.

*Stakeholder Identification and Sampling*

Artisans/Producers: Census or Stratified Random Sampling of artisan families registered with the cooperative society/GI holder and non-registered artisans.

Tourists/Visitors: Convenience or Quota Sampling at local sales outlets (e.g., Golkonda Handicrafts Emporium) and the Nirmal town/cluster.

Other Stakeholders (Key Informants): Purposive Sampling of government officials (tourism, forest, handicraft development), NGO representatives, society administrators, and raw material suppliers.

*Data Collection Instruments*

Structured Questionnaires (Quantitative):

Artisan Survey: Focus on demographics, income from craft, market channels, perception of GI tag, material sourcing, challenges (economic/social), and current tourism engagement.

Tourist Survey: Assess motivation for purchase (authentic vs. decorative), awareness of GI/sustainability, satisfaction with products, interest in artisan experiences/workshops, and willingness to pay for certified sustainable crafts.

Semi-Structured Interviews (Qualitative):

Key Informants: Deep dive into policy, raw material sourcing (Poniki wood crisis and revival initiatives like *Poniki Vanam*), marketing strategies, CFC utilization, and challenges in skill transfer and GI renewal.

Senior Artisans: Documenting traditional techniques, raw material preparation (especially natural dyes), and oral histories related to the craft's evolution.

Observation/Site Visit: Documenting the condition of workshops, Common Facility Centers (CFC), sales outlets, and local infrastructure supporting tourism (e.g., signage, visitor amenities).

**Phase 2: In-Depth Analysis and Integration**

This phase involves analyzing the collected data to test hypotheses and address the research gaps directly.

Quantitative Data Analysis

Analyze the data for variables like income, age distribution of artisans, raw material costs, and tourist satisfaction levels.

*Inferential Statistics*

To determine the relationship between factors like 'Awareness of GI Tag' and 'Sales Revenue,' or 'Artisan Engagement in Tourism' and 'Livelihood Sustainability.'

*Qualitative Data Analysis*

*Thematic Analysis*: Systematically code and categorize interview transcripts to identify recurring themes related to:

*Tourism Impact*: Authenticity, commodification, and cultural preservation.

*Material Sustainability*: Dependence on Poniki wood and the feasibility of sustainable sourcing (e.g., community-managed plantations).[1]

Skill Transfer: Barriers to youth involvement and effective training methodologies.

Gap Synthesis and Triangulation

*Triangulation*: Integrate findings from the quantitative surveys, qualitative interviews, and site observations to validate results and gain a holistic perspective.

Example for Raw Material Gap: Data collection on sourcing costs/availability of the Qualitative data on the success of Poniki Vanam/need for alternative sustainable woodsfor Comprehensive strategy.

**Phase 3: Strategy Formulation (Action-Oriented)**

The final phase translates the analytical findings into actionable strategies for sustainable development.

**Framework Development**

Propose a Sustainable Tourism-Handicraft Integration Framework for Nirmal. This framework should be grounded in the data and address the three pillars of sustainability: Economic, Environmental, and Socio-Cultural.

**Recommendations for Tourism**

Develop a plan for Experiential Cultural Tourism (e.g., artisan workshops, demonstration centers) that provides direct economic benefits to the artisans while preserving craft authenticity.

**Results and Discussion**

The sustainability of Nirmal Handicrafts, particularly the iconic Nirmal toys and paintings, is intricately linked to both environmental resource management (Poniki wood) and the economic and cultural boost from tourism and Geographical Indication (GI). The key findings are:

*Environmental and Material Sustainability:* Poniki Wood Scarcity: Natural populations of the Poniki tree have sharply declined in the Deccan Plateau region due to factors like unsuitable soil conditions, poor regeneration, and habitat degradation. This scarcity forced artisans to use inferior substitutes or threatened the craft's authenticity.

The Role of 'Poniki Vanam': The establishment of the 'Poniki Vanam'—a dedicated plantation of over 5,200 Poniki trees in Gopalpet village—represents a crucial, positive intervention.

Sustainability Implication: This directly addresses the environmental pillar of sustainability by ensuring a dedicated, local, and authentic source of raw material.

*Scientific Breakthrough*: Further scientific breakthroughs, such as enhanced seed germination techniques (up to 80%) for Poniki, promise to bolster this effort, ensuring the long-term survival of the species vital to the craft.

*Economic and Socio-Cultural Sustainability (Market Access and Recognition)*:

The formal recognition of the craft and its connection to tourism are critical for the artisans' livelihoods and the craft's cultural preservation.

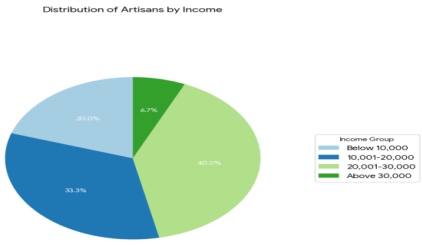
*Impact of GI Tag on Sales*: The Geographical Indication (GI) tag granted to Nirmal Toys and Crafts in 2009 has been shown to have a significant positive economic impact.One study indicated that the overall sales revenue of the craft increased by more than six times in the decade following the GI grant. This shows a direct linkage between formalized IP protection and economic upliftment.

*Tourism and Awareness Gaps*: While the GI tag provides a competitive edge and quality assurance, the full potential, especially in driving tourism, has not been optimally realized.

Role in Tourism: Protecting GI products, like Nirmal crafts, is a well-established global mechanism for promoting tourism—as visitors seek unique, high-quality, and authentic local products. However, effective marketing and promotion as a 'must-buy' GI product for tourists visiting Telangana is a current gap.

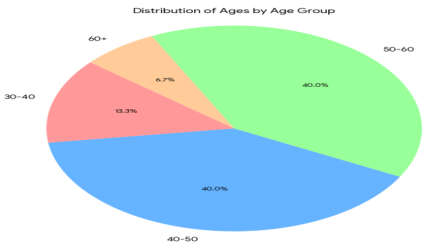
*Socio-Economic and Generational Challenges*: Despite positive policy interventions, the artisans, primarily from the Naqqash community, continue to face complex socio-economic challenges.

*Artisan Vulnerabilities*: Artisans face persistent issues including low bargaining power against intermediaries, limited market access (especially for those in rural areas), and difficulty competing with cheaper, mass-produced goods.




*Preserving Heritage and Skills*:

Skills Gap: The craft faces a threat of losing traditional knowledge as younger generations often pursue more lucrative or modern careers, leading to a skills gap. This is compounded by a lack of structured, formal training and apprenticeship programs.




*Modernization*: There is an ongoing need for artisans to balance the retention of traditional themes (Mythological, Mughal miniatures) with contemporary

designs to cater to evolving market tastes and attract new customers, particularly the younger demographic.

Digital Divide: Many artisans lack the digital literacy and e-commerce platform access necessary to fully leverage the potential of online sales, which has become crucial for market visibility and expansion beyond physical exhibitions.

**Conclusion and Policy Recommendations**

The study concludes that the sustainability of Nirmal Handicrafts stands at a critical juncture, supported by environmental recovery but constrained by economic and socio-cultural gaps.The success in securing the foundational resource (Poniki wood) must now be mirrored by a targeted, dual-pronged strategy: "GI-Tag Leverage" to boost market value and "Digital and Design Revitalization" to attract youth and expand market reach through cultural tourism. This paper proposes the "Nirmal Navachar (Innovation) Framework"—a set of targeted policies designed to strategically fill the identified research gaps and ensure holistic sustainability.

The GI-Tourism Bridge: "Mark of Authenticity" Program

This addresses the Economic/Tourism Gap (low GI awareness and missed tourism potential).

*Policy*: *Mandatory "GI-Passport" Integration*: Integrate the Nirmal GI tag directly into state tourism marketing. Every tourist entering the Nirmal district or buying a Telangana-themed package must receive a digital/physical "Craft Passport" highlighting GI-tagged products.

*Recommendation*: Establish a state-sponsored "Nirmal Naqqashi Center of Excellence" at a high-traffic tourist location (e.g., Hyderabad or Adilabad). This center should function as a living museum, workshop, and high-end retail outlet, providing a *guaranteed* authentic product source.

*Tourism Link*: This moves the GI from a legal mark to a tourist attraction and quality guarantee, justifying the premium price and driving foot traffic to the artisans' hub.

**The Generational Succession Solution**

"Artisan-in-Residence" Initiative This addresses the Socio-Cultural Gap (skills loss and lack of youth interest).

*Policy*: *Establish a Stipend-Based Apprenticeship*: Launch a formal "Nirmal Artisan-in-Residence" program offering a guaranteed, competitive monthly stipend to young artisans (ages 18-30) for a two-year commitment to mastering the traditional craft.

*Recommendation*: Mandate a "Design Fusion" component. Apprentices must collaborate with modern designers (e.g., from NIFT) for 3-6 months to develop contemporary products (e.g., modular furniture, corporate gifts, digital art prints) while adhering to traditional motifs and techniques.

*Outcome*: This makes the craft financially viable and aesthetically relevant for the youth, effectively utilizing the underutilized infrastructure and preventing the skills drain.

**Digital Inclusion and Market Empowerment**

"E-Haat Platform". This addresses the Economic and Socio-Cultural Gap (digital divide and low bargaining power).

*Policy*: Develop a Dedicated "Nirmal E-Haat" Portal: A low-cost, state-managed e-commerce platform specifically for Nirmal and other Telangana GI products. The platform must manage logistics and guarantee fair pricing for the artisan.

*Recommendation*: Implement Digital Literacy Workshops at the craft cluster, focusing on mobile photography, product listing, and basic inventory management. The training should be mandatory for CFC access.

*Outcome*: By centralizing sales and logistics, this policy directly increases the artisans' bargaining power by removing exploitative intermediaries, dramatically expanding market reach, and providing data on modern consumer preferences.

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# From Koti Residency to Chakali Ailamma University: The Journey of Women's Higher Education in Hyderabad

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**Abstract**

The transformation of the British Residency at Koti into Veeranari Chakali Ailamma Women's University represents a powerful narrative of India's social progress, one that links colonial heritage, women's empowerment and Telangana's revolutionary spirit. Once the centre of British diplomatic might in the late eighteenth century, the Residency's marble pillars and halls now echo with the lively voices of young women pursuing education and equality. This evolution reflects Hyderabad's enduring role in fusing history, heritage and higher learning.

The Koti Residency, commissioned between 1803 and 1805 by British Resident James Achilles Kirkpatrick, symbolized colonial dominance in the Nizam's Hyderabad. Designed under Lt. Samuel Russell of the Madras Engineers, this monumental structure reflected the Palladian and Neo-classical style, boasting 40-foot-high Corinthian pillars, marble staircases and ornamental lions guarding its entrance.

Kirkpatrick's Residency functioned as the British embassy, the political nerve centre of indirect imperial rule. It symbolized the merger of artistic grandeur with colonial hegemony, and also the cultural duality embodied in Kirkpatrick's famed relationship with Khair-un-Nissa Begum, a Hyderabadi noble woman. Over time, this mansion became a repository of Indo-European architecture and a witness to Hyderabad's political transitions.

**Keywords**: British Residency, Osmania University, Women Education

## Transition to Women's Higher Education (1924–1949)

After India's Independence and the end of the Nizam's rule, Hyderabad witnessed rapid institutional restructuring. In 1924, the Osmania University College for Women (OUCW) was founded as part of Osmania University, with the objective of promoting women's education, a domain largely denied to women under both feudal and colonial systems

The college initially operated from temporary campuses before relocating to the Koti Residency building in 1949, turning the colonial seat of male authority into a sanctuary for female intellect and empowerment. This repurposing was significant: it redefined the physical and symbolic meaning of the building from a site of subjugation to one of emancipation. Since its establishment,

OUCW played a critical role in offering education across arts, humanities, and sciences, thus contributing to Hyderabad's rise as a centre of women's education in South India.

**Osmania University College for Women: A Legacy of Empowerment**

For decades, OUCW stood as one of the oldest and most prestigious women's colleges in India, affiliated with Osmania University. It provided a holistic education through undergraduate and postgraduate programs, encouraging cultural, academic, and athletic participation among its students.

During the latter half of the twentieth century, the college produced women leaders, scholars, and professionals who contributed to social transformation in Telangana. The institution balanced heritage conservation with educational advancement its INTACH heritage tag and inclusion in the World Monuments Fund's 2025 Watch List confirmed its national and global cultural significance.

**Renaming and Upgradation: Telangana MahilaVishwa Vidyalaya (2022)**

In recognition of both historical and educational importance, the Telangana Government upgraded OUCW to the status of a State University in 2022, introducing the name Telangana Mahila Vishwa Vidyalayam.

This upgrade aimed to modernize academics by introducing engineering, management, and digital humanities programs while maintaining its liberal arts tradition. The move represented a strategic vision to make the institution a hub of women's innovation and leadership.

The state government envisioned the university as an autonomous centre providing quality education, research opportunities, and equal access to students from rural and marginalized communities — advancing both gender equity and regional development.

**Rechristening as Veeranari Chakali Ailamma Women's University (2024)**

In December 2024, the Telangana Legislative Assembly passed a bill renaming the institution as Veeranari Chakali Ailamma Women's University to immortalize the courage and contributions of the revolutionary warrior Chakali Ailamma.

Born in 1895 in Warangal district, Ailamma (also known as Chityala Ailamma) emerged as a fearless leader during the Telangana Peasant Armed Struggle (1946–1951) against feudal oppression and the Nizam's autocracy. Belonging to the Rajaka (washerwoman) community, she defied caste and gender barriers by resisting landlord exploitation and inspiring peasant mobilization under the Communist Party of India.

The university's renaming symbolically connected Hyderabad's colonial and feudal past to Telangana's social justice movements, blending feminism, class consciousness and regional pride into one institutional identity

**Institutional Growth in the 21st Century**

Today, Chakali Ailamma Women's University continues to expand its academic horizons. It offers undergraduate and postgraduate degrees in arts,

commerce, sciences and vocational studies. In 2025, it launched skill-oriented programs in Artificial Intelligence, Environmental Science, and Entrepreneurship for Women. The university's admission process aligns with Telangana's TG-CPGET and TG-ICET frameworks, ensuring merit-based, transparent admissions.

The campus has established Centres for Digital Literacy and Gender Studies, focusing on equipping students with leadership skills tailored to 21st-century demands.

**Cultural and Architectural Restoration**

The university's main building remains one of Hyderabad's most prominent heritage structures. Restoration projects led by the World Monuments Fund (WMF) and local conservationists have rejuvenated its interiors while preserving the Indo-Saracenic artistry.

With INTACH's guidance, the restoration work has ensured that original materials such as lime mortar, teak and stained glass are retained, thereby reinvigorating colonial craftsmanship while integrating with modern classrooms and laboratories.

Cultural programs frequently celebrate this unique coexistence of architectural grandeur and academic zeal. The Heritage Club, founded by the college's Department of History, regularly organizes heritage walks, exhibitions and research workshops on Hyderabad's built legacy.

**Present Challenges**

Despite its achievements, the university faces hurdles such as delayed UGC recognition, which affected degree validation and student morale in late 2024. Protests by students drew attention to the need for faster bureaucratic processing and improved infrastructure funding.

Additionally, expanding research capacity, recruiting faculty, and updating infrastructure to meet the demands of a growing student community remain ongoing challenges. Balancing the preservation of its heritage site with modernization projects also requires significant financial investment

**Future Prospects**

The vision for Veeranari Chakali Ailamma Women's University involves transforming it into a global centre for women's higher education and research in South Asia. The government's strategic roadmap suggests the creation of new departments in Science & Technology, Gender Policy Research, and South Asian Studies.

Introducing dual-degree programs, international collaborations, and online academic platforms forms part of its modernization agenda. Efforts toward sustainable campus development including green buildings, digital classrooms, and solar energy utilization, are underway. Most importantly, the university continues to anchor its philosophy in Chakali Ailamma's legacy of resistance and empowerment, promoting inclusivity, dignity and equal opportunity for all women, regardless of class or caste.

**Conclusion**

The evolution from Koti Residency to Veeranari Chakali Ailamma Women's University encapsulates more than two centuries of Hyderabad's transformation, from colonial subjugation to feminist liberation. The journey of this institution is both material and metaphoric: it has converted symbols of British authority into halls of women's leadership.

As a living heritage structure, it connects Hyderabad's architectural past with Telangana's emancipatory future. The university today stands not merely as an educational entity but as a beacon of change, embodying the courage of Chakali Ailamma and the intellectual empowerment of generations of Hyderabadi women.

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# Beyond the Palace Walls: Learning in Princely Mysore

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**Abstract**

The term education comes from the Latin '*educare* or '*educere'*. The former denotes 'to bring up', 'to rear' and the latter means 'to lead out'. Although much reflection has been done on education there is no universally accepted definition of education. One reason for this is that the education is not something abstract but a concrete activity. As a concrete activity it is situated in and influenced by an overall vision of life and reality, an underpinning soteriology and anthropology, all of which in their turn are conditioned by one's religious or philosophical views. Hence based on one's religious beliefs, one's world views, one's understanding of education will also differ.

All over India there are thousands of English Medium and even Vernacular Catholic schools catering to large number of students and providing an excellent academic education in a much-disciplined academic atmosphere, yielding high first divisions to the great satisfaction of all concerned.

Knowledge is power in the intellectual society. It leads to wisdom and brings in prosperity, creativity and best of health. During the 19$^{th}$ Century the educators of all sphere strove hard to bring in the best in the young mind. As a result, tremendous changes have taken place throughout the length and breadth of India especially in Mysore through mainly through various Missionaries. The present paper attempts to analyse the efforts made my missionaries, educationists and the noble family in order to enhance literacy levels and education in Mysore State.

**Keywords**: Education, Soteriology, Religion, Vernacular, Holistic

## Introduction

Each region of our nation reflects the glory of the entire nation. It is a part of the composite picture to which it contributes a special hue and luster. The long history of Mysore aptly illustrates this fact. Several Christian Missionaries have enriched Mysore through their yeomen services especially through education. We live in an age of unprecedented social turmoil and violence. That education alone is of value which draws at the faults of a student so as to enable him or her to solve correctly the problems of life in every department says Mahatma Gandhi.[1]

The contribution of the Catholic Church and its institutions to the upliftment and welfare of the Indian nation has been outstanding on any count. The contribution of Christian missionaries to the shaping of Indian life in modern times has been very impressive. They established schools, colleges, and

special attention were paid to the maimed and the handicapped. Christian institutions have always thrown their portals wide open to all.

The formation of character is the greatest gift, the Catholic institutions gives to the nation, which is rich in talent of every kind. The Catholic institutions promote a sense of oneness and fellowship among the generation by the very fact that their doors are open without distinction to pupils of all creed and communities. The Hindu, Muslim, Sikh, Parsi, Christian and the Jew discover much in common. The feeling of fellowship grows unconsciously as a result of personal experience, and is therefore, likely to have a more lasting effect wherever they are.

From the national point of view these schools and colleges render invaluable service in rounding off the sharp edges of communal feelings and promote a sense of solidarity. Christians were again the pioneers in vocational and industrial education. They were compelled to undertake this task in order to fit the children of neophytes from the underprivileged class in order to gain a descent livelihood.

When the great Indian leader Gopal Krishna Gokhale, founded the Servants of India Society, it appeared that he took the Society of Jesus (Jesuits) as his model. The Indian leaders looked around them and saw there were much work to be done because of the backlog of ignorance, superstition and misery. Such work had to be done by the hands of men and women working with missionary zeal and spirit. The Servants of India Society of Gokhale, the Servants of the People Society of Lala Lajapat Rai and the Sarvodaya movement of Mahatma Gandhi and Vinobha Bhave, gave up the old idea of being aloof from the world to a full active life.

As Archbishop Thomas Pothacamury says, "No account of the Church in India can be complete without mention of its educational system which contributes a unique feature of its apostolate in the country. For over a century, education has been a major concern of the Church in India".[2] Education has always been a part of missionary apostolate. They have launched into remote areas where there are no facilities for education and gave them fullness of life. They were the greatest contribution to the cultural welfare and progress of the nation. Education was also an excellent means of eliminating ignorance and prejudice. They have catered to the rich and the poor alike to face the battles of life. They developed inner discipline and strength of character among the youth to have sound character, disciplined, responsible, trustworthy and fit citizens of a free country. [3]

An account of the progress achieved in the field of education in Mysore, is because of the great work done by foreign Christian missionaries. The excellent pioneering work done by Christian organizations, in the cause of education, medical relief, industrial advance, starting printing presses and literary revival in the various Indian languages, including Kannada, can never be overestimated.[4]

During the early days of missionary activity in Mysore, the arrival of a missionary was almost inevitably followed by the establishment of an educational institution. It was an urgent need, for those who embraced Christianity were illiterate. Hence education was given second place in the scheme of missionary activities. Among all the missionary activities, schools held a prominent place. Schools were looked upon as a *Preparatioevangelica*[5]– Preparation for the Gospel. To the missionaries in Mysore, the mission schools were a main exhibition of practical Christianity.

**Abbe Dubois and Francis Xavier**

Two eminent missionaries appeared on the scene, they were Abbe Dubois and Fr. Francis Xavier of St. Anne[6]. The former was working in Baramahal during Tippu's regime, and after Tippu's death, he was ordered by his Superior, Bishop Charbonnaux, to proceed to Bangalore and reconstitute the shattered Christian community. He worked for the community both in Bangalore and in Kanara from 1800 to 1822. His work especially in education and social work was highly applauded by the British residents.

Fr. Francis Xavier of St. Anne belonged to the old noble Pescetti family of Sicily, he was a Carmelite.[7] He arrived in Sunkeri on 13th April, 1801. To escape arrest by Tipp's soldiers, Christians had abandoned their homes and were living in exile. They joined the gang of Engi Naik[8] and other dacoits, who began their atrocities from 1792 and were responsible for greater mischief. At last, peace was restored and these Christians returned in 1799 by Fr. Xavier who organized this community. He secured some land from the Government and settled them on those lands. Fr. Francis Xavier worked at Sunkeri from 1801 to 1831.[9]His work too is remarkable.

**The Jesuits**

The Catholic Community was aspiring for higher education. After prolonged negotiations with the Holy See, the latter consented to send the Jesuit Order to Mangalore. On 31st December 1878,[10] the Jesuits landed in Mangalore, who are rendering conspicuous contribution in the field of education from then onwards. They were the real pioneers of education among the Christian Missionaries, who are noted for holistic education throughout India.

They were all men of learning and were highly qualified, having been trained in the leading Universities of Europe. Though they were quite new to the conditions of life in India, they gradually acclimatized themselves to Indian conditions and mixed with the people in right earnestness, vigour and enthusiasm, especially in Karnataka.

In one of the Missionary Notices of 1884 says: "As we undertake it, education is not a mere teaching or civilizing force, it is our mode of preaching the Gospel to the young India……"[11]Thus religious aspiration always guided their educational activities and brought light to the darkened mind.

According to the Indian Political Proceedings preserved at India Office in London, 1840 is the starting point of English education in Mysore.[12] In 1840,

Maharaja Krishnaraja Wodeyar III founded an English School at Mysore under the supervision of Thomas Hudson, a Wesleyan Missionary. He called it as the Raja's School.[13]

Christian Missions played an important part in introducing modern Western education in Mysore. In 1840, the Wesleyan Mission established the first printing press in Mysore.[14] In 1842, it started an English medium school at Bangalore. This school was known as the "Native Educational Institution" and was managed by J. Garret. Mr. J. Garret drew up a scheme of vernacular and English education and this was accepted by the Commissioner, Sir Mark Cubbon. In 1847, the London Mission started a high school at Bangalore. During 1852 and 1853, the Government of India appointed a Committee of Education at Bangalore and set apart Rs. 7,000 for expenditure on education.

**MEP (Mission Estrangeres De Paris)**

The old mission's organization 'Etrangere' which commenced work in 1776, which was continued by Abbe Dubois till 1822, was further continued and it was known as the Foreign Mission Society of Paris. This society catered to the needs of the Christians of Bangalore especially in education under the leadership of famous Bishops namely Bishop Coadou (1880-1890), Bishop Kleiner (1890-1910) Bishop Basle (1910- 1915), Bishop Teissier (1916-1921) and Bishop Despatures (1922-1942).[15]

The Basel Mission Society started in 1836, the first school in the Kanara District at Mangalore. The Carmelites of Mangalore had started an English School at the Cathedral Premises in1860, and it was run by the Irish Brothers. The Mangalorean Catholics were dissatisfied with its educational system and had clamoured for higher education, and so when the Jesuits arrived they started St. Aloysius College in 1879.[16] The Foreign Mission Society of Paris started the St. Joseph's College in 1882 and in 1937 it was transferred to the Jesuits of Mangalore.

The missionaries of MEP (Mission Estrangeres De Paris) have made excellent contributions towards the educational field. The town of Mysore with a growing Catholic Community did not have a proper school for the education of the children. It was Bishop Charbonnaux who wanted to open schools wherever they were needed. Hence, he brought in number of Religious Congregation to cater to the educational institutions. In 1857 founded the Congregation of the Good Shepherd Sisters. The Indian Congregation of St. Anne came into being on September 8, 1860.[17] Since sisters of Good shepherd from Europe were not familiar with local languages, Sisters of St. Anne rendered invaluable services to institutions run by the Good Shepherd Sisters. The setting up of institutions and other work all over the State was in rapid progress even in the town of Mysore. In 1861 there was the Congregation of Our Lady of mercy started by Fr. Desaint at Settihalli. The purpose of this Congregation was for female education.[18]

The year 1891 was a memorable year for the State, as His Highness Sri

Krishnaraja Wodeyar IV, was installed as Maharaja of Mysore. His Highness bestowed gifts in the form of clothes and food to the orphans and education institutions. In 1892 the first school building of the good Shepherdbeganin Mysore estimated around 30,000 rupees.[19] This school started as a European Middle School, followed the pattern of the Madras Education Code. Special Courses were also conducted to prepare the students for the Cambridge Examinations which were recognized by the Mysore Educational Department. Students were prepared for the various grades of examinations of the Trinity College.

During the time of Bishop Despatures, he welcomed many eager batches of co-workers namely, the Jesuit Fathers of Calicut, the Redemtorists and the Franciscan Brothers, to take up the mission work in Kollegal. He also invited many Religious Congregations to start educational institutions in the Diocese of Mysore.[20] Thus he secured priceless aid to preach and to teach in Schools and the Colleges.

Apart from the Christian Missions and European Officers, certain local individuals and social service organizations did their best to spread education among the poor and the unfortunate sections of the Society. For instance, as early as 1844, Arunachal Mudaliyar started an Anglo- Vernacular English School, in Narain Pillai Street in the Civil and military Section of Bangalore.[21]

Side by side with male Missionaries, lady Missionaries entered the field of education in Mysore state (Karnataka). The Carmelites of Mangalore had envisaged the spread of education for girls in Mangalore by getting some members from an Order of nuns in France.[22] The members of this Order after their arrival branched out in various parts of Karnataka; their presence was very much appreciated in Mysore especially in the field of Education. They are known as the Sisters of Apostolic Carmel. Their Congregation has developed remarkably and has spread its branches throughout India and Ceylon.[23]

Besides this Order, there are also other indigenous Orders of Nuns known as Bethany Sisters, Ursulines, Carmelite Sisters of St.Teresa, St. Joseph of Tarbes, Teresian Carmelites, Trivandrum Carmelites and Sisters of Mary immaculate who render remarkable contribution in education.[24] In addition to this, there were also Orders of Nuns from Kerala and other places who have spread their branches in Mysore. All these Congregations have taken to the spread of education and are having flourishing educational institutions in different parts of Mysore and have launched into remotest villages. Mention may be made of some of the prominent institutions in Mysore like St. Philomena's College and Teresian College.[25]

**Educational Policy- 1881-1916**

During this period various developments have taken place during the princely state of Mysore. The Mysore government adopted a policy of Anglo vernacular schools. The Inspector General of Education formulated a system which

combined literary education with vocational training. A scheme of agricultural instruction was introduced in primary schools so as to fit them to the society. The Government also established many schools for female education and supported the minorities, including instruction in Hindi language.[26] They also started District Normal Schools and a Training school for Women in the year 1885. The Raja of Mysore had the full authority over these schools. He was a great support to all those who were involved in the field of education.

Earlier to this period those who were involved in education did not get any support from the Home Board (Wesleyans) for their evangelistic educational policy. In 1879, at the Bangalore Missionary Conference, the Wesleyan missionaries along with others came together and formed a policy that they should give importance for native self-reliance in education.[27] By this time self-reliant policies were accepted almost everywhere in Mysore. The educators especially the missionaries understood that their schools had good results because of their liberal attitude towards all the students, irrespective of caste, creed and religion. They were convinced that this liberal policy would instil in the young mind religious harmony.

The Indian Education Commission of 1882 proposed the introduction of a modified "Conscience Clause". A big agitation had begun in demand for this. The "Montague Chelmsford" reforms and the Government of India Act of 1919, made all the Indian Ministers responsible for all educational matters and policies in the provinces of British India, and on 23rd January 1919, the Government declared the Conscience Clause in the educational policy. The new reforms came into existence on the 1st of January, 1921.[28]

As per the report of Administration of Mysore 1867-68, there were:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Government Schools | : | 64 |
| Students | : | 2797 |
| Grant in aid Schools | : | 46 |
| Students | : | 4138 |
| Total number of Students | : | 6935 |

The number of children educated in indigenous schools, not connected with Government is 7200. Nine new schools were again started. The Rajah's School at Mysore came under the direct management of the educational department.[29]

**Conclusion**

All those who were involved in education especially the missionaries who brought in intellectual progress in Mysore, was a great period of renaissance in the field of education. Among them who rendered yeomen service to the Kannada language, Kannada printing, historical research and education in general, the mention may be made of the following great personalities, namely B.L. Rice, Garret, F. Kittle, A. Reeves and George Weigle. Through their untiring effort they have brought in remarkable progress in the field of education.

Education has been called the technique of transmitting civilization. In order, that it may transmit civilization. It has to perform two major functions: Firstly it should enlighten the understanding, and it must enrich the character. The golden memories left behind by these eminent personalities are being cherished by today's generation. The magnitude of services rendered by the Missionaries, in the field of education are outstanding and noteworthy.

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# Climate and Conflict-Induced Migration among Coastal Refugees of Northern Sri Lanka

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**Abstract**

Tamil-majority coastal communities of Northern Sri Lanka, have existed all their lives literally between the sea and memory, following their livelihoods and identity to the war-torn ancestral shores. Now they have a twofold catastrophe, a climate crisis of rise in the sea, salty water and blazing heat intersecting with the consequences of decades of civil war. The chapter is based on historical accounts, emerging facts and theoretical treatment to demonstrate how a combination of climate stresses and the history of conflict jointly contributes to migration and livelihood loss. We unravel both the erosion, deserting paddy fields and ruined villages into the maps of danger and the patterns of displacement before, during and after the war superimposes on the new environmental pressures. These effects are mediated by gender and age: war widows and the youth are proportionately affected. We formulate a new Tidal Migration Model based on community testimony and policy reports, but represents a migration flow as an overlapping wave of climate shock and conflict-based change and links it with feedback of economic insecurity and social inequality. Lastly, we claim in favor of migration justice integrated adaptation and peace building basing it on the lived reality of Tamil coastal refugees. This reinvents resilience not in the form of seawalls and settlements, but in a form of community-driven change, sex equity concerns and policy changes to meet the blind spots making the Northern Sri Lankans particularly vulnerable. The necessity of the recognition of the special climate-conflict nexus in the Tamil homelands and its introduction into the national and international climate migration discourse is emphasized in our analysis.

**Keywords**: Migration of climate: Sri Lanka; Northern Province; conflict displacement: coastal adaption: gender: resilience: climate justice.

## Introduction: Lives between the Sea and Memory

According to one writer of the Northern coast, there is no part of Sri Lanka that is more lost and forgotten. The coastline is literally being washed away into the sea in such villages as Illupaikadavai and Maradi. Old people recall the time when wells used to flow and men could walk 200 meters into the sea, through solid sand. They can see the houses of kinsmen today falling off the edge of the surf and even the land is permeated with the odour of salt and

shells. The scars of war are haunting every shattered pillar: Tamil families can still remember that in 2009 the last battle of Mullivaikkaal made thousands of their fellow citizens dead and villages vacated. One of the survivors writes that following Mullivaikal, half the population returned; another estimates a list of the disappeared: Sri Lanka, 26 years of civil war... left an estimated 55,000 houses headed by women and 46,000 widows of the war in the North.

A new siege has come into this tenuous social environment; the seas have risen, the groundwater salty, the heat waves are stretching longer and longer and are slowly washing away the livelihoods that people have re-established after the war. In Kankesanthurai, a fisherman regrets: I have seen the ocean destroy our land, bit by bit... the water is now saltier, the water we take out of the well is not drinkable and not worthy of the garden. Seashores are disappearing, fields have been turned into dust or salt marsh, even the most basic of courtyards inundated with the spring tides. In a hamlet on the coast, the people put bags of sand around a temple in their final stand of defense - the only modification that they could afford. These are scenes which are both tragic and banal: they are gradual losses, and daily life is full of them. It is a chapter of these mixed memories - of war and water - and of how families choose the difficult decision to have families away or remain when the sea swallows up the home and history.

**Dual Disasters: Climatic Stress Intersect with Legacies of Conflict**

The North in Sri Lanka is at the meeting point of the two disasters. First, it is a climate hotspot in the country: a 2018 study by World Bank established the Northern (and Northwestern) provinces as highly susceptible to climate change, saying that the rise in sea level will also lead to higher erosion and inundation of the Jaffna peninsula. Raising the temperature, decreasing rain, frequency of droughts and floods, intrusion of saltwater and coral bleaching are already experienced in the coastal communities. Indicatively, in a recent study, it was estimated that 35 percent of the existing land in Jaffna, and more than a half of the existing paddy fields, would be submerged by 2100 due to sea-level rise. Wells are already drying up turning dozens of square kilometers of arable land uneconomic; in one survey 43 per cent of the paddy grown in Jaffna had been abandoned and 59 per cent of drinking wells rendered unserviceable in less than 20 years. The gains may also occur at the cost of even the staple crops such as rice, which by mid-century could be reduced by a 40 per cent yield. These climate stressors are slow violence, which is a term used to describe gradual environmental damages accumulating in the invisible over the years. These are the creepy catastrophes that build up the work of each successive generation: each dry season, farmers see seedlings wither and mothers are exhausted by the heat. When one employee was interviewed, he said that there was an oppressive heat wave that had caused factory workers to take three or four days off before they could work under the conditions. Every affront on the part of the climate broken monsoons, another storm surge, wears

away community well-being.

Over this is the legacy of a savage civil war (19832009) which had waged the fiercest battles in the Northern Province. Hundreds of thousands of people were displaced, market and irrigation networks destroyed, and large tracts of the coast were left strongly mined, as a result of the war. After it, the state went the extra mile in militarization: the major plots of land along the coast are kept under military control, and a good part of Tamil civilians do not believe in government programs. The climate vulnerability and adaptive capacity of the Tamils has been aggravated by militarisation in the North-East as a UN development report finds. In the war period, the Sri Lankan Navy often imposed quarantine...destroying[and] leaving the Tamils who relied heavily on fishing poor. Tamil fishermen to this day have been reporting that Sinhalese and Colombo workers are taking the sea work, that Sinhala nets are now fishing in waters that formerly provided food to the local homes. The result of the combination is savage: war destroyed human security; climate change destroys the land and resources people are relying upon. Both are likely to increase poverty and inequality - particularly of already-marginalized Tamils - preconditioning migration as a desperate response option.

**Cartographies of Risk: Riding the Coastal Change**

The Northern Province is literally being rewritten in geographical terms, as far as its coastlines is concerned. Flats and thin peninsulas are now mapping new flood lines due to low-lying. Fields and beaches have been replaced by lagoon water and salt marsh. In Jaffna and Mannar the receding sea and the shore that is made up the sea are not newcomers, but old foes. Research estimates that tens of meters of land might be washed away in locations in a moderate situation of a rise in the sea level. Villagers already testify that there are no more places that people used to walk as they have already disappeared behind the sea. The former fields have been observed by field workers to contain soil that is reminiscent of beach sand, even seashells, due to the intrusion of saltwater around the coast. This salinization has made almost half of the arable farmlands in Jaffna permanently unproductive and farmers have been forced to abandon their paddies. A single geologist warns that the shoreline will fall back by four meters per meter of rise in sea level, which would amount to loss of four feet of land per year. The largest area implicated in mapped projections may be 35% of the present land in Jaffna and 52% of the irrigable land in the area submerged or degraded by the year 2100. Such changes pose a threat to the very landscapes upon which communities were founded: the coconut groves, sand dunes and village locations are being pinned underwater, creating new hazard area on community sketch maps.

The Post-War Landscape natural shifts are superimposed with the artificial map of the landscape of war. The seaside is now reared with deserted defensive castles and reforestation, and resettled villages in the wrong places. During military raids many original seaside villages were forced back, and could only

be rebuilt partially. Considerable strips along the coast were transformed into military bases, cashew plantations controlled by the army or economic zones. This is recently demonstrated in a Gender-Climate Security report: when respondents were asked about what they saw as the impact of the military occupation, they cited examples like military holdings of huge amounts of highly productive plots of land: one stretch of more than two kilometers of prime coastal land in Batticaloa [eastern neighbor] is the location of a military-operated cashew grove. In such a scenario the Tamils in the area only observed a few civilians receiving any kind of work with the majority of the earnings remaining in military control. In the North, Tamils also report that they see a fenced and mined area where their own fields used to be. Interestingly, even the recent government land transfers have been biased; interviewees told that Sinhala settler families were being moved onto land which had been abandoned by fleeing Tamils, without much of a delimitation. In community maps, therefore, safe farmland has been diminishing not only at the sea but also at the dissenting internal boundaries. Succinctly, what used to be a patchwork of rice paddies, mangroves and fishing hamlets, has since been transformed into a patchwork of eroding coastline, reserve areas, and disputed lands. Every alteration adds danger: a flood which could have made the rice-fields swollen is instead made to run through the military posts, or sandbags hastily thrown around a temple.

**Histories of Movement: Before, during and after Conflict Migration**

Migration has been supported in the history of this coastline long before the issues of climate. The Tamil mobility patterns have been determined as a result of centuries of trade, colonial labor hiring and environmental unpredictability, along the coastal areas. Traditionally Tamil fisherfolk have been known to cross into India and back and post-independence times the young Tamils are known to have out-migrated to urban areas or to foreign countries in large numbers. By the time the civil war broke out in 1980s, an already huge Tamil diaspora was in both India and abroad. The movement was on a huge scale especially during the war. Floods of civilians fled the combat: in the final months of the war (200809) as many as 300,000 Tamils civilians were forced northwards culminating in the notorious Menik Farm displacement camp in Vavuniya. The largest IDP camp in the history of Sri Lanka was Menik Farm, established to accommodate the 300,000 mostly Tamils who were displaced to their own territories. These camps that were hardly ten years ago were characterized by the villagers of the coast. The majority returned eventually after the war but most of the places they used to live had been swept away by erosion or the army outposts had taken over their places. The period after the war was marked by a downturn and then new hopes: with the peace, some families wanted to get economic prospects in other countries or the cities of Sri Lanka.

The North was also previously driven by natural disasters to migrate. When

the Indian Ocean tsunami hit the Northeast of the country in 2004, it was in a state of tense truce, and killed thousands of people along the shoreline and wiped a village. More than 28500 Sri Lankans were killed on the island and some 800,000 displaced; according to Tamil figures, in Mullaitivu alone there were whole villages swept away (90 per cent. dead or missing in certain hamlets). The local settlement maps were usually redefined as survivors were shifted to the higher areas. However, a good number of them were also coming back to restore fishing and agricultural lives in spite of the shifting coast.

Extreme weather events have also brought about more mobility in the recent past. As an example, the 20162017 drought the worst in 40 years destroyed paddy harvests in Sri Lanka, even in the North, leaving about 900,000 people with no food. The next few years saw large populations uprooted by severe monsoon flooding: in 2017 alone nearly 500,000 people in the country were sent to flight by floodwaters (with more than 200 fatalities), and in 2018 the storms displaced another neighbouring 100,000 (temporarily). During such crises, many people in the Northern villages were forced to move either to work or to live, usually a combination of reasons (a bad crop and a stagnant war recovery make a family leave).

Out-migration can now seem like the only way to survive, as the coast lands are incorporating this as a survival strategy. But the trends differ in ethnicity and in class. In the south of Sinhalese communities, there exist large numbers of low-income families who are moving to such countries as South Korea or Malaysia under organized labor schemes. However, in the Tamil North no such state programs exist; the North and East poorer communities commented about labor migration to the Gulf states where women are often recruited as housemaids. That is, the young people in the Tamils coastal areas usually resort to taking up some of the most unstable foreign jobs- a world away in comparison to the assured visas of the Sinhalese workers- simply to remit money back home. In the same way, uneducated people will relocate to Colombo or beyond Sri Lanka with the hope of scrambling a living. Simultaneously, other families stay where they are or resort to short-term migration (seasonal moves to the interior). The history of these movements includes the pre-war-trade to post-war-IDP and climate migrants, which is a continuum. Some of the major events that contributed to migration in and out of the Northern coast are outlined in figure 1 (below).

**Table 1. Significant climatic and war events of Northern Sri Lanka and projection of effects**

| Year / Period | Event | Region | Impact (approximate figures) |
|---|---|---|---|
| 2004 | Indian Ocean Tsunami | Northern & East | ~28,500 dead in Sri Lanka, ~804,600 displaced (nationwide); |

| Year / Period | Event | Region | Impact (approximate figures) |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | | in Mullaitivu *coastal* villages >1,000 killed. |
| 2009 | End of Civil War / Menik Farm opening | Northeast (NP) | ~300,000 Tamil civilians internally displaced (housed in Menik Farm IDP camp); heavy civilian casualties (~20,000+) reported. |
| 2016–2017 | Severe Drought (Yala season) | North (NP) | ~45% paddy crop loss; ~900,000 people food insecure (nationwide). |
| 2017 | Monsoon Floods (May–Aug) | Nationwide | ~500,000 people displaced by flooding; 200+ killed (Sri Lanka total). |
| 2018 | Monsoon Floods (Jun–Oct) | Nationwide | ~100,000 people displaced by floods. |

**The Triple Burden: Economic Precarity, Social Inequality and Climate Stress**

The communities living in coastal area of Tamil have become affected with triple burden (1) increasing climatic stress; (2) the long-term economic vulnerability; and (3) institutionalized social inequality based on ethnicity, gender and age. These are the vicious circles of factors.

The climate change is not a giant hurricane but a thousand and a million little cuts. Trying to erode the assets each new storm and heat wave takes away seeds, houses and health. There is often the difficulty of identifying a single event as the cause this is the nature of slow violence. In the last 20 years, Tamil farmers had witnessed salinization infiltrate their lands its high tide. Jaffna villagers complain that they are spending a lot of money on purchasing drinking water, and wells that were previously dug by grandparents became salty. This is being the same with annual heat stress: there are numerous work days that are just gone down the drain due to heat stress. In a cashew factory where women are being employed who survived the war, the workers describing how last year the women were forced to take leave of three or four days in a heat wave when temples and fields are ovens during April. The fields that have chronic saltwater remain undetected until harvesting where the harvest yields are reduced by 30-40%. In the long run, this slow rotting, be it coral reefs or rural livelihoods, is as certain to destroy food security and livelihood as a typhoon is.

Climate and war strains are not equally allocated between gender and age

begin with, the consequences of the war directly tilted the households. Due to the large number of men that were killed or missing, about 55,000 households in the Northern Province nowadays are headed by women and at the end of the war there were more than 46,000 women who were widows. These ladies bear economic as well as household burdens. Although climate change was not the topic of conversation, long time ago their work was to sustain their extended families; now they have climate care work too. In one instance, the household interviews talk about women taking hours to walk to carry water to places which have become unsafe because of the drilled wells, or hoeing salty soil which had been doing well as rice fields. This is reflected in the working population in a very vivid way: the labor-force participation of females in the North is only around 25 (which is the lowest in Sri Lanka) and the work of women is usually unpaid or informal. However, in most of the coastal village's women have become the mainstay of new economies (such as seaweed cultivating and handling) and recapitalizing the incomes back in to the health condition and education of children. She spent her savings on a motorcycle and sending her children to school, as one of the seaweed farmers described, she made a kind of reinvestment that was characteristic of working women. Meanwhile, climate change also introduces strata of care work: once the family members become sick of heatstroke or starvation, they are left to be under the care of mothers and grandmothers, which adds to the general workload of the latter. It has been discovered that women are habitually doing an increased number of paid and unpaid work during times of disaster. In Northern Sri Lanka, with every new heat wave, women appear to bear a double load they have to not only generate more household income (by going to seaweed farms or markets) but also looking after those who became ill and unemployed at home.

As male out-migration drains villages, women, particularly those with children, are compelled to make desperate decisions, particularly widows and widowers. A more recent evaluation observes that the exodus of the working population, made up primarily of the working age adults, leaves behind a disproportionate load on the females, children and the aged. A widowed woman or a grandmother is the one who is left to tend to the household budget and harvest in most families. The youth are not left behind: the increasing uncertainty is causing teenagers in low-lying areas to leave school earlier or go to work in foreign countries, and they are considering migration to be the only way to a safer future. Through such a process climate and conflict strengthen inter-generational inequalities: the youngest and the oldest generation are at risk of things they did not decide to, and adults in the middle of the range have to suffer to save them.

Resource Competition Gaps and Post-War Reconstruction Gaps stresses have a root in inequality in resource accessibility and post-disaster reconstruction efforts, a history of conflict, which climate change is now exacerbating.

However, with the communities grappling with the climate damages; the government policies have given preference to the south or national interests at the expense of the north coasts. An excellent example is fisheries: Tamil fishermen state that since 2009 Sinhalese boats returned to full accessibility in the waters of the north, Tamil boats are still harassed or inspected. The Tamil areas are put under the sea turtle sanctuaries or fishing ban without any substantive local consultation. The agricultural policy also ignores the needs of the local: the national calendar of the paddy crop and the distribution of the fertilizer is based on the rainfalls of the South, rather than the unreliable monsoons of the North. According to Tamils, this is just another illustration of systemic marginalization: crops fail due to earlier or later arrival of rains as compared to the formal schedule. One of the farmers simply notes, the [paddy] calendar is not made to suit us but rather fit them, they do not know our troubles.

In the meantime, the ethnic processes bring about land rivalry. In the UN climate-security report, hatred is noted at the introduction of Sinhala settlers into the territories emptied by the war: Tamils villagers report that Tamil herds are now being chased away in places newly demarcated by the war, and that the state is taking away the Tamil-owned lands that were left empty by the war to allocate to Sinhalese farmers. These policies provide targets that can be fired upon by climate stress (e.g. through the communal grazing rights clashing with post-droughts). In the same vein, Tamils have not always benefited from the numerous post-war development projects (roads, military-run plantations) that have been concentrated in the north. One shocking result in the surveys of the community is that the local roads and bridges in Mullaitivu and Kilinochchi are in poor condition, and that the military-controlled businesses on the coast suck out jobs and income. To conclude, there is no fair distribution of resources and reconstruction: according to one of the Tamil activists, the environmental development of Sri Lanka is conditioned by the attitudes towards its minority Tamils (who have long been under-served). This gap of governance implies that climate change falls on a land, which is already torn by ethnic and class lines, and makes what could have been resolved issues into crises.

**Community Narratives: Migration as Survival, Strategy and Identity**

Through these changes, there is a narrative of migration as a necessity and an identity at the local level. A significant number of Northern Tamils choose to define relocation as not a defeat but as a kind of generational strategy - the survival measure in droughts, floods and economic stagnation. As an illustration, the war caused many families in the village by Mullivaikkal to convert to seaweed farming. One seaweed woman in business explains how hundreds of women were involved at first; they had former fisherfolk and widows; they planted lines in the shallow lagoon and created a little cooperative. To them, migration manifested itself as a change of fishing into

aquaculture. The women in this village are mostly poor, so the seaweed farming income was a blessing said one farmer. She also used her income to school her children, which is a way of reinvestment common to female heads of families.

But climatic waves have struck again and again such advantages. As an example, marine heat waves and storms wiped out about 80 percent of seaweed crop in one community at the beginning of 2024. The respondents regret how months of planting went to waste in a jolt night, where purposeful families had to restart the business anew. One farmer remembers how he could only fight against her seaweed lines day by day when a storm was over: And after we do all that, there will be another wind, more rains, or very hot weather. What is the number of times that one can experience such loss? This song of weariness is a refrain, a song of exhaustion, which portrays the aspects of migration and adaptation as not a single move but a constant cycle. The offshore swimming has increased significantly as many women go further out into the water to get out of the heat, and pathogens that kill their crop. They also narrate that when the mono-lines once more fail to work they end up borrowing loans to replant which is a dangerous game of gambling with borrowed funds. Others achieve a relapse into fishing or small-time trade in towns. At the end of it all, what comes out is the story of survival: changes to the environment and economy are eternal.

Other than livelihoods, migration affects identity. The elders recount about their family members who had left the country after the war, and young people perceive employment in foreign countries as an element of their family life. In another version, mothers explain that they would send a brother or cousin to the Gulf every season combining remittances to purchase salt-resistant seeds or solar panels. Another tells of how families learned of the new caste ties when one of their daughters got married to a Keralite Tamil, she met over the internet the new identity of being a coastal Tamil is now tied up with the life investment networks that their diaspora sustains. To many, even the memory of the sea is still primary: fishermen still say it's the sea feeds us as their own children abandon the boats to work. Such place has turned out to be a two-sided narrative: they are not only the refugees of a conflict, but also of a world that can no longer ensure subsistence. Ultimately, as the word of the streets tells us: migration (to Mannar, Colombo or Bahrain) is in many cases the sole tactic so as to gain food and income, and this migration continues the identity of coastal Tamils in the evolving world.

**Climatic Migration Nexus: A New Conceptual Model**

In order to be able to synthesize these dynamics, we come up with a Tidal Migration Model of the climate conflict nexus. In this model, there are waves of stressors and feedback loops, similar to those of the tides that are refining a shore. Consider two waves of intermingling: one of political violence (at its height in offensive campaigns in wartimes) and the other of environmental

shocks (at its height in heavy monsoons or dry seasons). Migration is sharpest at every crest point: in 2009, there was a colossal exodus at the peak of the conflict, 2004 at the peak of the tsunami and so on and so on. The waves are withdrawn; however, the social terrain has been transformed - there are more individualized households, more cosucked out incomes, more socially vulnerable zones.

An illustration of this is that the first wave can be considered a long-term drought that compromises harvests. Other members of the community survive by remitting money or temporarily relocating and this forms a vicious cycle since the lack of labor in the community causes smaller crops next season hence further migration. Once a second wave of conflict or political upheaval (even a military standoff) is superimposed, the effect is multiplied: those who were away at work might be reluctant to come back, trust will be shattered, and even more families will think about permanent emigration. Contrarily, another series may begin with war-Displacement setting inland camps for a period, and then the climate wave of sea-level rise draws people once more into action, and their camps on the banks of the streams also flood (we have already seen that some villages near Menik Farm are flooded by rains, and cause more migration).

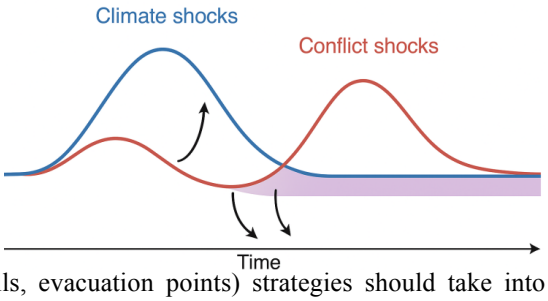
Migration decisions are therefore not one dimensional. Migration into vulnerability is also fed back. The adults who are left behind in working age (who are usually women and the elderly) are at a higher risk of being affected by the climate events but have fewer resources. According to one study published by the UN this can be termed as (hollowing out rural economies... placing an unequal load on women, children and the old). The remaining people are left with increased climatic effects on unsteady grounds. On the other hand, when a village community manages to develop an adaptation (i.e. planting mangroves or changing crop strips), it will be able to reduce the next wave of displacement.

This is illustrated in one talismanic tale in miniature. The garden of hardy vegetables was a homestead garden that was planted by a mother in a coastal village. When the monsoon over-toppled the land she took her entire patch to the elevation, yet she had fish-ponds along the old river-bed. She used the two harvests to provide food to her family after a flood. These are the survival micro-level feedback loops. At a bigger scale, according to the model, climate-conflict migration is path-dependent, and two-way: the migration of the past influence's exposure (empty lands can become flooded more) and direction migration (diaspora networks promote migration destinations).

This model highlights the fact that climate and conflict cannot be kept in a neat way. In the north, the peak of one (e.g. a war ceasefire) is usually the same as the valley or peak of the other (e.g. the planting or harvest season). This is shown in Figure 1 below (conceptual): climate shocks (blue waves) and conflict shocks (red waves) have both time and space overlap leading to net periods of surge when both drivers interact. The arrows represent the way stress in a wave is a precursor to another (e.g. conflict slows spending on adaptation, so the impact of climate in the following season would be more severe).

**Figure 1: Conceptual**

Climate shocks and conflict shocks




Although this view of the tidal is simple, it has policy implications. It points out that focusing on displacement during war times or displacement during climate time will not capture the bigger currents influencing the decisions of people. Coast protection (sea walls, evacuation points) strategies should take into account the possibility that a population may go back to the area in case a conflict erupts once again. On the same note, peacebuilding that does not consider climate risk will leave communities with fewer means of livelihood and therefore any ceasefire will be weak. In the case of migration scholarship, the model indicates that it is important to follow household pathways across different shocks, as opposed to defining a migrant as either a war refugee or a climate migrant.

**Reconstructing Future Coastal landscapes**

A one-sided solution cannot be used to assure secure cities and villages in Northern Sri Lanka. Rather, community-based adaptation and policy innovation should be mixed in order to restore resilience and justice.

Local-level Adaptation: People already are developing local adaptations on the ground. Communities have begun to plant mangrove nurseries and construct temporary bunds in Jaffna to reduce the rate of erosion. Women groups in one ward of the city of Jaffna had built up traditional raised-plat houses (on stilts) to make the living spaces dry during high tide and the reasoning behind it goes as far back to ancient architectural knowledge but was re-invented in the face of climate change. Women run businesses in Mullaitivu have collectivized to ensure that they no longer rely on fishing as their sole source of livelihood: war widows in the area established a seaweed processing cooperative, which they co-founded with others, and secured sales contracts with India. These entrepreneurs were pioneers when it grew riskier to farm the shoreline due to

climate change, by taking their enclosures of seaweed to the deep water further out to decrease the threat of burning seaweed and a disease known as epiphytism. Likewise, in Kilinochchi, women transformed into cashew processors and labelled their nuts grown in Jaffna giving value to a crop that was more heat resistant than rice.

Policy Blind Spots: There has been an unsatisfactory response so far. Sri Lanka is usually grouped under national climate plans and UN frameworks without significant emphasis on minorities, thus disaster areas by the Tamils end up in the footnotes. In fact, even modest amounts of mitigation funding are not funded according to Jaffna disaster planner, who lamented that although he had asked over LKR 325 million (around 1.1M) to fund such projects in 2025, no funds had yet been allotted to coastal defenses. The future NDC (National Determined Contribution) of the country has been postponed which further slows down the adaptation finance. Furthermore, the functional silos of viewing climate and conflict as disconnected continue: climate change is seldom discussed during reconciliation negotiations, and the transitional justice communities are seldom concerned with environmental harm. It creates a gap in governance whereby, Tamil coastal communities obtain neither the specific adaptation initiatives that are introduced in other hotspots nor the conflict-rights compensations that the communities desire. A tangible product is that fisheries regulations and agricultural supports have been kept to southern standards, despite the fact that the agricultural calendars and fertilizer payments, which were structured around the South, are not consistent with the North-east rainfall and primitive irrigation.

Building a just, climate-smart future of the coast of Sri Lanka: Go with the flow, tie the knots. On the one hand, climate adaptation should be conflict sensitive: the construction of seawalls or rainwater tanks in the communities should be accompanied by demining and restitution of the land. New initiatives such as the new Green Climate Fund programs should specifically target war affected districts. To demonstrate this, the reforestation or mangrove restoration initiatives may be done through participatory local council involving war veterans, fisher folk union, women and youth groups in a single council. It is necessary that flood early-warning systems should also incorporate the information provided by local NGOs and war-torn villages the lived knowledge of these communities will also enhance precision.

Peacebuilding on the other hand requires a climate lens. Climate risk assessment should be included in economic redevelopment of the North which will be provided by the national government. It should not replicate the south in terms of infrastructure investments (roads, electricity, ports) which are to be resistant to the sea-level rise and heat. The special situation of northern Sri Lankans must be known in national budgets: e.g. special grants in coastal protection in Mullaitivu, Jaffna and Mannar districts. More so, migration as such should also be redefined not as loss but as a kind of agency: labor outflow

may be matched with remittance indexed climate cover, or temporary urban transfers should be accompanied by the promise of going back to more stable accommodation. This could in practice mean creating social safety nets to climate shocks available to the registered war-displaced families so that they access individuals who tend to fall into the bureaucratic cracks.

Most importantly there should be migration justice. This implies that these so-called coastal refugees, be it through war, tsunami or gradual change of climatic conditions, have rights to security, livelihood and return. This can be codified by the courts of law and policy, e.g. Sri Lanka may contemplate a revision of its Refugee and Migrant Acts to include environmental displacement, or reparations program, such as loss of land to sea encroachment. On the international front, Sri Lanka can advocate climate finance that is specifically aimed to assist communities that have been displaced (such as post-flood-resistant housing projects of returned IDPs).

**Reflections: A Conclusion of Migration Justice to Coastal Refugee**

As the account of the North Coast of Sri Lanka is a sobering lesson that climate change and war are not two particulars that exist in a vacuum. We have demonstrated in this chapter how the combined effect of salinized paddy fields and decades of war among Tamil draw new migration motives and redefine what it means to be a coastal Tamil. The facts and stories illuminate policy issues that are urgent: otherwise these communities will simply be washed away - literally by the waves, but more literally by the indifference of policy-makers.

Yet there is reason for hope. The Tamil coastal community is extremely resilient - through the co-ops of women to old-fashioned fishing unions - and these are the grains of adaptability. Gender equity and post-conflict recovery combined with climate resilience will enable the leaders and civil society of Sri Lanka to lead a fairer way. By so doing, not only would they be saving lives, but also they would be giving their memory a tribute. When one of the old fishermen in Illupaikadavai is reminiscing about the thinnai (verandah) which kept his family cool, he is reminding us of a fact, which is as follows: our houses and minds are constructed out of the same wood and stone... to meet whatever storms may arrive. The issue that Sri Lanka has to grapple with currently is to assure that its people do not have to stand against these waves any longer, but with the means and justice they should have.

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# Recruitment, Discipline and Resentment: The Madras Regiment under Colonial Rule

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**Abstract**

The Madras Regiment, one of the oldest regiments in the Indian Army, played a vital role during the British colonial period. This paper explores the recruitment practices, disciplinary procedures, and ensuing resentment within the Madras Regiment under British control. Recruitment for the regiment was largely drawn from the southern regions of India, specifically Tamil Nadu, where locals were attracted by financial incentives, employment stability, and social mobility offered by military service. Disciplinary actions were harsh and designed to enforce obedience to British officers, reflecting the colonial mindset of control. Soldiers were subjected to harsh punishments for small infractions, including beating, long hours of labour, and incarceration; these actions were sometimes interpreted as acts of rebellion against British rule or subjugation. These measures were intended to suppress any dissent and maintain the colonial military hierarchy. Resentment grew as Indian soldiers were subjected to racial discrimination, low wages compared to their British counterparts and limited opportunities for promotion. By focusing on the Madras Regiment, this paper highlights the complexities of loyalty, resistance and identity in a colonial military context, reflecting broader patterns of unrest in colonial India.

**Key Words**: Regiment, Recruitment, Soldiers, Resentment, Military

## Madras Regiment: An Introduction

The Madras European Regiment, founded after the Bombay Army, was the second regimental force established to protect the East India Company's commercial interests in India. However, this regiment was entirely composed of Europeans. According to the 1661 Charter, the officials of the presidency and the council were empowered to recruit troops to protect British property and trading posts amidst growing tensions between British and French forces.[1] Madras Town was established in 1639, and Fort St. George was built by 1644. But it wasn't until almost a century later that a regular, structured military force for the presidency was established. While the Company was not unwarlike, its policies were fundamentally anti-militaristic. Once the immediate danger passed, the Company was eager to set aside military matters and return to commerce. [2] In 1644, thirty English recruits arrived in Madras from England, bringing with them military supplies and ordnance. Over the next few years,

additional recruits were dispatched to Madras to reinforce the security of the British settlement. By 1676, the Court of Directors issued orders that the garrison of Fort St. George should consist exclusively of Englishmen, marking the formal beginning of British-controlled military presence. [3]

By 1745, with the outbreak of the Austrian War of Succession, hostilities between the English and French forces escalated into what became known in India as the Carnatic Wars. In June of that year, a French fleet of nine ships carrying over 3,300 soldiers arrived off the coast of Madras. Despite both sides suffering significant losses, the French captured Fort St. George, forcing the British to retreat to Fort St. David in Cuddalore, which became their base of operations. [4] This defeat marked a turning point, compelling the British to recruit native Indian soldiers to strengthen their defence.

**Recruitment and Training**

The early focus of recruitment was to produce a disciplined, self-reliant, physically strong, and mentally alert soldier, capable of operating modern weaponry in an active battalion. The Madras Sepoys, though initially undisciplined and poorly equipped, underwent rigorous training close to European soldiers. By 1748, native soldiers had been organized into companies of 100 men each. Under Major Stringer Lawrence, the "Father of the Indian Army," the first two battalions were formed in December 1758, consisting of eight companies each. [5]

Initially, the British held a low opinion of the native Madras troops, but over time, these soldiers proved their effectiveness and valour. The Madras Regiment drew from diverse social and ethnic groups, with early recruits coming from Tamil, Telugu, and Muslim communities. Government records from 1770 indicate that sepoy battalions consisted of Tamils, Telugus, and a small number of Muslims, Rajputs and Marathas.[6]

The British initially avoided recruitment based on caste, but by the early 19th century, the administration began favouring taller and more physically imposing soldiers, leading to an increased focus on Rajputs and Brahmins. By 1805, men shorter than 4 feet 5 inches were deemed ineligible for cavalry enlistment, which led to a recruitment bias toward Mohammedans, Rajputs, and Marathas.[7]

But as military historians Kaushik Roy and SabyasachiDas Gupta point out, the makeup of the Madras Army had undergone a significant transformation by the third decade of the 1800s. The shift was not just in numbers but also reflected changing recruitment policies influenced by British colonial strategy and the need for loyalty within the ranks. For example, in 1824, the 1st Infantry Regiment comprised a remarkably diversified collection of soldiers: forty-five percent were Muslims, comprising both Sunni and Shia soldiers. This indicated the British government's inclination for groups they perceived to be less likely to resist.

Meanwhile, 25.6 percent were Telugu-speaking soldiers, many hailing from agrarian backgrounds, who were increasingly seen as dependable fighters in colonial campaigns. The regiment also included 14.5 percent of Tamils, largely from the martial castes who had a historical legacy of military service. Additionally, a small proportion of Hindus from both lower and higher castes served, although British officers often struggled with balancing caste hierarchies within the army. This diversity exemplified the colonial military's strategic manipulation of ethnic and caste identities to maintain control and ensure loyalty while suppressing internal tensions between different groups. [8]

In 1830, Colonel Welsh's writings indicated that the Madras Army included Musulmans, Rajputs, Telugus, Tamils, and Pariahs (Adi-Dravidas). Still, he lamented that the latter group had been excluded from the line regiments in favour of recruitment from higher castes. [9] Nevertheless, the Pariahs were still recruited, especially into specialized units like the Sappers and Pioneers, and their exclusion did not last.

Over time, the British shifted their focus from caste to individual skills, as evidenced by an 1839 order stating that "all natives are eligible for enlistment regardless of caste, provided they are fit for service."[10]

**Evolution of Military Discipline**

The Madras Regiment's discipline evolved, with formal military codes and regulations being introduced. The "Articles of War" passed by the British Parliament in 1754 provided the Crown authority over troop discipline, though its language primarily applied to European soldiers. Confusion about the application of these rules to native troops persisted until the Act of 1813 empowered the presidencies to create laws regulating native soldiers. The Madras Presidency introduced a military code in 1813, and by 1833, articles of war specific to native troops were established, allowing court-martial proceedings for disciplinary infractions.[11]

Similar to the Indian panchayat system, the native court martial system gave native officers the authority to supervise the trial of misbehaving soldiers, which helped to familiarize and acclimate Indian soldiers to it. This method preserved some indigenous customs while fostering an environment that allowed native soldiers to better integrate with the larger military structure.[12]

**Discontent and Resistance**

The relationship between British officers and native troops was not without tension. In 1767, native soldiers were deployed to the Northern Circars to reinforce British efforts against Hyder Ali. Many of these soldiers, due to religious and cultural beliefs, resisted sea voyages, which were viewed as a violation of religious customs. [13]

Further dissatisfaction arose over unequal pay and lack of opportunities for promotion. A subedar in the infantry regiment earned approximately 174 rupees, far less than their European counterparts, and retirement benefits were insufficient to support a family. Moreover, new regulations introduced in 1806

prohibiting soldiers from marking their faces with caste symbols or wearing religious earrings further strained relations. [14]

The introduction of European-style dress regulations, including replacing traditional turbans with new headgear, added to the discontent. These tensions culminated in incidents of unrest, such as the Vellore Mutiny of 1806, where soldiers rebelled against these impositions on their cultural and religious practices. [15]

**Conclusion**

The Madras Regiment's transformation from an all-European force to a disciplined, mixed army of European and Indian soldiers is indicative of larger changes in British colonial military strategy. Recruits from various regions and social strata were drawn to the regiment, which from its beginnings as a force mainly defending British commercial interests evolved into an essential part of the British military structure in India. Despite initial difficulties, the regiment adjusted to new requirements and demands, combining Indian customs with British military systems to preserve discipline and effectiveness. The Madras Regiment is now renowned for its lengthy history, impressive combat skills and role in the development of India's military legacy.

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# Milestones in Maritime Evolution: Infrastructure, Innovation and Legacy of Chennai Port

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**Abstract**

"Milestones in Maritime Evolution: Infrastructure, Innovation and Legacy of Chennai Port" chronicles the port's transformation from its inception to its current global prominence. Established in 1881 with the formation of the Madras Port Trust, the port's early infrastructure developments included the construction of new piers, docks, and warehouses to accommodate growing maritime traffic. The early 20th century introduced critical technological advancements, such as dry docks and modern cargo handling equipment, which were pivotal during the World Wars. Post-independence, the port saw significant modernization, including renaming to Chennai Port in 1996 and the adoption of containerization. Innovations continued with late 20th-century advancements in security and cargo handling and recent focuses on sustainability and digitalization. Chennai Port's strategic location and historical evolution highlight its vital role in regional and global trade. The port's legacy includes influencing port management practices across India, solidifying its role as a major maritime hub and a model of effective port administration.

**Keyword**: Port, Pier, Docks, Warehouses, Commodities.

## Introduction

The Madras was the capital city of the Presidency under the British rule. It was the seat of the Government of Port Saint George and the Emporium of Trade.The Madras Port played a vital role in the economic development of the Presidency.[1]EarlierChennai Port was known as Madras Port, it is the second-largest port in India, next to Mumbai Port.The port has anon-natural and all-weather port. The port is divided into North, Central, and South zones and a fishing harbour for the ease of handling cargo and the port has played an important role in Tamil Nadu as the gateway of South India.[2]

Since its establishment in 1881 with the formation of the Madras Port Trust, the port has undergone significant transformations, evolving from a rudimentary harbour to a global maritime hub. This article chronicles the port's journey, highlighting key infrastructure developments, technological advancements, and the enduring legacy of Chennai Port.

**Early Infrastructure Development**

The origins of Madras Port trace back to the 17th century, when the British East India Company established Fort Saint George on a sandbank at the mouth of the Coovum River in 1639. The ships come within two miles of the coast. They had to stop at Madras Roads and offload all the materials. The shipping to the city would be through the catamarans and the masula boats.

During the British era, the port had gained importance and flourished. The idea of a proper port for Madras began with Warren Hastings in 1769 when he was anassociate of the Fort St George Council and the Committee of Works. A plan for a harbour was set up from London and a pier based on sunken caissons with piles was suggested for Madras. But that was dropped when Warren Hastings was appointed Governor of Bengal and transferred to Kolkata.

In 1798, Captain Lennon of the Madras Engineers submitted a fifty-page memorandum, he proposed the construction of both a pier and a closed harbour. In 1836 The Madras Chamber of Commerce was established. The merchants in the city recognized the need for a proper harbour to transform Madras from being a "tired withered beldam" and began championing the cause.

A Committee, in which the Chamber was represented, in 1857 a report was submitted to the East India Company suggesting that an iron screw pile pier was feasible and simple to construct, suitable for spanning the Madras surf. The proposal was acknowledged by the government that succeeded the East India Company after the Mutiny of 1858.

The Governor Sir Charles Trevelyan, supported by the Commander-in-Chief and Henry Nelson, Chairman of the Chamber, fixed the first pilein 1859. The fortification marked the beginning of Madras as a critical trading hub on the Coromandel Coast. Initiated in 1861, The storms of 1868 and 1872 destroyed them. A more severe cyclone wrecked ten vessels and caused significant damage to the dock, including a breach through which two country vessels drifted. The pier was closed for 18 months. The Suez Canal revolutionized maritime trade. With the introduction of steamers, which were less affected by cyclones, the idea of the Madras Port gained momentum again.[3]

**The First steps towards a modern port**

The Government sent William Parkes, who had supervised the construction of Karachi Harbour, to propose a new design for Madras. His proposal involved the construction of two piers extending into the sea and a third pier or breakwater running parallel to the coast, enclosing a space of 170 acres in 1873. The March 1875 project was sanctioned, largely due to the efforts of Governor Lord Hobart. The Prince of Wales, later King Edward VII, laid the foundation stone, and construction began.1876-1877 Work on the harbour progressed steadily, despite the raging famine. The surf caused challenges during the construction of the piers, but these were overcome by tipping heavy granite boulders into the sea and setting concrete blocks on them.

In 1880 a railway line was laid on the coast, linking the north and south piers. Cranes, machinery, engines, and workshops were put in place. Again, a severe cyclone on 12th November 1881 damaged the eastern pier, exposing the enclosed area to the full force of the sea. Work was halted for 3 ½ years. The Government sanctioned money for the refurbishment of the harbour, and work resumed in 1885. By this time, Rs 80 lakhs had been spent.[4]

The Madras Harbour Act was passed on 1st January 1886, transferring the properties and liabilities of the harbour from the Government to a Board of Trustees. End of 1895, the erection of the harbour, including the eastern entrance, was completed. The introduction of dry docks, modern cargo handling equipment, and enhanced docking amenities played an essential role during the World Wars.During this period, the port's infrastructure continued to expand, including the structure of piers, quays, and warehouses. The screw pile pier, initiated in 1861, was extended in 1887 to 1,350 feet, equipped with cranes and railway lines to facilitate cargo movement. The port became anactive hub for equal imports and exports, handling various goods from indigo, cotton, and groundnuts to coal, iron, and machinery.[5]

The Royal Madras Yacht Club is another important historical place located within the Chennai Port. It was founded by Sir Francis Spring. The great Mathematician, Srinivasa Ramanujan, was an employee of Madras Harbour and he worked as an accounting clerk in the year 1912 CE. His boss, Sir Francis Spring, and his co-worker, Narayana Iyer, encouraged him in his mathematical pursuits. The Club building has several old medals, artifacts, and photographs. Some of the photo frames were damaged during the bombardment by the German cruiser Emden in 1914.

During the First World War and Second World War, Madras Port Played a critical role in supporting the British. The port handled large quantities of military supplies, including food, ammunition, and equipment, destined for British forces in various theaters of war, particularly in the Middle East. The port's deep waters and proximity to the Indian Ocean shipping lanes made it an ideal location for naval operations. It served as docking and repair for the British Navy, reinforcing British sailing dominance in the region.

In 1942, Chennai was bombed by a Japanese aircraft, highlighting the port's importance in the war. The air raid, although causing minimal damage, underscored the strategic value of the port to the Allied war effort. The Port also contributed by providing facilities for the refitting of warships.

After India gained independence in 1947, the port's administration was brought under the control of the Indian government. The Indian government recognized the strategic importance of the Madras Port and began investing in its expansion and modernization to support the nation's industrialization drive. During the 1950s, several new berths were constructed to accommodate larger vessels and increased cargo volumes. To simplify the docking of larger ships,

the harbour was deepened. Dredging operations were carried out to maintain navigable depths, ensuring the port could handle modern, deep-draft vessels.

**Liberalization and Globalization**

The advent of containerization in the 1960s and 70s brought further technological advancements. Chennai Port was one of the early adopters of container handling in India, establishing dedicated container terminals and acquiring specialized cranes and equipment.

The first container terminal was commissioned in the 1980s, featuring specialized cranes, container yards, and computerized systems to manage the growing container traffic. This progress established Madras Port as a key node in the intercontinental container shipping network. The initial container terminal was designed to handle the increasing trade, particularly from Southeast Asia and Europe, with goods ranging from electronics to textiles.

Additionally, the port acquired modern equipment such as gantry cranes, forklifts, and conveyor systems to enhance the efficiency of cargo management. In the 1980s and '90s, Chennai Port embraced automation and computerization, streamlining operations and improving transparency. The execution of Electronic Data Interchange (EDI) systems enabled faster processing of documentation, reducing delays and improving the overall efficiency of port operations capacity.

**Legacy and Impact**

The Madras Port Trust was formally renamed as Chennai Port Trust, replicatingthe identity in 1996. The late 20th century saw the adoption of containerization, which revolutionized cargo handling and significantly increased the port's capacity.[6]

Further innovations included advancements in security measures and the introduction of digital technologies to streamline operations. Recognizing the importance of efficient hinterland connectivity, significant investments were made to improve road and rail links to the port. The construction of dedicated freight corridors, highways, and railway lines helped reduce congestion and facilitated the smooth movement of goods to and from the port.

The Port Community System was introduced to improve coordination and efficiency in port operations by integrating multiple stakeholders into one digital platform. This digital system is used in ports to streamline and manage various activities and processes. The PCS iscomposedof different parties involved in port operations, such as shipping lines, customs authorities and logistics providers into a unified platform.

**Conclusion**

The Chennai Port Trust (CPT) entered into a public-private partnership (PPP) with the private operator Chennai Container Terminal Private Limited (CCTPL), a consortium led by the Port of Singapore Authority (PSA), to manage and operate the terminal. This partnership led to significant upgrades, including the introduction of advanced container handling equipment like

rubber-tired gantry cranes (RTGs) and ship-to-shore cranes (STSs). The ongoing expansion projects, including the development of new terminals and the integration of green technology, aim to make Chennai Port a sustainable and efficient maritime hub in the 21st century.

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# Role of Unsung Women Freedom Fighters in Salt Satyagraha Movement in Coimbatore

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**Abstract**

Coimbatore district Women played a commendable role in the struggle for freedom from the British Colonial Yoke. Women actively participated in all the Indian National movements started by Gandhi with great enthusiasm. There was a great deal of national agitation almost throughout 1930-1932. Padmavathi Asher, Sundarambal was very successful in motivating women to join the Salt Satyagraha. Sundarambal, Annapoorani and Muthulakshmi went to Noyyal river to make salt for which they were arrested by the British Government then imprisoned for 7 months and sent to Pollachi sub-jail. To honour her sacrifice towards the nation, Sundarambal was called as "Veerapandi Aathal".

**Keywords**: Women, Struggle, Salt Satyagraha Movement, Agitation, Imprison

## Introduction

The western districts of the present Tamil nadu were the geographical area of the Historical Kongu Nadu. The genesis of her history starts from the Megalithic period. Dharmapuri, Krishnagiri, Erode, Coimbatore and the Nilgiris have the excavated sites of the said period. At the dawn of the formation of Indian National Congress, the Kongu people had the courage to participate in the Freedom Struggle and sacrificed their life and property for the cause of independence. All the challenges were successfully responded here and their contributions are to be recorded in the annals of the History of Tamil Nadu and India.[1]Nationalismin Coimbatore district began with the rise of Home Rule Movement. Mrs.Annie Besant preached about Swadeshi, Boycott of foreign goods, national education and labour welfare and responsible government. Advent of Gandhiji gave a new spirit through his non-violence movement which gave a great impetus to the Non-Cooperation Movement, Civil Disobedience Movement and Quit India Movement. Tamil Nadu which formed the major part of the former Madras presidency played an important role in the anti-colonial and resistance movement.[2]

## Civil Disobedience Movement

The political climate in the country was conducive for launching the Civil Disobedience Movement. The Congress session met in Lahore at the end of December 1929 in a tense atmosphere.[3] The English East India Company in

India considered salt tax to be a good source of revenue. Under the viceroyalty of Dufferin, The Madras Provincial Government passed the Madras Salt Act of 1889. Under section 8 of the Madras Salt Act of 1889, no person shall manufacture salt unless duly licensed. Under section 3(k) "Contraband Salt" is defined as salt manufactured without license. On 15 February 1930, the Congress Working Committee meeting held at Ahmedabad resolved to start the Civil Disobedience Movement. It was another weapon of the Congress Party to fight against the British.[4]Gandhiji announced his decision to open his campaign by opposing the Salt Act. "The salt Tax was to be attacked, the salt laws were to be broken". Gandhi in his letter stated: "This is the non-violent war, more so we are counting the last days of the existence of the British in India. We should join together. We don't kill or disturb anyone here. Our aim is to drive the British out of India. To achieve this, we must be united and make satyagraha a success".[5] The programme of Civil Disobedience Movement included, the violation of Salt Law, boycott of the educational institution by the students and offices by the Government employees, picketing of shops dealing with liquor, opium and foreign goods and bonfire of foreign cloth and non-payment of taxes.

**Dandi March**

Dandi March started on 12th March 1930, Gandhi and his 78 chosen disciples commenced their historic March, with a sole vow to break the Salt Law. Dandi was 385 kms away from Sabarmati. Dandi March was not a mere march of 79 Satyagrahis; it was symbolic of the revolt of thirty-one crores of Indians against the authority of the British.[6] The Sabarmati Ashram was surrounded by a lakh of people to watch the day's proceedings of Gandhi and his volunteers. In his speech, Gandhi appealed to the people to take vow to attain victory in this peace march otherwise he would not return back to the Ashram. The women assembled in the Ashram put kum kum at the forehead of the marchers. The marchers were given such a warm welcome by the people. The public shouted slogans like 'Mahatma Gandhi Ki - Jai' and 'Vande Mataram'.[7] Further, they did vigorous propaganda for the boycott of foreign cloth and the use of Khaddar. On April 6, early in the morning Gandhi marched to the shore where salt lay thick, and picked up the contraband salt and held it up in his hands for all to see. Thus, violating the Salt act. Everywhere men and women were impatiently waiting to manufacture salt as soon as Gandhiji picked it up on the Dandi beach. He remained in that area and carried on his work till he was arrested on the midnight of May 4, 1930 and taken to Yerwada jail in Poona. His arrest was a signal for a widespread strike.

**Vedaranniyam March in Tamilnadu**

The model of Salt Satyagraha in Dandi was subsequently followed in all the districts in Madras Presidency. C.Rajagopalachari who led the Satyagrahis in the Vedaranniyam March called out as many volunteers to participate and follow the teachings of Mahatma Gandhi. As a result, public feeling in the

Madras presidency had been provoked to unprecedented heights. On the other hand, large numbers of weavers picketed foreign cloth and liquor shops in Coimbatore. The campaign was vigorous in Madras, Salem, Vellore, Madurai and Vedaranniyam in Tamilnadu. The Cartoons of Sudhandhira Sangu published from 1930 to 1933 laid a nationalist foundation among the Indians.[8]

**Salt Satyagraha in Valankulam**

Quite sometime after the Dandi march, on 5th July 1930 under the leadership of Sri. Avinashi Lingam Chettiar, the following patriots went to Valankulam and made salt. Those patriots were Sri C.P. Subbiah Mudaliar, Sri. K. Subri, N. Subramania Iyer, Sri. C. Subramaniam, Sri. T. Raghavachari, Sri. K.K. Subbanna Gounder, Sri. R.S. Srikanta Iyer, Swami Gounder, G.S. Lakshmanan, Sri. M.A. Eswaran, Sri K.S. Ramaswamy Gounder, Sri. T.R.M. Magudapathi and Sri. K.S. Periaswamy, Sri. R.M. Kumaraswamy, Sri. Vadivel, Sri Velappa Naidu, K. Nallaswamy and Sri Rangaswamy Reddiar. All were arrested and sentenced to six months rigorous imprisonment first lodged in Central Prison, Coimbatore and then transferred to Central Jail, Vellore. The above-mentioned patriots again participated in the Salt Satyagraha in 1930 and in the Civil Disobedience Movement in 1932 and were imprisoned in Central Prison, Coimbatore.[9] Padmavathi Asher was very successful in motivating women to join the Salt Satyagraha. **Sundarambal of Veerapandy,** daughter of Nachimuthu was very successful in mobilizing women to the cause and she too joined the movement along with her cousins Annapoorani and Muthulakshmi. They went to Noyyal river to make salt for which they were arrested and sent to Pollachi sub-jail. Sundarambal was not liked by her mother because she was arrested and courting arrest was considered as a great offensive, however, noble the cause may be at that time. Being a woman from a rich class she influenced women of the village greatly. To honour her sacrifice towards the nation, **Sundarambal** was called as **"Veerapandi Aathal".** On 25th June 1930 an intensive picketing of Toddy shops was started in Coimbatore. P.S.Lakshmi who was then in Ondipudur, picketed Toddy shops along with Govindammal and Amaravathi. In 1930 Padmavathy Asher became the A.I.C.C member of Tirupur. This brought her more power and fame and shook off the lull in women by which a number of women employees, even from her own mill joined with great spirit. She was arrested and kept in jail for 6 weeks. She was also the contemporary of Govindammal, wife of C.A Ayya Muthu Pillai, who was arrested in 1932 for selling Gandhi caps.Periyar E.V. Ramasamy had trained his wife Nagammaiyar and his sister Kannammal to be in the forefront of the freedom struggle with the spirit of patriotism.

**Unsung Women Freedom Fighters of Coimbatore**

| | |
|---|---|
| Allammal | Allammal, daughter of Ganga Naicker born in 1868 at Periyanaickenpalayam, Coimbatore who took part in Civil Disobedience Movement. She was arrested in 1932 and sentenced to 7 months imprisonment during 1933 and kept in central jail, Coimbatore and State jail for Women, Vellore. |
| Ambujam | Ambujam from Coimbatore, wife of T. Raghavachari born in 1911, joined the foreign cloth boycott movement in 1932. She was arrested and sentenced to 4 months jail at State Jail for Women, Vellore and died in 1942. |
| Padmavathi Asher | Padmavathi, wife of P.D. Asher from Tiruppur born in 1908. She took part in Salt Satyagraha, so arrested and sentenced to 6 weeks jail during 1930-31 under Sec. 143 I.P.C, to one year during 1932 under Sec. 123 Cr.P.C and to 7 months under Sec. 17(1) Criminal Law Amendment Act in CDM 1933 in Coimbatore and State Jail of Women, Vellore. |
| Baggialakshmi Ammal | Baggialakshmi Ammal, wife of V.V.S Iyer born in 1885 in Tirupur, took part in Salt Satyagraha 1930 and Civil Disobedience Movement 1932-33. She was arrested and sentenced to imprisonment of 6 weeks under Sec. 143 I.P.C in 1930, to 6 months under Sec. 4 of the Ordinance of 1932 and to 19 months under Sec. 17(1) Criminal Law Amendment Act in 1933 in Coimbatore and State Jail for Women, Vellore. |
| Govindammal | Govindammal, born in 1905, served as President of Gandhi Nagar Congress Committee, Tirupur and joined the Toddy shop picketing and Civil Disobedience movement. She was arrested and sentenced to jail for 6 months under Sec. 188 I.P.C in 1932 and to 6 months under Sec. 17 (1) Criminal Law Amendment Act in 1933 in Coimbatore, Cannanore jail and State jail for women, Vellore. |
| Janaki Ammal | Janaki Ammal born on August 15, 1895 at Udumalpet, Coimbatore took part in Foreign cloth boycott and Toddy shop picketing movement who was arrested and sentenced to 2 years imprisonment under Sec. 17(2) of Act XIV of 1908 in 1932, kept in State Jail for Women, Vellore. |
| Kamalammal | Kamalammal, wife of K. Subramaniam Subri from Coimbatore born on November 5, 1911. She took part in Salt Satyagraha, 1930 and Toddy shop picketing in 1932, so courted imprisonment twice and arrested under Sec. 188 I.P.C and 18(1) Criminal Law Amendment Act and sentenced to ten months in 1932 and kept in Coimbatore jail and State Jail for Women, Vellore for 10 months. |
| Lakshmi Ammal | Lakshmi Ammal, wife of Srinivasa Iyengar born in 1887 in Tirupur, took part in the Civil Disobedience Movement in 1933. She was kept in State Jail for women, Vellore and central jail, Cannanore. |
| Muthulakshmi | Muthulakshmi, wife of S.A. Narayana Sastri from Sathiyamangalam, Coimbatore born on January 18, 1908 and |

| | |
|---|---|
| | Joined in Foreign Cloth boycott, 1932. She was arrested and sentenced to 4 months and one week under Sec. 17(1) Criminal Law Amendment Act in 1932 and kept in Coimbatore and State Jail for Women, Vellore. |
| Savithri Ammal | Savithri Ammal born on 26-1-1899, took part in Toddy shop picketing 1931, Individual Satyagraha, 1940 and Quit India Movement, 1942. She was arrested and kept in jail. |
| Thyammal | Thyammal daughter of Marappa Naidu from Thudiyalur, Coimbatore, took part in Civil Disobedience Movement, 1932. She was arrested and sentenced to 6 months under Sec. 7(1)B of Act, 1932 and kept in Coimbatore jail.[10] |

**Conclusion**

Perception of women in society underwent a sea change during the Salt Satyagraha Movement. Coimbatore is one of the arenas of our freedom struggle against whites. Hundreds and thousands of our freedom fighters were committed to Central Prison in Coimbatore. Civil Disobedience Movement was an event of incalculable importance. It should be noted here that prior to 1930, only a few women, mostly from the families of leaders, took part in political movements. Coimbatore pursued peaceful but persistent propaganda by the Congress workers. Kahaddat funds were collected and it is noteworthy to mention that women have made a great deal of contribution to the National Movement. Gandhi agreed to call off the satyagraha in exchange for an equal negotiating role at a London conference on India's future.

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# Dr. B.R. Ambedkar's Vision towards Women Empowerment in India

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**Abstract**

Dr. B.R. Ambedkar strongly believed that women empowerment can be achieved by welfare of women. The activities of empowerment women worldwide should follow the vision of Dr. B.R. Ambedkar. He spent his entire life for the betterment of women he fought against unjust and inhumane practices like child marriage, devdasi system and advocated family planning. Today's women are trapped in the circle of insecurity, male domination, lack of awareness about her rights and no decision making powers. He had a humanitarianism view and frequently raised his voice against all sorts of injustice towards women prevalent in India.

Dr. Ambedkar the determined fighter and a deep scholar has made significant efforts to lead the society on the path of Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity. He was first Indian to break down the barriers in the way of advancement of women in India. He laid down the foundation of concrete and sincere efforts by codifying the common Civil Code for Hindus and other sections of the Indian society. The present paper is an attempt to highlight Dr. Ambedkar's view on women problems in pre and post Independent India and its relevancy in present scenario.

He also gave contribution in Hindu Personal Law also introduced many women welfare provisions in the Constitution of India. He created awareness among poor, illiterate women an inspired them to fight against injustice. The present paper will discuss Dr. B.R. Ambedkar's view and efforts to eradicate women problems in India.

**Keywords:** Women Empowerment, Ambedkar, Hindu Code Bill, Perfect Equality India

## Introduction

Discrimination against women is not only a myth, but a reality and it exists everywhere. The type frequency, intensity & control of violence may vary from time to time or place to place but it presents everywhere. Discrimination has surrounded a women's life from birth to death and has become a routine affaire women are treated as objects for beating, torture, rapes, injury, female feticide, bride burning, urban, the crime against the women remain similar everywhere weather its urban area or a rural.

The status of Women in India has been subject to many great changes over the past few millenniums. The status of women degraded over the time as in early Vedic period women enjoyed equal status with men. Rigveda and Upanishads mention several names of women sages and seers notably Gargi & Maître. However later the status of women began to deteriorate approximately from 500B.C, the situation worsened with invasion of Mughals and later on by European invaders. Which still keep on deteriorating whether it's a sati pratha or dowry or female feticides or inter caste marriages etc. in every stage of women life she has to face a rituals which plainly based on gender only just because she born as a female she is supposed to suffer all the tortures and discriminations in her life."1

Even after 7 decades of Independent India and around 60 years of Dr. B. R. Ambedkar's death do we achieved that dream which Dr. B.R. Ambedkar had dreamed regarding the condition of Indian women, why 21st Century women still a vulnerable and pitiable. Why only handful of women earn name in the society, where there is 625 million"2 women population in Indian but only two women is reached space, only one women become prime minister only one become president and even after 68 years of Independence no women become chief justice of India. There is majority of women doing lower jobs but women in higher positioned still a rarity in India. Indian women still struggle for their basic human right i.e. right to have proper sanitation, right to have toilets, right not to give dowry, safety, proper education, right to property, burial rights etc. However an awareness of the issue has surfaced from time to time. But a sharp awareness of the discrimination subjected to women came to light by Dr. B.R. Ambedkar.

In India the problem of discrimination against women is as old as Sita who is abducted by Ravan or Draupadi who was publically tortured by Kauravas or Ahalya who was turned into stone by her husband. There are various forms of Violence against women are prevalent in our society through many cases remain unreported due to cultural norms, apathy or ignorance. They may manifest themselves directly in feticide, female child killing, bride burning, dowry-murder, wife bettering, abduction, eve teasing, verbal abuses or verbal rebukes and rape. Women on many occasions are victimized by all sorts of discriminations, deprivations & obstructions in goal achieving responses. These incidents may occur in to the family offices, agriculture fields, industries or in public places."3 National Family Health Survey –III, 2005-06 the Government of India found that 37.2 percent women have experienced violence in the form of physical and sexual abuse by none other than their own husbands. The survey also reveals that spousal violence is more prevalent in rural areas 40.2 percent than in urban areas 30.4."4 This paper tries to cover majority of problems facing by women in India as well as discuss various aspect of women empowerment with the Amberdkarian lenses and to discuss all problems which is facing by today's women."5

**Research Methodology**

The present study was based on data acquired through secondary research by locating research material published in a variety of research papers and publications written by academicians on Dr. Ambedkar's ideas on women's empowerment. The majority of the time was spent on descriptive and analytical work for this study. In this article an attempt has been made to acknowledge the contribution that Dr. B. R, Ambedkar has made to the liberation of women in India.

Objectives of the study are:

- To know the revolutionary work of Dr. B.R. Ambedkar as the social reformer of modern India.
- To highlight his role against casteism and for human dignity in India.
- To assess his Contribution as nation builder, an architect of India Constitution and as an eminent economist and educationist to Modern India
- To understand women issues concern and contribution of Dr. Ambedkar for women's upliftment and enablement by Constitutional Safeguards.
- To understand the different legal acts enacted for the women empowerment.
- To highlight different present scheme of Government of India initiated for women enablement.

**Discrimination against Women in India**

The earliest known text illustrates on discrimination against women is 'Manusmrati' the ancient Hindu Code- book, the statues granted to women is to the lowest of humanity as she was treated at par with the animals and slave by the proprietors of Hindu Dharma. That is why Dr. B.R. Ambedkar was of the firm opinion that until or unless, by applying dynamite the Hindu Dharma Shastra's are not blown up, nothing is going to happen. In the name sanskaras, the Hindu women are tied up with the bondage of superstitions, which they carry till their death. Though the issues of his journals 'Mooknayak' (1920) and Bahishkrit Bharat,(1927), Dr. Ambedkar tries to show how the gender relations and differences are constructed by Hindu Brahminical order, which conditions women to conform a stereotype feminine behavior, requiring them to be passive and submissive, suited only to a life of domestic and family responisbilities."6

In India and other countries in South Asia, people have been systematically discriminated on the basis of their work and descent for centuries. Over 200 million people are Dalit, also known as Untouchables or outcasts. They experience violence, discrimination, and social exclusion on a daily basis. Economic growth in India has been strong over past decade. However the

caste disparities are increasing. The situation of Dalit women in India needs special attention. They are one of the largest socially segregated groups anywhere in the world, and make up 2% of the world's total population. Dalit women are discriminated against three times over they are poor, they are women, and they are Dalit. There is on about 80 million Dalits women constitute half the Dalit population i.e. 200 million, and they constitute 16.3% of the total India's population. The traditional taboos are the same for Dalit men and Dalit women. However Dalit women have to deal with them more often. Dalit women are discriminated against not only by people of higher castes but also within their own communities.

The vulnerably positioned at the bottom of caste, class and gender hierarchies, Dalit women experience endemic gender – and –caste discrimination and violence as the outcome of severely imbalanced social economic and political power equations. Their social-economic vulnerability and lack of political voice when combined with the dominant risk factors of being Dalit and female increase their exposure to potentially violent situations while simultaneously reducing their ability to escape. Studies on violence against Dalit women in India presents clear evidence of widespread exploitation and discrimination against these women subordinated in terms of power relation to men in a patriarchal society, as also against their communities based on caste. This is a widespread phenomenon found in India, Nepal, Pakistan, Bangladesh and Sri Lanka where caste – based discrimination subjects millions of Dalit women to inhumane living conditions and systematic human rights violations. The violence against Dalit women reinforces caste norms wherein they are seen as available for all forms of violence especially sexual violence. According to India's National Commission for Women, "In the commission of offences against… (Dalit) women the (dominant caste) offenders try to establish their authority and humiliate the community by subjecting their women to indecent and inhuman treatment. "Further when they transgress caste norms such as those prescribing caste endogamy or Untouchability practices or assert their rights over resources or public spaces, violence is unleashed on them.

The UN Special Rapporteur on Violence against Women has noted that Dalit women"7 "face targeted violence, even rape and death from state actors and powerful members of dominant castes, used to inflict political lessons and crush dissent within the community." Similarly in its 2007 Concluding Comments of the CERD Committee noted its concern about the alarming number of allegations of acts of sexual violence against Dalit women primarily by dominant caste men. Women are the most vulnerable and face Untouchability, discrimination and violence much more than their male counterparts. The position of Dalit women in the society is reflected by the nature and number of Atrocities committee on her. Being a Dalit women abuse is used to reminder of her caste and keeps her oppressed. On an average, about 1000 cases of sexual exploitation of Dalit women are reported annually and in

the year 2001 alone, 1316 cases of rape was reported (NCRB 2001). Not only their performance with regard to human development indicators are much lower compared to their counterpart from rest of the women also the instances of Atrocities are far higher than non-Dalit women."8

**Dr. B.R. Ambedkar's Role in Women Empowerment**

Dr. Ambedkar thought was that the society must be based on reason and not on the basis of caste system, he said that be education, inter-caste marriage and by inter-dining only one can eradicate caste system and patriarchy maintained by endogamy. The Gender equality, gender main streaming, financial freedom are the essential aspects of women empowerment. Dr. B.R. Ambedkar realizes this at his time and included in the process of social reforms. Dr. Ambedkar started involving women in the struggle for eradication of caste systems and upliftment of the underprivileged sections. He realized that this could not be achieved without liberating the women themselves. He motivated women and addressed them to participate in struggle against caste prejudices. During the Mahad Tank Struggle, women marched in the procession along with men. He encouraged women to organize themselves. Impressed by the large gathering of women at women's conference held at Nagpur on 20$^{th}$ July, 1942 he told women to be progressive and abolish traditionalism, ritualism and customary habits ,which were detrimental to their progress. Empowerment envelops developing and building capacities of individuals, communities to make them part of the main stream society. Education is the only mean by which society grow out of oppression to democratic participation and involvement. It is a powerful tool for empowerment of individual. Over the generations, marginalized sections and women in Indian society were denied the opportunity to education. Dr. B.R. Ambedkar put all his efforts to guarantee the educational opportunities without any discrimination to all the citizens of India.

Dr. Ambedkar is an architect of Indian Constitution. He provided strong Constitutional safeguards to women. The Special Marriage Act sets four essential conditions for a valid marriage i.e., monogamy, sound mind, marriageable age and the parties should not be too closely related. Provided to the women. Violent and forceful abortions and abortions without consent of women are crime under section 313. The Hindu Succession Act gives male and female Hindu shall be held by her as full owner and not a limited owner. Dr. Ambedkar introduced Hindu Code Bill in 1948 which was revolutionary in confinement of proprietary rights to women but when not accepted by the parliament, he resigned from the ministerial post from the cabinet in 1951. Dr. Ambedkar started his movement in 1920. He stated "We shall see better days soon and our progress will be greatly accelerated if male education is persuaded side by side with female education."

He started fierce propaganda against the Hindu social order and launched a journal Mooknayak in 1920and Bahiskrit Bharat in 1927 for this purpose. Through its issues he put due stress on the gender equality and the need for education and exposed the problems of the depressed as well as women. Dr. Ambedkar's perception of women question, emphasizing their right to education, equal treatment with men, right to property and involvement in the political process resembled the global feminists demand. As J. S. Mill expressed in the Subjection of Women, the legal subordination of one sex to the other is wrong in itself and one of the chief hindrance to human development and ought to be replaced by a principle of perfect equality, admitting no privilege or power on the one side, nor disability on the other, Dr. Ambedkar also holds the same views on work for women. In January 1928, a women's association was founded in Bombay with Ramabai, Dr. Ambedkar's wife, as its president. In the Kalaram Temple Entry"9 Satyagraha at Nasik in 1930, five hundred women participated and many of them were arrested along with men and ill-treated in jails. The encouragement of Dr. Ambedkar to empower women to speak boldly was seen when Radhabai Vadale addressed a press conference in 1931. She said "It is better to die a hundred times than live a life full of humiliation. We will sacrifice our lives but we will win our rights. The credit for this self- respect and firm determination of women goes to Dr. Ambedkar. Dr. Ambedkar believed in the strength of women and their role in the process of social reform."10 The historic Mahad Satyagraha witnessed participation of three hundred women along with their male counterparts. Addressing another meeting of about 3000 women, he said, "I measure the progress of community by the degree of progress which women had achieved. Let every girl who marries stand by her husband, claim to be her husband's friend and equal and refuse to be his slave. I am sure if you follow this advice, you will bring honor and glory to your selves. He strongly advocated for family planning measures for women in Bombay Legislative Assembly. In 1942, being a Labor Minister of Executive Council of Governor General, he introduced a Maternity Benefit Bill. He provided several provisions in the Constitution for protecting the welfare and civil rights of women.

He introduced the Hindu Code Bill in the Parliament and highlighted the issues about women's property right. The Bill received strong opposition from many political leaders. In turn, Dr. Ambedkar resigned from the cabinet expressing his discontent over non acceptance of women's right by the parliament. Besides, he highlighted the issues of Muslim women. His secular perspective is known through his thoughts on Purdah (Veil) system, religious conversions and legal rights for Muslim women. In short, along with the Depressed Class women his thoughts for emancipation of all the women are expressed with same allegiance Dr. Ambedkar emphasis was on reconstruction of the Hindu society on the basis of equality rather than the social reforms initiated by

Brahma Samaj or Arya Samaj because their attempts were limited only to the upper strata of the society. His in depth study of Smritis and Shastra's and his experience from the response of upper castes during the temple entry movement crystallized his conclusions on Hindu Philosophy and Society. Gaining inspiration from Dr. Ambedkar many women wrote on various topics. And Tulsibai Bansode started a newspaper Chokhamela. This shows how Dr. Ambedkar created awareness among poor, illiterate women and inspired them to fight against the unjust and social practices like child marriages and devadasi system.

Dr. Ambedkar exclaimed, "I strongly believe in the movement run by women. If they are truly taken in to confidence, they may change the present picture of society which is very miserable. In past, they have played a significant role in improving the condition of weaker section and classes. He always honored women for their work and hardships. While addressing in conferences to women he could easily communicate with them as homely person and conversation even the illiterate women followed his advice from the bottom of their heart. Dr. Ambedkar spent his life for the betterment of women even involved in bad practices and professionals like prostitutions. He evoked the entire prostitute to give up their profession and lead the life of honor. In the Manu Smite, Manu not only shows contempt for women but goes on to degrade them as slaves, devoid of intellect denies them the right of education and the right to property and forbids them from performing sacrifices. Being India's first Law Minister and Chairman of the Drafting Committee of the Constituent Assembly, Dr. B.R. Ambedkar thought it appropriate rather his duty, to free women from the age old traditions by reforming the Hindu social laws created by Manu.

**Women Rights and Law Reforms in India**

Prime Minster Jawaharlal Nehru said on Dr. Ambedkar's Death: "Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar was a Symbol of Revolt against all oppressive features of Hindu society." His dream of society, based on gender equality is yet to be realized and therefore his thoughts are important for the social reconstruction that favors women empowerment. Dr. Ambedkar expressed his views on the state of life of all women. He stated that women must be treated equally and given equal prestige. Some of the protective provision added by his insistence to our Constitution. There is few provision and acts are listed below.

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar has given equal status to women at per with men by providing many provisions in the Constitution. He incorporated the values of Liberty, Equality and Fraternity in the Indian Constitution. V.R. Krishna Iyer is of the view that the Constitution quickened by social conscience has added invincible legal missiles for women's liberation. Our Constitution in its Preamble Guarantees:

1 Social, economic and political justice.
2 Freedom of thoughts, expression belief faith and worship.

3 Equality of status and opportunity.
4 Fraternity assuring the dignity of the individual and national unity to all the citizens of India without any discrimination of caste, creed or sex.

A number of articles in the Constitution help the women to improve their status and to compete with their male counterparts. This is evident from different provisions of Indian Constitution:

1 Article 14 - Guarantees that the State shall not deny equality before the law and equal protection of the laws within the territory of India.
2 Article 15 - Prohibits discrimination against any citizen on the ground of religion, race, caste, sex or place of birth.
3 Article 15 (3) - Empowers the State to make positive discrimination in favor of women and children.
4 Article 16 – Ensures that the State will not deny correspondence under the watchful eye of the law and equivalent insurance of the law."11 provide equality of opportunity in matters of public employment.
5 Article 23 - Prohibits trafficking of human beings and forced labor.
6 Article 39 (A) and (D) - Enjoins the State to provide equal means of livelihood and equal pay for equal work.
7 Article 42 - Enjoins the State to make provisions for securing just and human conditions of work, and for maternity relief.
8 Article 46 -The State to promote with special care the educational and economic interests of weaker section of people and to protect them from social injustice and all forms of exploitation.
9 Article 47 -The State to raise the level of nutrition and standard of living of its people and the improvement of public health and so on.
10 Article 51A (E) - Imposes a Fundamental Duties on every citizens to renounce the practices derogatory to the Dignity of women.
11 243D (3) - Make a provision that not less than $1/3^{rd}$ of the total number of seats to be filled by direct election every Panchayat shall be reserved for women and such seats would be allotted by rotation to different Constituencies in a Panchayat.
12 Article 243T (3) - Make a provision that not less than $1/3^{rd}$ of the total number of seats to be filled by direct election in every Municipality shall be reserved for women and such seats would be allotted by rotation to different Constituencies in a Municipality.
13 Article 243R (4) - Provides reservation to the offices of Chairpersons in Municipalities for Governments for members of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and women in such manner as the legislature of a State may by law , provide. In pursuance of the above Constitutional provisions, various legislative enactments have been framed to protect, safeguard and promote the welfare of women.

**Hindu Code Bill**

One of the most important contributions of Dr. B. R. Ambedkar in relation to the elevation of the status of women in India was his initiative to draft and introduce the Hindu Code Bill in the Constituent Assembly on 24th February, 1949. Being India's first Law Minister and Chairman of the Drafting Committee of the Constituent Assembly he thought it appropriate to liberate women from the age old bondage of slavery by reforming the Hindu social laws created by Manu.

The Hindu Code Bill the most formidable legislative measure of modern India, sought among other reforms, to put an end to a variety of marriage systems prevailing in India and legalize only monogamous marriages. The Code also sought to confer on women the right of property and adoption which had been denied by Manu. It put men and women on an equal level in all legal matters. Dr. Ambedkar said, "I should like draw attention of the house to one important fact. The great political philosopher Burke who wrote his great book against the French Revolution said that those who want to conserve must be ready to repair. And all I am asking this House is If you want to maintain the Hindu system, Hindu culture and Hindu society do not hesitate to repair where repair is necessary. This Bill asks for nothing more than to repair those parts of the Hindu system which have become dilapidated."11

In his letter of resignation dated the 27th September, 1951 to the Prime Minister he wrote –"For a long time I have been thinking of resigning my seat from the Cabinet. The only thing that had held me back from giving effect to my intention was the hope that it would be possible to give effect to the Hindu Code Bill before the life of present Parliament came to an end. I even agreed to break up the bill and restricted it to Marriage and Divorce in the fond hope that at least this much of our labor may bear fruit. But even that part of Bill had been killed I see no purpose in my continuing to be a Member of your Cabinet."12

The Hindu Code Bill was later split in to four Bills and the same were put on the Statue Book by Parliament. "The Hindu Marriage Act 1955. The Hindu Succession Act 1956. The Hindu Minority and Guardianship Act, 1956and The Hindu Adoption and Maintenance Act, 1956 are the four enactments which incorporate the ideas and principles of Hindu Code Bill formulated by Dr. Ambedkar. They give independent status to women and endow them with the right of adoption succession and property, so completely denied by Manu. Therefore it is truism to say that it is due to Dr. Ambedkar that a large part of the Hindu social law is now on par with the legal system prevailing in advanced western countries."13

There are number of protective laws in India to prevent exploitation of women. To quote few, Sati Prevention Act, 1987, Dowry Prohibition Act,1961, the Family courts Act,1984, Protection of Human Right

Act,1993, The Maternity Benefit Act,1961, Immoral traffic (Prevention) Act,1956. The Child Marriage Restraint Act, 1929, The Pre-Natal Diagnostic Technique (Regulation and Prevention of Misuse) Act,1994. The legal Practitioners (Women) Act, 1923 and 2005Amendment in Hindu personal law also gave property rights to Hindu females in their parental property.

The National Policy for the Empowerment of Women 2001, admits, "The underlying causes of gender inequality are related to social and economic structure and practices. Consequently the access of women particularly those belonging to weaker sections including Scheduled Castes / Scheduled Tribes other Backward Classes and Minorities to Education, Health and productive resources, among others is inadequate. Therefore they remain largely marginalized, Poor and Socially Exclude. The Policy includes creating an environment through positive economic and social policies for full development of women to enable them to realize their full potential, Equal access to participation and decision making of women in social, political and economic life of the nation, strengthening legal systems aimed at limitation of all forms of discrimination against women.

**Conclusion**

The Dr. Ambedkar's view on social justice including unity, Equality, equal worth to men and women, tolerance, Humane treatment to all classes and castes and right to dignity of all citizens, the education, property, should be distributed equally and he emphasized on fraternity and emotional integration. According to him we can achieve social justice only by removing, manmade inequalities of all shades through law, morality and public conscience; he stood for justice for a sustainable society. And the societal frame work which meant to make women inferior or lower should be eradicate in all possible ways.

The teachings and thoughts of Dr. B.R. Ambedkar are useful towards all the women, irrespective of their religion, castes and class. His deep concern and feelings for all round development of women is expressed from his each sentence and word. In his last speech in Indian Parliament we can know his feelings and respect showed towards women. He quoted the famous thoughts of an Irish Patriot Daniel O'Connell as, "No man can be grateful at the cost of his honor. No women can be grateful at the cost of her chastity. And no nation can be grateful at the cost of his liberty."14

However while a number of legislative measures were adopted to guarantee legal equality to women, but in practice not much opportunity available for women. Women activists with their various organizations demystified the sources of women's oppression. The judicial reform, police reform and law and order are need of the society, for the protection of women. And also need to spread education among women masses especially rural areas, and women should made self-sufficient economically and given training in self-

defense methods to protect themselves from exploitation, then only a new definition of women can come into existence. Women empowerment achieved only by women's sense of self-worth, their right to have choices, have opportunities and resources, power to control their own lives, both within and outside the home, and their ability to influence the direction and social change. Than only we can say that we achieved Dr. B.R. Ambedkar dream in real sense.

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# The Writings of Kenneth Anderson: From Sport Hunting to Wildlife Conservation

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**Abstract**

Faunal diversity plays an integral role in the sustenance of a healthy ecosystem, the destruction of which leads to ecological imbalances, drastic fall in animal populations and extinction of species. Kenneth Anderson (1910-1974), India-born British hunter and wildlife chronicler often referred to as the Jim Corbett of South India, entered the colonial scene as a sport hunter but died a conservationist whose concern for the wildlife and forest-dwelling communities inspired efforts in the right direction. This paper explores the literary contributions of the colonial hunter who came to be recognized as one of the earliest conservationists in the Hosur region.

## Introduction

"I do not wish to enter into argument as to how and why a country loses so much with the disappearance of her wild life. Anyone who has never come to know and love the jungle, its solitude and all that its denizens signify, could never appreciate such sentiments, nor the sense of irreparable loss and sorrow felt by those who look for the once familiar forms that are no longer there, or listen vainly for those once familiar sounds that were music to their ears, only to be greeted by a devastating silence."[1]

In his book *Man-Eaters and Jungle Killers*, Kenneth Anderson records the human-tiger conflict in twentieth-century India from the perspective of a hunter who also held the forests in reverence, with his flair for storytelling and a sense of adventure equalled by the enigmatic thrill that the dense Indian jungles had to offer.

Forests in India, covering 21.71 percent of the country's geographical area as of 2021[2]and accounting for two percent of the planet's total forest area,[3]form the primary vital component of the unique biodiversity of the subcontinent. Of the forty-three UNESCO World Heritage Sites in India, six are Natural Heritage Sites tied to Indian forests which act as the abode for a rich array of flora and fauna,[4]hosting around 45,000 floral[5] and 104,561 faunal species (including endemic, threatened, and scheduled species).[6]One of the biggest challenges posed by British imperialism and colonialism in the late nineteenth and the first half of the twentieth century was ecological degradation and imbalance, a significant cause being the indiscriminate hunting of animal species which paved the way for the threat of extinction, especially of big game

like tigers, elephants, and rhinoceros.

The sixth mass extinction of species on Earth which has already commenced is attributed to human activities starting with the European colonization which began in the 1500s, continuing for four centuries since.[7]The tiger population in India, for instance, was caught in a perilous position between hunters and a rising wave of conservation strategies launched by the British government to save from extinction the fast-falling numbers, aimed at boosting the colonial economy and infrastructural development, thereby further laying the foundation for green imperialism. A striking count of nearly 80,000 tigers were slaughtered by the British in colonial India between 1875 and 1925, which has consequently pushed the current population of tigers to under 4,000.[89]

Kenneth Douglas Stewart Anderson (1910-1974) was a British hunter, writer and wildlife chronicler who began his journey in the jungles of south India as a hunter, eventually developing a connection with the flourishing vegetation and its denizens – human communities and animals – that are dependent on it for survival and livelihood, thereby channelling him in the direction of wildlife conservation. His works stand testimony to the knowledge of the ecological damage that he witnessed as it happened during his service in India.

This study scrutinizes the literary contributions of Kenneth Anderson through his works in an endeavour to understand the hunting scenario and the concept of wildlife during the colonial period, and the consequences it had on the Indian wildlife. The books written by the author including *Nine Man-Eaters and One Rogue* (1954), *Man-Eaters and Jungle Killers* (1957), *This is the Jungle: More Tales of the Man-Eaters* (1964), *Tales from the Indian Jungle* (1970)narrate his story through his yearsas a hunter. *The Last White Hunter: Reminiscences of a Colonial Shikari*, written by his son Donald Anderson along with co-author Joshua Mathew, also throws light on Kenneth Anderson as an individual outside his career and professional pursuits.

**Early Life and Background**

Born on 8 March 1910 in Bolarum, a railway colony in the Hyderabad state (present-day Secunderabad in Telangana), young Kenneth Anderson spoke Tamil fluently as most of the domestic help that worked for their family in Bangalore were from the Madras state, while additionally learning bits of Telugu, Urdu and Hindi during his childhood. He was nicknamed “Snake Charmer Anderson” as a child for his fascination towards snakes, bearing a special affinity to animals in general.[10] His father Douglas Anderson was posted in Bangalore for a second time, and the family moved there when Kenneth Anderson was under ten years old. Studying in India in the 1920s, he went on to work in the telegraph department for fifteen years for a salary of hundred rupees per month. In 1956, he started working his final job in the drafting department and later as a factory manager for planning at the British Aircraft Company in Bangalore, which came to be recognized as Hindustan Aeronautics Limited after nationalisation. Anderson continued working there

till he died of cancer in 1974.[11]

He is remembered mainly for his written works based on his interactions and inextricable relationship with the Indian forests. Though he had the opportunity to leave the newly-born nation in 1947, given that he held the British passport and the necessary financial backup requisite for moving abroad, Kenneth Anderson made the decision to stay back in India because of the bond he had established with its jungles, wildlife and forest-dwelling communities.[12]

In the later half of the 1960s, Anderson considered using his knowledge of the Indian forests to contribute for the better, thus becoming one of the pioneers of wildlife tourism in Bangalore where he worked.[13]

**Shikar in Colonial India**

Among the common grounds that united the British colonists and the Indian royalty, sport hunting served as an important tool of political authority, colonial exploitation, and a lavish display of power. Before the arrival of the British in India, tribal hunting and royal hunting were prevalent hunting traditions, and with the growth of imperialism in the late eighteenth century, the elements of the British and Indian hunting systems mingled.[14]

Colonial hunters were mainly military personnel, forest administrators, government officials or constituents of the British elite.[15] They joined the Indian royal princes to indulge in their popular pastime activity – hunting. Encounters with and hunting of tigers were considered feats of exceptional skill, strength and glory, and were celebrated in the mainland of Britain. British officers often relied on the support of local shikar is primarily for their knowledge of the forests and its wildlife, but considered them poachers and as being "feminine" as they used traditional weapons and not guns for hunting. The concept of colonial masculinity came to define the relationship between the 'manly Englishman' and the 'effeminate Bengali' in nineteenth-century India.[16]

Forests were capitalized on for their abundant resources, including the overexploitation of animal populations, the indiscriminate killing of which resulted in grave imbalances due to increased human pressure on the ecosystems. The British in India were the first to start the vilification of particular wild species of animals – tigers, leopards, wild boars etc. The conservation policy of the British was implemented side by side with the hunting of species, the latter continuing to supply them with the animal products to be sold at exorbitant prices to the elite classes, in addition to exports. Before the modern concept of wildlife was introduced, animal populations were only recognized as 'big game' and 'small game' on the basis of the size of the animals that were hunted.

Indian villages were also dependent on hunters – tribal, British, educated Indian sportsmen – to protect them from man-eaters.[17]The tiger population of

India was the most severely affected due to the British colonial policies. The mythical aura surrounding predators, viewed by the Europeans as exotic creatures, was the main reason for their slaughter.[18] Kenneth Anderson engaged in the hunting of man-eating tigers along with his son Donald Anderson, which is recorded by Donald as: "A lot of the man-eaters he shot were before I started going into the jungles with him, but he continued to go after them even after I had grown up, and occasionally we did that together. Although not his first, the Jalahalli panthe ris the one that brought him recognition, particularly because of the geographical proximity to Bangalore."[19]

**Literary Contributions of Kenneth Anderson**

Kenneth Anderson has written eight books that narrate his experiences with the wild, in addition to the Omnibus editions published in three volumes, and other publications. A series of his hunting expeditions has been translated to Kannada by the novelist Poornachandra Tejaswi, being a naturalist and environmentalist himself.[20]

In his book *Man-Eaters and Jungle Killers*, Anderson mentions the drop in the count of tigers in India: "India, too, has lost much, for the decrease in the variety and number of her wild life has been alarming. I know localities where until 1930 the moaning sough of a tiger or the guttural sawing of the panther were normal sounds in the night, followed always by the warning call of sambar and other members of the deer family. Now the night passes without a sound, except perhaps for a persistently chirping cricket. Where once the pug-marks of a tiger and other wild-animal trails would tell their morning story of the creatures that had passed that way during the night, the tiny tracks of a few rabbits might today indicate that they at least have not been exterminated" (Anderson 7-8).[21]

Anderson's narrative style constitutes descriptive detailing of his firsthand experience in the jungles, including landscapes, physical features, wildlife, tribes, people and their customs, traditions and beliefs, and his missions involving man-eating tigers. His short story *The Bond of Love* revolves around the relationship shared between his wife and her pet sloth bear, and was included in the NCERT Class 9 English (Beehive) textbook before the CBSE syllabus 2023-24 was introduced. His belief in the paranormal is evident in his writing, given that he was an avid reader as a child whose imagination was stimulated by haunted mansions, banshees and other elements of horror, and he grew up surrounded by Indian servants who believed in spirits, superstitions, demons and deities which were an integral part of the Indian culture – all of which shaped the worldview of Anderson right from a young age.[22] He even mentions personal encounters with the supernatural.[23]

He purchased more than twenty plots of lands in places including Pondicherry, Mamandur, Hogenakkal etc., all of which were adjoining forests.[24]He was married young, and travelled as a family along with his wife, son and daughter

to explore locations, narrating stories about the places as they travelled, which explains the flow in his writing.[25]

**Legacy of Kenneth Anderson**

The Kenneth Anderson Nature Society (KANS), a Hosur-based non-profit organization aimed at conservation was founded in Bangalore in 2008 to honour his legacy. Registered under the Tamil Nadu Societies Registration Act 1975, the society works towards wildlife conservation in the Melagiri region. KANS put forth the demand that the Melagiris be declared a wildlife sanctuary under the name of Anderson, given that one of the objectives of KANS is the "advocacy of Melagiris as an important bio-diversity reserve". The other objectives include limiting the pressure caused by human exploitation of forests in the region for fuel and fodder, reducing the human-elephant conflict in the Aiyur, Jawalgiri and Anchetty areas, all of which are mentioned repeatedly in Anderson's works.[26] & [27]

**Conclusion**

Forests in India and the associated flora and fauna have always been treated with a cultural significance by several communities through the ages, mostly indigenous and tribal, who are fundamentally dependent on them for their livelihood. The origin of the concept of sacred groves can be traced to ancient Indian texts, wherein forests and other natural habitats were and continue to be protected by the indigenous communities on religious grounds, centred on the belief that the forests are guarded by powerful deities that provide them life. While colonialism and post-colonial urbanization especially in recent decades has led to the clearing of vast patches of forests including sacred groves, initiatives are being taken by the government, NGOs and individuals towards ecological conservation, preservation and restoration. According to a Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) report published in July 2024, India stands third on the list of countries with the highest forest area gain during the period 2010-2020, gaining 266,000 hectares of forest area annually, following China and Australia.[28] In this context, the contributions of Kenneth Anderson who evolved from a colonial hunter to someone who cherished the wealth and bounty of forests are laudable and noteworthy in adhering to conservation practices in the twenty-first century.

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# The Life and Legacy of Princess Durru Shehvar of Hyderabad

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**Abstract**

Princess Durru Shehvar of Hyderabad (1917-2006) embodied the convergence of two great royal legacies, the Ottoman Empire and the princely state of Hyderabad. Born as the daughter of the last Ottoman Caliph, Abdulmejid II and later married to Prince Azam Jah, the heir to the Nizam of Hyderabad, she became a symbol of cultural and political unity during an era of global transformation. Educated in Europe, Princess Durru Shehvar blended Eastern grace with Western modernity, using her position to champion social reform. Her philanthropic contributions, particularly in women's welfare, education and healthcare, left a deep and enduring impact on Hyderabad society. Despite the fall of monarchies and the political upheavals that marked her life, she remained a figure of dignity, compassion and progressive vision. Her legacy continues to inspire as a rare example of royalty devoted to humanitarian service and social upliftment.

**Keywords**: Nizam State, Princess, Culture, Education

## Introduction

Princess Durru Shehvar, born in 1917, was a unique and influential personality who connected the royal worlds of the Ottoman Empire and Hyderabad State. She was the daughter of the last Ottoman Caliph, Abdulmejid II, and through her marriage to Prince Azam Jah, the eldest son of the Seventh Nizam of Hyderabad, Mir Osman Ali Khan, she became a princess of Hyderabad. This union symbolized the coming together of two historic Muslim powers during a time of worldwide political changes.

Beyond her royal title, Princess Durru Shehvar was a committed social reformer and philanthropist. She dedicated her life to the welfare of women and children, education and healthcare in Hyderabad. Even as political upheaval overtook her family, from the fall of the Ottoman Caliphate to Hyderabad's annexation into India, she preserved her dignity and grace, winning the love and respect of the people she served.

The story of Princess Durru Shehvar is one of cultural blending, political history and lasting humanitarian work. This article explores her early life, marriage, public work and the legacy she left behind.

## Early Life and Family Background

Durru Shehvar was born Hatice Hayriye Ayşe Dürrüşehvar Sultan in Istanbul in 1917. Her father, Abdulmejid II, was the last Caliph of the Ottoman Empire, a spiritual leader for many Muslims worldwide. However, after the Turkish

Republic's establishment, the Ottoman dynasty was exiled and the Caliphate was abolished. Growing up, Durru Shehvar was educated in France and trained in modern subjects and martial arts, an uncommon education for women of her time. Her upbringing combined Ottoman royal traditions with modern European influences, shaping her into a knowledgeable and confident woman fluent in Turkish, French, English and Urdu.

**Marriage and Life in Hyderabad**

In 1931, she married Prince Azam Jah Bahadur, the eldest son of Mir Osman Ali Khan, the Seventh Nizam of Hyderabad. This marriage was more than a royal alliance; it represented a political and cultural bond between the remnants of the Ottoman caliphate and one of the richest princely states in India.

Upon arriving in Hyderabad, she was warmly received by the Nizam and quickly gained prominence in the social and political life of the state. The Nizam regarded her as a precious jewel, encouraging her to participate in public life actively. Unlike many royal ladies of her time, Durru Shehvar embraced modernity, often seen riding horses, driving cars and engaging in tennis alongside Hyderabad's elite. She gave birth to two sons, Mukarram Jah (born 1933) and Muffakham Jah (born 1939), both of whom received premier European educations, reflecting her strong belief in learning and progress.

**Contributions to Social Welfare and Education**

Princess Durru Shehvar was deeply involved in the welfare of Hyderabad's people, especially women and children. She established and supported several hospitals, including the Princess Durru Shehvar Children's & General Hospital in Hyderabad, which still operates today. She strongly advocated for women's education, founding a junior college for girls in Yakutpura named after her. She also supported institutions like the Ajmal Khan Tibbiya College Hospital at Aligarh Muslim University, a prominent center for traditional medicine.

A feminist at heart, she challenged the conservative practice of purdah (seclusion of women) and encouraged women to earn a living and participate fully in society. Fluent in multiple languages and an accomplished poet and artist, she often contributed articles to French magazines, spreading awareness about cultural integration and women's rights.

**Role in Hyderabad's Modernization**

Durru Shehvar was more than a philanthropist; she was an agent of modernity. She laid the foundation stone of the Begumpet Airport in Hyderabad in 1936, marking a step forward in the city's infrastructure. She ensured that her children were exposed to the best opportunities globally, preparing them to lead Hyderabad in changing political environments. Her vision reflected a blend of tradition and progress, deeply rooted in her unique identity bridging East and West.

**Challenges and Later Life**

The princess's life was not without difficulties. Despite public admiration, her

marriage to Prince Azam Jah eventually faced irreconcilable differences, ending in separation. The political landscape shifted dramatically after India gained independence in 1947, with Hyderabad's annexation into India in 1948 marking the end of its princely status.

Princess Durru Shehvar remained a respected public figure in Hyderabad for some years before eventually settling permanently in London. She continued her charitable activities and cultural outreach until her death in 2006 at age 92. Her dignified handling of fame, displacement and adversity earned her lasting reverence.

**Legacy**

Princess Durru Shehvar's legacy is multifaceted. She is remembered for her bridging role between Ottoman and Indian Muslim cultures, her contributions to social welfare and education and her embodiment of grace in times of monumental change. Today, institutions bearing her name continue to serve communities and her life story inspires those interested in cultural history, women's rights and philanthropy. Her sons Mukarram Jah and Muffakham Jah continued her lineage and legacy in various public roles.

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# The Incarcerated Female: An Analytical Study of Life inside Colonial Prisons in India

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**Abstract**

The colonial era saw the emergence of a secular and unified judicial clout in India. The incarceration of women grew to an extent that for the first time female prisons were established since the emergence of the civilization of the country. Despite being a minority within this system, women were housed in specialized prisons such as those at Yeroda (Pune), Vellore (Tamil Nadu) and Lahore which faced numerous challenges. These prisons operated with a degree of autonomy and were largely self-sustaining, as female convicts were responsible for producing their own clothing and performing all necessary domestic tasks. The female convicts benefited from a remission system, educational opportunities and moral instruction designed to prevent recidivism.

**Key words**: Incarceration, Recidivism, Prisons, Convicts.

## Introduction

The original sin, attributed to Eve, a woman, marked the dawn of human punishment. Despite this, women's criminality remains a less explored topic. The term "incarceration" comes from Latin. It combines “in,” meaning "into," with “carcer,” which means "prison." It implies to a state of confinement than merely a cell. Prisons served as places to isolate individuals deemed too dangerous to coexist with civilized society for, they break and tear the order in society. As India was a colony under Britain many laws and ideologies have been absorbed from there. Prisons in England and India shared a commonality as they were both overcrowded and unsanitary, mixing hardened offenders with comparatively innocent individuals. Additionally, punishments were meted out with extreme severity and brutality. This harsh environment led to the corruption of less experienced prisoners and often resulted in high mortality rates. The prisons were death traps of diseases and there was in many a case, little chance of leaving the jail alive.[1]

## Prisons during Ancient and Medieval Period

In ancient India, prisons served to hold offenders awaiting trial, judgment, and execution. The principles guiding society were outlined by figures like Manu and Kautilya, with imprisonment being one of the milder punishments compared to harsher corporal penalties such as branding and hanging. Imprisonment aimed to segregate wrongdoers from society to prevent them

from corrupting others. Prisons were often located in isolated, underground dungeons that were cool, damp, and poorly lit, with inadequate sanitation and living conditions.[2] In Mughal India, criminals were detained in fortresses like Gwalior, Ranthambore, and Rohtas, with Ranthambore being used for executing death sentences. Gwalior housed nobles who offended, while Rohtas was reserved for those sentenced to lifelong imprisonment, including princes of royal blood. In Maratha India, imprisonment was less common than fines, leading to a rudimentary prison system with rooms in forts known as Bandikhanas or Adabkhan as reserved for prisoners.[3]

**British India's Prison Reforms**

The prison administration in India owes much to British rule, which introduced significant changes to the legal and penal systems. Early British efforts focused on establishing proper jail facilities and reforming legal practices, with the Regulating Act of 1773 marking the start of English legal oversight. By 1802, the introduction of law courts and the Cornwallis system began organizing prison establishments, but significant reforms came much later. In 1835, Lord Macaulay's initiatives and in 1836 the prison discipline committee highlighted the need for improvements, though many suggestions were not implemented immediately. Subsequent committees in 1864, 1877, and 1888-89 addressed various issues: from reducing prison deaths to proposing uniform prison laws. The Prisons Act of 1894 incorporated many recommendations but still fell short on the reformative aspects. The Indian Jail Committee of 1919-1920[4], however, marked a turning point by prioritizing offender rehabilitation and producing extensive recommendations, though its impact was limited by political and administrative challenges.

**Reforms for Female Prisons**

Women prisoners have long been overlooked in the history of Indian penology, with their issues remaining inadequately addressed even today. Gerda Lerner's assertion, "Women have a history and women are a history," highlights the longstanding neglect of women in penal systems. The legal focus on women has only recently emerged, sixty-four years post-independence. The history of prison reform in India began with the 1836 Committee, which, despite criticizing Islamic punishments, endorsed oppressive prison models and dismissed rehabilitative approaches. The 1864 Commission of Inquiry[5] introduced humanitarian concerns, recommending better conditions and the separation of male and female prisoners, which was codified in Section 27 of the 1894 Prison Act. The Indian Jails Committee (1919-20) further prioritized reformation and rehabilitation, advocating for separate female prisons.

**Female Criminality**

Women formed only a small part of the prison population—8 per cent in 1877, 5 per cent in 1891. Among the 4458 prisoners in Awadh in 1862 there were 227 women (5.1 per cent).[6]Women involved in serious crimes often do not premeditate their actions, which range from petty theft and shoplifting to

kidnapping and murder. Most female offenders are illiterate and impoverished, with common crimes including infanticide, attempted suicide, and prostitution. In one case an unmarried Pariah woman being deserted by her paramour murdered her son of 18 months by throwing him into a well and absconded. Many women are also implicated in crimes involving men, such as smuggling and kidnapping.[7] The Indian Penal Code classifies crimes into categories including crimes against the state (e.g., bribery, treason), crimes against persons (e.g., murder, rape), crimes against property (e.g., theft, burglary) and miscellaneous crimes (e.g., gambling, anonymous communications).

**Female Convicts Admission**

Upon admission to prison, each female prisoner is processed with a warrant signed by an authorized person, with separate warrants required for each individual, even if convicted together. The Assistant Jailor verifies the warrant and prisoner details, followed by a check from the Superintendent. Each prisoner undergoes a thorough washing, a search, and the confiscation of personal items, including clothing and money. A history ticket is issued for recording significant events during their incarceration, maintained by the remission clerk with support from a history ticket warder.

**Incarcerated Female**

For much of the nineteenth century, due to the small number of women in jail, there were minimal provisions for their separate accommodation and supervision. Consequently, they were frequently placed in the worst areas of the prison, a situation that Mary Carpenter highlighted attention in the 1860s.[8]The treatment of female prisoners was governed by strict regulations to ensure their separation from male prisoners and other specific groups. According to Section 27 of the Prisons Act, 1894, female prisoners had to be housed in separate buildings or distinct parts of the same building from male prisoners to prevent any interaction. This separation was crucial not only for maintaining discipline but also for safeguarding the privacy and security of female prisoners. The Act further mandated the separation of non-convicted from convicted prisoners, and the distinction between female adolescents, habitual offenders, and women of different backgrounds, including prostitutes and women with respectable pasts. This nuanced approach aimed to prevent the mixing of different categories of prisoners, which could otherwise exacerbate issues of discipline and rehabilitation.

In practice, most jails in India adhered to these regulations, though there were notable exceptions. For instance, in the Common Prison in Bombay, female prisoners were confined in the upper storey of a building within the male jail, a setup that breached the separation mandate. Despite this, the general adherence to the Act's provisions underscored an institutional commitment to maintaining distinct environments for female prisoners.

**Regulations and Daily Life**

The daily life of female prisoners was tightly regulated, reflecting the broader

penal philosophy of the time. The 1927 jail manual of the Bombay Presidency outlined specific procedures for managing female prisoners. Their names were recorded in red ink in all registers, and upon admission, they were searched by a matron, a female convict officer, or the wife of a warder. Haircuts were mandated for health and cleanliness, though Brahmin widows had the option to shave their heads again if they wished. Female prisoners sentenced to transportation or long-term habitual crimes were generally kept within their home districts, ensuring that their incarceration was geographically manageable.

During imprisonment, female prisoners were not permitted to leave the female prison area except for release or with special written orders from the superintendent. They were also prohibited from visiting the prison office for property verification, appeal results, or letter reading, with these tasks being handled within the female prison itself. If a female prisoner entered with a child or gave birth while incarcerated, the child could stay with her until the age of two, after which the child had to be removed unless the mother was nearing release. The children were provided with a diet prescribed by the medical officer, highlighting a degree of concern for their well-being.

**Food and Nutrition**

Food quality and nutrition were significant concerns for female prisoners. The diet for European and Eurasian prisoners in hospitals included items like sago, sugar, milk, kanjee, and rice. However, accounts from prisoners themselves, such as Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit in her book *Prison Days*, reveal severe deficiencies in the food provided.[9] Pandit described the food in Nainital jail in 1942 as appalling, with dal resembling dirty water with floating red chillies, inadequately washed vegetables, and gritty rotis. This firsthand account illustrates the broader issues of poor food quality and inadequate nutrition that plagued many prisons of the era.

**Clothing and Bedding**

The provision of clothing and bedding for female prisoners varied significantly between different groups. Anglo-Indian and European female prisoners received a range of clothing, including two cotton coats, two cotton trousers or drawers, a nightdress, and several petticoats. They were also provided with socks, stockings, a towel, a blanket, bedding, a pillow, and various other personal items such as a zinc mug, spoon, comb, and brush. In contrast, Indian female prisoners received a more limited set of items: two sarees, two cotton blouses, one towel, and a zinc mug, along with a body ticket and history ticket. The disparity in the clothing and equipment provided to different groups of female prisoners highlights broader issues of inequality within the prison system.

**Prison Labor**

Female prisoners were primarily employed within the confines of the female ward, engaged in tasks such as cooking and food preparation. Each jail in the

Presidency cultivated its own vegetables, known as "kitchen gardens." These gardens supplied the prisoners with fresh produce, and any surplus was sold.[10]The labour tasks included pounding, husking, and sifting grain, but grinding grain was reserved for punishment. The primary jail industries included leather goods, cotton weaving, embroidery,[11] carpentry, and boot manufacturing.[12]The labour of female prisoners was regulated to ensure it did not exceed three-fourths of the tasks expected of male convicts, reflecting a somewhat differentiated approach to labour expectations based on gender.

**Remission and Rehabilitation**

The remission system for female prisoners included opportunities for early release under specific conditions. In 1867, the female penitentiary in Lahore introduced a "ticket of leave"[13] program for female prisoners who had served three-quarters of their sentence and had at least one year remaining. To be eligible, prisoners needed to demonstrate good conduct and complete two stages of the program: the first involved moving to a less restrictive environment with personal clothing and social interactions, while the second allowed short-term prison leave and management of personal resources. Successfully completing these stages enabled prisoners to work outside the prison, receive savings for their return home, and report regularly to the police. This program represented an early attempt at rehabilitating and reintegrating female prisoners into society.

**Conclusion**

The examination of female incarceration in colonial India unveils a troubling and complex portrayal of life within the penal system. Remarkably, women freedom fighters, despite enduring the harshest conditions, continued to bravely champion India's independence. Figures like Anjalai Ammal, who faced imprisonment while pregnant, exemplified unwavering courage and determination. Overall, the colonial prison system highlighted critical deficiencies in the treatment and management of female prisoners, underscoring the necessity for ongoing reforms and a more humane approach to incarceration.

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# Growth of Trade and Commerce under the Europeans with special Reference to Tuticorin Port

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**Abstract**

The Tuticorin port which is located on the southeastern coast of India played a pivotal role in the commercial boom under the Europeans. During this period, Tuticorin emerged as a crucial hub for trade, linking India with Europe, Africa and Asia. Even before the arrival of Europeans, Tuticorin Port had a long history of marine trading. The Paper focuses on the contributions made by Europeans in the growth of maritime trade in Tuticorin. The Portuguese were the first Europeans to establish their presence in Tuticorin in the early 16th century attracted by its advantageous location and its importance in the pearl fishery trade. Later, the Dutch East India Company captured Tuticorin from the Portuguese and developed it into a significant centre for their trade operations in the Indian Ocean. After the decline of the Dutch, the port was under the dominance of British East India Company. Under British rule, the Port witnessed substantial growth as it became a crucial hub for the export of cotton, salt, and other commodities. The Paper highlights the impact of European influence on trade and commerce in Tuticorin. It not only made the port a significant hub for international trade, but it also further included the area into the world economy. Despite the colonial exploitation that accompanied this growth, Tuticorin's evolution during the European period remains a testament to the enduring legacy of global trade networks established centuries ago. The Port's development led to increased economic activity, infrastructure improvements and enhanced connectivity with global markets.

**Keywords**: Tuticorin Port, European Companies, Trade and Commerce, Economic Prosperity, Pearl Fishing, Spice Trading.

## Introduction

### Tuticorin's Strategic Importance in Trade

Tuticorin, located along the southern coast of Tamil Nadu, was a bustling hub of maritime activity, known for its rich natural resources such as pearls, corals and textiles. Its geographical position in the Indian Ocean made it a vital link in trade routes connecting India to Southeast Asia, the Middle East and Europe. The arrival of European powers like the Portuguese, Dutch and British significantly transformed the economic and social landscape of the region,

contributing to its growth as a major commercial port.

**Tuticorin Under Portuguese Influence**

The Portuguese were the first Europeans to recognize the value of Tuticorin's pearling industry and its importance as a maritime center. Arriving in the early 16th century, they quickly established a foothold in the region, monopolizing the pearling trade by signing treaties with local rulers and controlling the revenue from pearling activities. The Portuguese fortified the region and converted several local populations to Christianity, which helped cement their influence. However, their grip on Tuticorin weakened in the 17$^{th}$ century as other European powers, particularly the Dutch, sought to challenge their dominance.

**Tuticorin Under Dutch Control (1658–1825)**

**Dutch Capture of Tuticorin**

In 1658, the Dutch East India Company (VOC) successfully captured Tuticorin from the Portuguese, marking a significant shift in the region's commercial dynamics. The Dutch recognized the strategic importance of Tuticorin not just for pearls but also for its textile production, and they invested heavily in both industries. The Dutch were renowned for their organizational skills and quickly established a structured system of trade, taxation, and revenue collection. Their extensive trade networks spanned from Southeast Asia to Europe, and they linked Tuticorin to their broader colonial empire.

**Expansion of the Textile Trade**

One of the key contributions of the Dutch to Tuticorin's economic growth was their promotion of the textile trade. They set up large-scale procurement centers in Madurai, Tirunelveli, and Thoothukudi, where local weavers produced high-quality cotton fabrics. These textiles were exported primarily to Sri Lanka and Europe, with the Dutch acting as intermediaries between the local producers and the global market. The demand for textiles from Tuticorin was so high that by the mid-17th century, the Dutch were investing hundreds of thousands of florins in cloth procurement.

**Pearling Industry Under the Dutch**

The Dutch further expanded the pearling industry, introducing new techniques in pearl diving and organizing the industry to maximize revenue. They leased the pearling operations to local merchants and introduced strict regulations to ensure efficient collection. Under their rule, the pearling industry flourished, with pearls from Tuticorin reaching markets as far as Indonesia and the Netherlands. The revenue from pearling became a critical source of income for the Dutch East India Company, helping fund their naval and military operations in the region.

**Dutch Trade Networks and Commodities**

In addition to textiles and pearls, the Dutch expanded Tuticorin's trade to include commodities like spices, saltpeter, and elephants. The Dutch maintained strong relationships with local rulers and negotiated favorable

treaties that allowed them to control the trade in these goods. The Dutch also facilitated the movement of elephants from Sri Lanka, which were sold to local and regional rulers for ceremonial and military purposes. This trade network established Tuticorin as a vital port in the VOC's global operations.

**Challenges and Decline**

The Dutch faced several challenges during their control of Tuticorin, including conflicts with the Nayak rulers of Madurai and competition from the British East India Company. The textile industry, in particular, was vulnerable to fluctuations in demand and supply, with famines in the 1670s and 1680s disrupting production and trade. Despite these setbacks, the Dutch managed to maintain control of Tuticorin until the early 19th century, when the British began to assert their dominance in the region.

**Tuticorin Under British Rule (1825 Onwards)**

The British East India Company gained control of Tuticorin in 1825, after defeating the Dutch and integrating the port into their expanding empire. The British recognized Tuticorin's strategic importance, not only for its rich natural resources but also for its potential as a naval base. The port became a key asset in the British trade network, linking it to other British territories in South Asia, Sri Lanka and beyond.

**Infrastructure Development and Economic Expansion**

Under British rule, significant efforts were made to modernize and expand the infrastructure of the port. The British invested in building roads, expanding the harbor, and establishing warehouses and trading posts. These improvements facilitated smoother trade operations, allowing goods to be transported more efficiently across the British Empire. Tuticorin quickly became a central hub for the export of cotton, textiles, and other goods to Europe, particularly during the Industrial Revolution.

**Labor Migration and Colonial Policies**

One of the most significant changes during British rule was the introduction of labor migration. The British brought in laborers from other parts of India, particularly to work in plantations in Sri Lanka and Southeast Asia. These migrants were often indentured servants, and many of them were transported from Tuticorin's port. The British established strict colonial policies that controlled the movement of goods and people, further integrating Tuticorin into their global trade networks.

**Decline of Tuticorin as a Major Trade Hub**

Despite its early success under British rule, Tuticorin's prominence as a major trade hub began to decline towards the end of the 19th century. The rise of other ports along India's east coast, such as Chennai (Madras), and the shift in global trade patterns led to a reduction in the volume of goods passing through Tuticorin. Additionally, the introduction of railways made it easier to transport goods overland, reducing the reliance on coastal ports like Tuticorin.

**Conclusion**

The influence of European powers, particularly the Portuguese, Dutch and British, on the growth of trade and commerce in Tuticorin cannot be overstated. From its early days as a thriving pearling center to its later role as a key textile exporter, Tuticorin's fortunes were closely tied to the activities of these foreign powers. Today, Tuticorin continues to function as a bustling port city, with its rich history of maritime trade serving as a foundation for its ongoing economic activities. The legacies of European colonialism, both positive and negative, are still evident in the infrastructure, industries and cultural dynamics of the region.

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# Time and Transformation: The Historical and Environmental Journey of Hyderabad from Antiquity to Modernity

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**Abstract**

Hyderabad, the capital city of Telangana, stands as a living chronicle of India's cultural evolution and environmental adaptation. The city's history unfolds across four distinct phases, ancient, medieval, modern and contemporary, each contributing to its architectural, social and ecological identity. This study examines Hyderabad's transformation from its prehistoric and medieval foundations under the Qutb Shahi rulers to the Nizam era and its subsequent rise as a modern technological hub. The article explores the intricate linkages between historical development, tourism growth and environmental sustainability. It highlights the importance of balancing urban expansion and heritage conservation while addressing contemporary environmental challenges such as pollution, loss of biodiversity and water degradation. The findings reveal that Hyderabad's future prosperity depends on integrating cultural preservation with ecological resilience through sustainable tourism and responsible governance.

**Keywords:** Hyderabad, heritage, transformation, urbanization, environment, sustainable tourism, history

## Introduction

Hyderabad is more than just a geographical entity; it is a city where the past and present coexist in harmony and tension. Founded in 1591 CE by Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah on the banks of the River Musi, the city emerged as a symbol of cosmopolitanism and architectural excellence. The founder envisioned Hyderabad as a city of learning, culture and commerce, an alternative to the fortified Golconda that had reached its spatial limits. Over time, Hyderabad has grown into one of India's largest metropolises, merging its historic core with modern urban expansions such as Secunderabad, Cyberabad and Financial District.

The city's evolution reflects broader patterns in Indian civilization, from ancient agricultural settlements and medieval Islamic architectural brilliance to modern urbanization and global connectivity. Each period left indelible marks on Hyderabad's cultural and environmental landscape. Yet, this transformation came at an ecological cost. The expansion of industries, real estate and population has placed unprecedented pressure on the city's lakes, green belts and air quality.

This article attempts to trace Hyderabad's journey across time, analyzing how

the forces of history, tourism and modernization have shaped its environment. It aims to bridge the understanding between heritage conservation and environmental sustainability in one of India's most historically rich yet rapidly developing urban centers.

**Objectives**: The primary objectives of this study are to explore Hyderabad's historical development from its ancient and medieval origins to its modern and contemporary transformation. The study further seeks to examine the role of tourism and heritage in shaping the city's socio-cultural identity and contributing to its economic development. It also aims to assess the environmental challenges associated with rapid urbanization, industrialization and population growth, which have significantly affected the city's ecological balance. In addition, the study proposes sustainable strategies for integrating heritage conservation with environmental management within Hyderabad's urban planning framework. Finally, it highlights the crucial role of government initiatives and community participation in promoting eco-tourism, preserving cultural and natural heritage and restoring ecological sustainability for the city's long-term development.

**Results and Discussion**

**1. Ancient and Medieval Foundations**

The area surrounding present-day Hyderabad was historically part of the ancient Deccan plateau civilizations. Archaeological evidence from Kondapur and Kotilingala points to early Satavahana and Vishnukundin settlements, indicating a long history of trade and craftsmanship. The Kakatiya Dynasty (12th–14th centuries CE), centered in nearby Warangal, contributed significantly to irrigation systems, fortifications and temple architecture, legacies that influenced later urban developments.

With the decline of the Bahmani Sultanate, the Qutb Shahi Dynasty (1518–1687 CE) emerged as the ruling power of Golconda. Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah founded Hyderabad with a grand vision of a planned city featuring wide streets, water reservoirs, mosques and markets. The Charminar, constructed at the city's center, symbolized its geometric precision and spiritual intent. The Qutb Shahis also built the Golconda Fort, the Mecca Masjid and the Qutb Shahi Tombs, integrating Persian, Turkish and local architectural styles. These constructions were not only cultural landmarks but also early examples of urban environmental planning, incorporating rainwater harvesting and artificial tanks such as the Hussain Sagar Lake (built in 1562).

**2. Modern Transformation under the Nizams**

After the Mughal conquest in 1687, Hyderabad came under the rule of the Asaf Jahi Dynasty (Nizams of Hyderabad). This period (1724–1948) marked the modernization of the city. The Nizams initiated significant reforms in education, health and infrastructure. Institutions like Osmania University, Osmania General Hospital, High Court, Public Gardens, Jubilee Hall and the State Central Library became landmarks of progressive governance.

The Nizams' administration also prioritized urban water management, building Osman Sagar and Himayat Sagar reservoirs to control flooding after the devastating Musi River flood of 1908. These water bodies still serve as major sources of drinking water, reflecting early attention to environmental sustainability. Architecturally, the Nizam period witnessed a blend of Indo-Saracenic and European styles, visible in palaces such as Chowmahalla, Falaknuma and Purani Haveli. These monuments today stand as major tourist attractions, linking historical heritage with modern tourism. The city's expansion into Secunderabad and other suburbs during British collaboration laid the foundation for its later transformation into a metropolitan region.

**3. Post-Independence and Contemporary Hyderabad**

Following Hyderabad's accession to the Indian Union in 1948, the city entered a phase of industrialization and modernization. The 1960s and 1970s saw the establishment of major industries, defense organizations and public sector enterprises. The creation of Andhra Pradesh (1956) and later Telangana (2014) further redefined its political and economic landscape.

In the 1990s, the introduction of information technology led to the creation of HITEC City, making Hyderabad one of India's leading IT hubs alongside Bengaluru. This economic boom transformed the city's skyline and lifestyle, attracting global investment and tourism. Heritage sites like the Charminar, Golconda Fort, Birla Mandir, Salar Jung Museum and Ramoji Film City became key components of Hyderabad's tourism economy.

However, this rapid modernization came with significant environmental consequences. The city's lakes, once numbering over 700, have declined drastically due to encroachments and pollution. Vehicular emissions and industrial waste have deteriorated air and water quality. The Musi River, once a source of life, has turned into a heavily polluted channel.

**4. Environmental Challenges and Sustainable Initiatives**

The degradation of natural resources is one of Hyderabad's most pressing contemporary issues. The encroachment of water bodies, deforestation in peri-urban zones and increasing waste generation threaten the city's ecological stability. Urban heat islands, reduced groundwater levels and erratic rainfall patterns further compound environmental distress.

Government initiatives such as *Telangana Ku Haritha Haram*, a massive afforestation project, aim to restore green cover across the city and state. The Hyderabad Metropolitan Development Authority (HMDA) has undertaken lake restoration projects at Durgam Cheruvu, Neknampur and Kapra. Moreover, sustainable urban planning measures such as green building codes, solar energy adoption and electric mobility are gaining traction.

In the tourism sector, emphasis is being placed on eco-tourism and heritage preservation. The restoration of the Qutb Shahi Tombs, the adaptive reuse of heritage buildings, and the promotion of cultural festivals such as the Deccan Festival represent efforts to link tourism with sustainability. Non-

governmental organizations and academic institutions are also contributing to environmental education and awareness.

**Conclusion**

Hyderabad's transformation across the centuries embodies a unique synthesis of history, culture and environment. From its ancient settlements and medieval fortifications to its Nizam-era modernization and 21st century technological ascendance, the city represents both continuity and change. Yet, this progress has come with ecological strains that demand urgent attention.

For Hyderabad to maintain its global status and cultural vibrancy, it must embrace sustainable urban planning and environmental stewardship. Protecting its heritage monuments, revitalizing water bodies, reducing pollution and promoting green tourism are essential steps toward achieving a balance between development and conservation. The city's strength lies in its ability to adapt and its future depends on aligning that adaptability with ecological consciousness.

**Epilogue**

This article traced Hyderabad's evolution from ancient times through the medieval Qutb Shahi and Asaf Jahi periods to its modern and contemporary transformation. Each phase contributed to the city's architectural splendor, cultural richness and economic prosperity. However, urban growth and tourism have also created environmental challenges. The analysis emphasized the need for sustainable management strategies that integrate heritage conservation with ecological protection. With proper planning, Hyderabad can serve as a model for other historical cities striving to achieve harmony between modernization and environmental sustainability.

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# Beyond Welfare: The Changing Political Economy of Rural Development in India

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**Abstract**

This article discusses the changing political economy of rural development in India through an analysis of budgetary priorities over the period 2016–17 to 2026–27. It argues that rural development policy is increasingly moving beyond a predominantly welfare-oriented approach towards a more integrated framework that combines social protection with productive public investment, infrastructure development, livelihood diversification, and environmental sustainability. Drawing upon perspectives from political economy and development theory, the article interprets changing expenditure priorities as evidence of an evolving developmental role of the state. It concludes that contemporary rural development is increasingly shaped by the complementarities between welfare, productive investment and long-term rural transformation.

**Keywords:** Political Economy, Rural Development, Public Investment, Rural Transformation, Welfare State.

## 1-Introduction

The role of the state in rural development has undergone significant transformation since the early decades of planned development in India. For much of the post-independence period, public policy was primarily directed towards increasing agricultural production, reducing rural poverty, and expanding access to basic services through public investment and targeted welfare programmes. These interventions played a crucial role in improving food security, generating rural employment, and addressing persistent socio-economic inequalities. Consequently, rural development policy was largely understood through the twin objectives of welfare provision and agricultural development.

Over time, however, the nature of rural development challenges has become considerably more complex. Climate variability, declining farm profitability, demographic transitions, livelihood diversification, resource degradation, and increasing aspirations among rural populations have expanded the scope of public policy beyond conventional welfare interventions. Contemporary development thinking increasingly recognizes that sustained rural transformation requires coordinated investments in agriculture, infrastructure, human capabilities, entrepreneurship, natural resource management, and climate resilience. Accordingly, the role of the state is progressively evolving

from that of a provider of welfare assistance to that of a facilitator of productive, inclusive, and sustainable rural development.

This evolution reflects a broader shift in development economics and public policy. Classical scholars such as Lewis (1954) and Johnston and Mellor (1961) emphasized the importance of agricultural investment in facilitating structural transformation, while Sen's (1999) capability approach broadened the understanding of development by highlighting the significance of expanding people's opportunities and productive capacities. More recent contributions from the World Bank (2007), the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD, 2006), and the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO, 2017) have further advanced the concept of rural transformation by emphasizing integrated public investment that simultaneously promotes productivity, social inclusion, institutional resilience, and environmental sustainability. These perspectives collectively suggest that contemporary rural development is increasingly shaped by the interaction between welfare policies and productive public investment rather than by either approach in isolation.

The changing relationship between welfare and productive investment has important implications for understanding the political economy of rural development. Public expenditure is no longer directed solely towards redistributive objectives but increasingly seeks to create productive assets, strengthen infrastructure, diversify livelihoods, improve market integration, and enhance climate resilience. Consequently, annual budgetary allocations provide valuable insights into the evolving priorities of the state and the changing balance between social protection and long-term development objectives. The Union Budget, therefore, represents more than a fiscal statement; it reflects the broader policy choices through which governments seek to influence the trajectory of rural development.

Although existing studies have extensively analysed rural development programmes, agricultural support policies, and public expenditure, relatively limited attention has been devoted to examining how changing budgetary priorities reflect this broader evolution in the political economy of rural development. Most budget analyses focus on expenditure trends or scheme-specific allocations, whereas fewer studies interpret the composition of public investment as an indicator of changing state priorities and development strategies. This distinction is particularly relevant in the context of the Union Budget 2026–27, where investments across agriculture, infrastructure, livelihoods, and sustainability appear to complement rather than replace conventional welfare interventions.

In this context the present paper discusses how the Budget increasingly integrates these dimensions within a broader strategy of rural transformation.

In doing so, the article argues that the changing composition of public expenditure reflects not the retreat of the welfare state but the emergence of a more integrated development strategy that combines social protection with productive investment, institutional strengthening, and environmental sustainability.

## 2. Political Economy of Rural Development: From Welfare to Integrated Rural Transformation

The evolution of rural development policy is closely intertwined with changing conceptions of the role of the state in economic and social development. Political economy perspectives have long recognized that public policy reflects not merely technical choices about resource allocation but broader ideas regarding the relationship between the state, markets, and society. In the context of rural development, this relationship has evolved from a predominant emphasis on welfare provision and poverty alleviation towards a more integrated strategy that combines social protection with investments aimed at strengthening productive capacity, improving infrastructure, expanding livelihood opportunities, and promoting environmental sustainability. This transition does not imply a withdrawal of the state from rural development; rather, it reflects a redefinition of state intervention in response to changing developmental challenges.

In the early decades after Independence, rural development in India was shaped by the developmental state paradigm, which assigned the state a central role in promoting agricultural modernization, correcting market failures, and reducing regional inequalities. Drawing upon the insights of Lewis (1954) and Johnston and Mellor (1961), public investment in irrigation, agricultural research, rural infrastructure, and institutional development was regarded as essential for raising agricultural productivity and supporting structural transformation. Within this framework, the state functioned not only as a provider of public goods but also as an active agent of economic development, creating the conditions necessary for expanding production, employment, and rural incomes.

From the 1970s onwards, increasing attention was directed towards the distributive dimensions of rural development. Persistent poverty, unequal access to productive assets, and regional disparities led to the expansion of welfare-oriented programmes designed to improve income security, employment, and access to basic services. The capability approach advanced by Sen (1999) and the work of Drèze and Sen (2013) reinforced the importance of public action in expanding people's capabilities through investments in education, healthcare, nutrition, and social protection. Consequently, welfare interventions became an integral component of rural development policy,

reflecting the recognition that economic growth alone was insufficient to ensure equitable development.

More recent political economy debates, however, suggest that the relationship between welfare and development is undergoing important changes. Contemporary development institutions such as the World Bank (2007), the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD, 2006), and the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO, 2017) increasingly emphasize rural transformation as a multidimensional process requiring coordinated public investment across agriculture, infrastructure, livelihoods, institutions, and environmental sustainability. Within this perspective, the state is expected not merely to redistribute resources but also to create the institutional and productive conditions necessary for long-term structural transformation. Productive public investment, human capability formation, market integration, and ecological resilience are therefore viewed as complementary rather than competing objectives of public policy.

These conceptual developments also resonate with broader political economy perspectives on the developmental state. Scholars such as Johnson (1982), Evans (1995), and Kohli (2004) argue that sustained development depends upon a capable state that combines strategic public investment with institutional coordination and long-term developmental planning. Rather than reducing the role of the state, economic transformation requires public institutions that are able to guide investment, address market failures, and create enabling conditions for inclusive growth. From this perspective, the effectiveness of state intervention lies not simply in the volume of public expenditure but in its capacity to generate productive assets, strengthen institutions, and promote broad-based economic opportunities. The central question, therefore, is not whether welfare is giving way to productive investment, but how contemporary fiscal policy is redefining the relationship between social protection, productive investment, and long-term rural transformation. It is this evolving relationship that provides the analytical framework for interpreting the budgetary expenditure pattern in India.

### 3. Reconfiguring State Priorities for Rural Development: Evidence from Budgetary Trends

Annual budgets provide one of the most important instruments through which the developmental priorities of the state are translated into fiscal commitments. Beyond their accounting function, budgetary allocations reflect the relative importance assigned to competing policy objectives and offer insights into the changing orientation of public policy. In the context of rural development, the composition of public expenditure is particularly significant because it reveals how the state balances welfare interventions with investments in agriculture, infrastructure, livelihoods, and environmental sustainability. Examining these

allocations collectively therefore provides a useful basis for understanding whether contemporary fiscal policy reflects an evolving approach to rural development. Against this backdrop, the following section analyses how the expenditure priorities reconfigure the state's developmental role through a more integrated framework of rural transformation.

### 3.1 Agricultural Productivity and Rural Diversification

Agriculture continues to constitute the foundation of India's rural economy and remains central to the process of rural transformation. However, contemporary public investment in agriculture extends beyond the traditional objective of increasing crop production. It increasingly seeks to enhance productivity, promote diversification, strengthen value chains, improve risk management, and create new opportunities for income generation across farm and allied sectors. Within this broader perspective, the Union Budget 2026–27 reflects an investment strategy that recognizes agriculture as a dynamic driver of rural economic transformation rather than merely a source of subsistence and employment.

**Table-1: Budgetary Allocation for Agriculture and Allied Activities, 2016–17 to 2026–27 (Rs. Crore)**

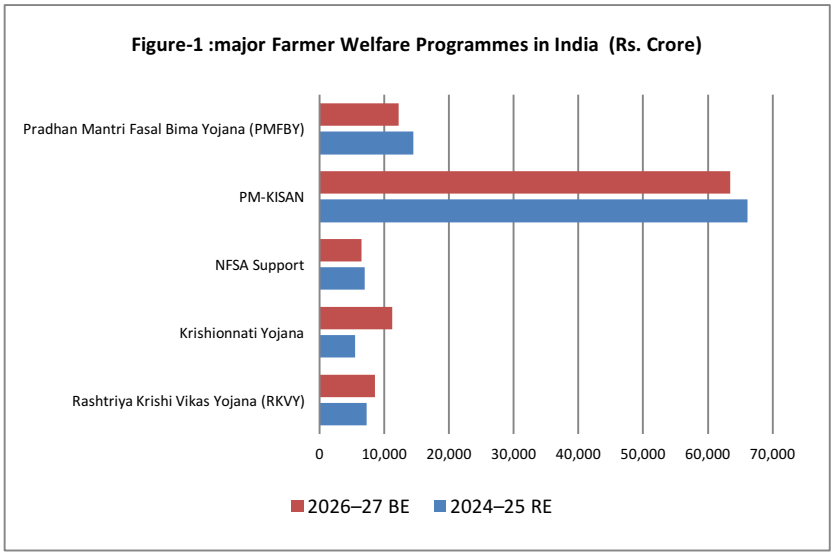
| **Sub-Head (Functional Classification)** | **2016–17 BE** | **2026–27 BE** | **Absolute Increase** | **Percentage Increase (%)** |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Crop Husbandry | 9,430 | 32,500 | 23,070 | 244.6 |
| Animal Husbandry & Dairying | 2,450 | 14,200 | 11,750 | 479.6 |
| Fisheries | 450 | 6,800 | 6,350 | 1,411.1 |
| Agricultural Research & Education | 6,200 | 12,500 | 6,300 | 101.6 |
| Forestry & Wildlife | 1,800 | 5,600 | 3,800 | 211.1 |
| Food Storage & Warehousing | 3,100 | 9,400 | 6,300 | 203.2 |
| Other Allied Services | 24,482 | 81,671 | 57,189 | 233.6 |
| **Total Agriculture & Allied Activities** | **47,912** | **1,62,671** | **1,14,759** | **239.5** |

**Source:** Government of India, *Union Budget 2026–27: Budget at a Glance*; author's compilation.

Table 3.1 demonstrates a substantial expansion in public investment across agriculture and allied activities over the past decade. Total budgetary allocation increased from Rs.47,912 crore in 2016–17 to Rs.1,62,671 crore in

2026–27, representing an increase of **239.5 per cent**. While crop husbandry continues to receive the largest share of investment, the pattern of expenditure indicates a broader strategic orientation towards diversification within the rural economy. Public investment in Animal Husbandry and Dairying has been increased by 479.6 per cent over the period of time. Fisheries recorded the highest proportional increase of **1**,411.1 per cent during the period. Significant increases are also evident in Agricultural Research and Education, Food Storage and Warehousing, and other allied services.

The composition of these allocations is analytically significant because it reflects an investment strategy that extends beyond crop-centric agricultural development. The expansion of expenditure on allied sectors, research, storage infrastructure, and value-chain support indicates an increasing recognition that sustainable improvements in rural incomes require diversified production systems, technological innovation, and stronger post-harvest infrastructure. Such investments contribute to reducing production risks, expanding market opportunities, and enhancing value addition, thereby strengthening the structural foundations of rural transformation.




**Source:** Government of India, Ministry of Finance. *Union Budget 2026–27: Budget at a Glance*. Department of Economic Affairs; author's compilation.

The scheme-wise allocation further reinforces this broader investment orientation. The continued allocation of **Rs.63,500 crore** under ***PM-KISAN*** provides a stable income support mechanism that strengthens household

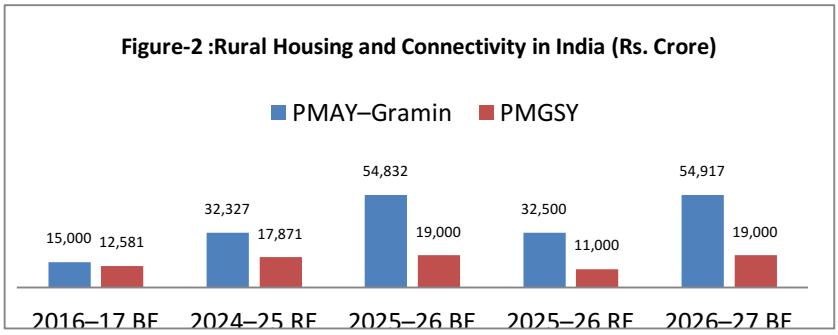
liquidity and supports farm-level investment decisions. At the same time, increased allocations for the ***Rashtriya Krishi Vikas Yojana*** and ***Krishionnati Yojana***, which reaches **Rs.11,200 crore** in 2026–27, indicate sustained emphasis on productivity enhancement, technological modernization, crop diversification, and institutional strengthening. The introduction of dedicated support for High Value Agriculture, although modest in scale, reflects growing policy recognition of diversification towards horticulture, floriculture, and other high-value agricultural activities capable of generating higher farm incomes and greater market integration.

The continued allocation of approximately Rs.12,200 crore under the *Pradhan Mantri Fasal Bima Yojana (PMFBY)* also highlights the importance accorded to agricultural risk management. In the context of increasing climate variability and production uncertainty, crop insurance constitutes an important component of public investment by reducing farmers' exposure to income shocks and strengthening the resilience of agricultural production systems. Similarly, continued support under the National Food Security framework contributes to maintaining food security while complementing broader investments in agricultural productivity.

From the perspective of rural transformation, these investment priorities illustrate an important evolution in agricultural policy. Public investment is no longer confined to increasing agricultural output alone; it increasingly seeks to improve competitiveness, encourage diversification, strengthen value chains, reduce production risks, and enhance farmers' participation in expanding markets. Such an approach recognizes that sustained rural transformation depends upon creating a more productive, diversified, and resilient agricultural economy capable of generating higher incomes and supporting broader structural change within rural areas.

### 3.2 Rural Infrastructure and Human Capability Development

Rural infrastructure constitutes one of the most important forms of productive public investment because it creates the enabling conditions for sustained economic and social development. Beyond improving physical assets, investments in housing, rural connectivity, drinking water, and sanitation strengthen human capabilities by improving health, education, labour productivity, mobility, and access to markets and public services. From a development economics perspective, infrastructure investment therefore generates benefits that extend well beyond immediate asset creation, producing long-term multiplier effects across the rural economy. The Union Budget 2026–27 reflects this broader understanding by according considerable importance to infrastructure as an integral component of rural transformation.




**Source:** Government of India, *Union Budget 2026–27: Budget at a Glance*; author's calculations.

The above figure demonstrates sustained public investment in two of the principal components of rural infrastructure. Budgetary allocation under **Pradhan Mantri Awas Yojana–Gramin (PMAY-G)** increased from **Rs.15,000 crore** in 2016–17 to **Rs.54,917 crore** in 2026–27, representing an increase of **266.1 per cent**. Similarly, the allocation for the **Pradhan Mantri Gram Sadak Yojana (PMGSY)** increased from **Rs.12,581 crore** to **Rs.19,000 crore**, reflecting the continued policy emphasis on strengthening rural connectivity.

The developmental significance of these investments extends beyond improvements in physical infrastructure. Access to adequate housing contributes to improved health outcomes, household security, and social well-being, while rural roads reduce transport costs, improve market integration, facilitate access to educational and healthcare institutions, and encourage the mobility of labour and goods. Infrastructure investment therefore enhances both productive efficiency and human capability formation by expanding the opportunities available to rural households. In this sense, investments in housing and connectivity serve as complementary drivers of rural transformation by strengthening the economic and social foundations of rural development.

**Table-2: Public Investment in Rural Water, Sanitation and Watershed Development (Rs. Crore)**

| Scheme / Sector | Actual 2024–25 | BE 2026–27 | Absolute Change (2024–25 to BE 2026–27) | Percentage Change (%) |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Swachh Bharat Mission–Gramin | 3,211 | 7,192 | 3,981 | 124.0 |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 2. Water, Sanitation and Watershed Schemes (Combined) | 1,24,530 | 2,16,654 | 92,124 | 74.0 |
| 3. Jal Jeevan Mission | 22,612 | 67,670 | 45,058 | 199.3 |
| | | | | |

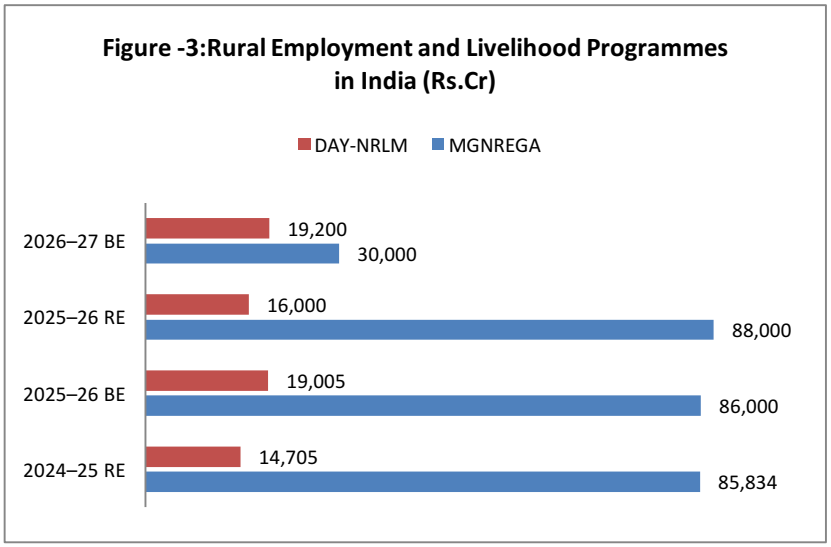
**Source:** Government of India, *Union Budget 2026–27: Budget at a Glance*; author's calculations.

Public investment in water and sanitation has also expanded substantially under the Union Budget 2026–27. The allocation for the ***Jal Jeevan Mission*** increased from **Rs.22,612 crore** in 2024–25 to **Rs.67,670 crore** in 2026–27, representing an increase of approximately **199.3 per cent**, while allocations under the ***Swachh Bharat Mission–Gramin*** more than doubled over the same period. Most notably, the combined allocation for water, sanitation, and watershed-related programmes reached **Rs.2,16,654 crore**, highlighting the strategic importance accorded to improving rural living conditions and strengthening natural resource management.

From the perspective of rural transformation, investments in drinking water, sanitation, and watershed development generate multidimensional developmental benefits. Improved access to safe drinking water reduces the incidence of water-borne diseases and the time burden associated with water collection, particularly for women and children, thereby contributing to better health, educational participation, and labour productivity. Similarly, sanitation infrastructure enhances public health and environmental quality, while watershed investments improve water conservation, groundwater recharge, and the sustainability of agricultural production. These complementary investments strengthen both human development and ecological resilience, reinforcing the long-term foundations of inclusive rural transformation.

### 3.3 Sustainable Livelihoods Opportunities

The creation of sustainable livelihood opportunities constitutes a central objective of rural transformation. While public investment has traditionally supported rural employment through wage-based programmes, contemporary rural development increasingly recognizes that long-term economic transformation requires investments that enhance skills, promote entrepreneurship, strengthen local institutions, and facilitate the expansion of the rural non-farm economy. Consequently, productive livelihoods are increasingly viewed as an important pathway through which public investment contributes to income generation, economic diversification, and




**Source:** Government of India. (2026). *Union Budget 2026–27: Budget at a Glance*. Ministry of Finance, Department of Economic Affairs. Author's compilation.

The expenditure pattern presented in Table 4.5 indicates an important reconfiguration of public investment within the rural livelihood sector. The most notable development is the introduction of the ***Viksit Bharat–Guarantee for Rozgar and Ajeevika Mission (Gramin)*** with an allocation of **Rs.95,692 crore**, making it the largest dedicated programme supporting rural livelihoods in the Union Budget 2026–27. Simultaneously, the allocation for the ***Deendayal Antyodaya Yojana–National Rural Livelihoods Mission (DAY-NRLM)*** increased to **Rs.19,200 crore**, reflecting the continued emphasis on strengthening self-help groups, financial inclusion, women-led enterprises, and community-based institutions. These allocations indicate sustained public investment in programmes designed to expand livelihood opportunities beyond conventional agricultural employment.

The reduction in the budgetary allocation for **MGNREGA** relative to the previous year's Revised Estimates should be interpreted within the broader context of the changing composition of livelihood-related public investment. While MGNREGA continues to remain an important instrument of social protection and employment security, the emergence of large-scale investments in livelihood promotion, entrepreneurship, and enterprise development suggests an increasing policy emphasis on creating productive and sustainable income-generating opportunities alongside wage employment. Rather than

representing mutually exclusive approaches, these interventions may be viewed as complementary components of a broader rural development strategy that combines income security with livelihood enhancement.

From a development economics perspective, investments in productive livelihoods generate benefits that extend beyond immediate employment creation. Skill development, entrepreneurship promotion, access to institutional credit, producer organizations, and rural enterprises contribute to expanding the non-farm rural economy, strengthening local value chains, and improving household resilience against agricultural and climatic shocks. Programmes that encourage enterprise development also facilitate greater participation of women and rural youth in economic activities, thereby contributing to more diversified and inclusive patterns of rural growth. Consequently, public investment in livelihoods performs a dual developmental function by providing economic opportunities while simultaneously strengthening the productive capacity of rural communities.

### 1.4 Ecological Sustainability and Rural Transformation

Ecological sustainability has emerged as an increasingly important dimension of rural development as growing environmental challenges have expanded the developmental responsibilities of the state beyond agricultural production, poverty alleviation, and welfare provision. Climate variability, groundwater depletion, land degradation, declining biodiversity, and increasing pressure on natural resources have underscored the need to integrate ecological concerns within the broader framework of rural development policy. Consequently, contemporary rural transformation increasingly recognizes that sustained improvements in agricultural productivity, livelihood security, and rural well-being depend upon the conservation and sustainable management of natural resources. Public investment in watershed development, renewable energy, natural resource management, and climate-resilient agriculture therefore represents an important dimension of the state's evolving development strategy, reflecting a broader shift towards integrating ecological sustainability with long-term rural transformation.

The evolving expenditure pattern reflects this changing policy orientation. Budgetary allocations for watershed development under the Pradhan Mantri Krishi Sinchayee Yojana (PMKSY) have been maintained at ₹ 2,500 crore in 2026–27, while the allocation for the PM-KUSUM programme has increased from ₹ 2,560 crore in 2024–25 to ₹ 5,000 crore in 2026–27, representing an increase of approximately 95 per cent. Similarly, allocations for Natural Resource Management programmes remain substantial, amounting to ₹ 3,100 crore in 2026–27. Although these allocations constitute a relatively modest share of total rural expenditure, they indicate a growing recognition that investments in ecological restoration, water conservation, renewable energy,

and sustainable resource management are indispensable for enhancing agricultural productivity and strengthening long-term livelihood resilience.

**Table-3: Budgetary Allocation for Ecologically Sustainable Rural Development Programmes (₹ Crore)**

| Programme | Actual 2024–25 | BE 2025–26 | RE 2025–26 | BE 2026–27 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Watershed Development (PMKSY) | 2,491 | 2,505 | 1,500 | 2,500 |
| PM-KUSUM | 2,560 | 2,600 | 5,000 | 5,000 |
| Natural Resource Management | 2,976 | 3,400 | 2,687 | 3,100 |

**Source:** Government of India, Ministry of Finance, *Union Budget: Budget at a Glance* (2024–25 to 2026–27); author's compilation.

From a political economy perspective, these expenditure priorities illustrate an important evolution in the developmental role of the state. Environmental sustainability is no longer treated merely as a conservation objective but is increasingly incorporated within the broader architecture of rural development. Investments in watershed development contribute to improving water availability, enhancing soil productivity, and reducing vulnerability to climatic shocks. Similarly, renewable energy initiatives such as PM-KUSUM strengthen agricultural resilience by promoting energy-efficient irrigation and reducing dependence on conventional energy sources. These interventions generate productive benefits while simultaneously supporting environmental sustainability, thereby blurring the conventional distinction between environmental policy and rural development policy.

The increasing integration of climate resilience within public expenditure also reflects a broader redefinition of state priorities. Traditionally, rural development policy emphasized agricultural production, employment generation, and welfare provision. Contemporary fiscal priorities increasingly recognize that sustaining these objectives requires simultaneous investments in ecological systems that underpin rural production and livelihoods. In this sense, climate-resilient investments should be understood not as supplementary environmental programmes but as productive public investments that safeguard agricultural growth, strengthen livelihood security, and enhance the long-term sustainability of rural development. The growing prominence of such investments therefore signals an important shift in the political economy of rural development, in which environmental resilience has become an essential pillar of the state's developmental strategy rather than an ancillary policy concern.

**Policy Perspectives**

The changing political economy of rural development in India is characterized not by a retreat from welfare but by an expanding role of the state in promoting productive and sustainable rural transformation. The increasing emphasis on agriculture, rural infrastructure, livelihood diversification, and environmental sustainability indicates that public policy is gradually moving towards a more integrated development strategy in which welfare interventions and productive public investment are conceived as complementary rather than competing policy instruments. This evolving orientation has important implications for the future design and implementation of rural development policy.

First, the emerging expenditure priorities underscore the need to strengthen convergence across sectors and institutions. Rural transformation is inherently multidimensional, requiring coordinated investments in agriculture, infrastructure, water resources, housing, livelihoods, education, health, and environmental management. The developmental impact of public investment is therefore likely to be greater when sectoral programmes are designed and implemented within an integrated institutional framework rather than as isolated schemes administered by individual departments. Strengthening inter-ministerial coordination, improving local institutional capacity, and promoting convergence at the state and district levels will be essential for enhancing the effectiveness of public expenditure.

Second, the changing composition of public investment highlights the importance of maintaining an appropriate balance between social protection and productive development. Welfare programmes continue to play a critical role in protecting vulnerable households from economic shocks, climatic risks, and livelihood insecurity. At the same time, investments in agricultural diversification, rural infrastructure, skill development, rural enterprises, and natural resource management are indispensable for expanding productive opportunities and supporting long-term structural transformation. Rural development policy should therefore seek to reinforce the complementarities between welfare and productive investment rather than viewing them as competing approaches to development.

Third, the growing emphasis on climate resilience points to the need for integrating environmental sustainability into the core of rural development strategy. Climate change, water scarcity, land degradation, and increasing resource pressures pose significant challenges to agricultural productivity and rural livelihoods. Consequently, investments in watershed development, renewable energy, sustainable agriculture, and ecosystem restoration should be viewed not simply as environmental interventions but as productive investments that enhance resilience, reduce vulnerability, and improve the long-term sustainability of rural economies.

Finally, the changing political economy of rural development calls for a broader understanding of public investment itself. The developmental significance of public expenditure lies not only in the expansion of fiscal allocations but also in their composition, coherence, and capacity to generate complementary outcomes across economic, social, and ecological dimensions. Future policy should therefore place greater emphasis on improving the quality of public investment through stronger institutions, effective implementation, evidence-based planning, and continuous monitoring of developmental outcomes. Such an approach will enable public investment to function not merely as an instrument of fiscal policy but as a strategic mechanism for advancing inclusive, resilient, and sustainable rural transformation.

**Conclusion**

The analysis presented in this article suggests that rural development in India is undergoing an important transition in its underlying political economy. Rather than reflecting a shift away from welfare, recent budgetary priorities indicate a broader reconfiguration of state intervention in which social protection is increasingly integrated with productive public investment, infrastructure development, livelihood diversification, and environmental sustainability. This evolving orientation reflects a growing recognition that addressing the complex challenges facing rural India requires a development strategy that simultaneously strengthens productive capacity, expands economic opportunities, enhances human capabilities, and promotes ecological resilience.

The changing composition of public expenditure over the past decade illustrates this broader transformation in the developmental role of the state. While welfare programmes continue to remain integral to reducing poverty and protecting vulnerable households, increasing emphasis is being placed on investments that generate durable productive assets, strengthen rural institutions, improve market connectivity, and support long-term structural transformation. The significance of this transition lies not in replacing welfare with development, but in redefining their relationship within a more integrated framework of rural development.

Ultimately, the changing political economy of rural development in India is increasingly characterized by the convergence of welfare and productive development rather than the dominance of one over the other. The long-term success of this evolving approach will depend not only on sustained fiscal commitment but also on the capacity of public institutions to translate these investments into broad-based improvements in productivity, livelihoods, social inclusion, and environmental sustainability. In this respect, the future of rural development will be shaped less by the expansion of public expenditure alone than by the coherence, quality, and developmental effectiveness with

which the state combines welfare, productive investment, and institutional transformation within an integrated and inclusive framework of rural transformation.

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# A Comprehensive ESG Case Study of Hyderabad: Balancing Rapid Urbanization with Sustainable Development

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**Abstract**

This case study examines the Environmental, Social, and Governance (ESG) performance of Hyderabad, India, amidst the challenges of rapid urbanization and sustainable development. The research evaluates the effectiveness of key environmental initiatives, such as the "Green Garland" afforestation program and waste-to-energy projects, in mitigating ecological degradation and enhancing urban livability. It also analyzes the social dimensions of these initiatives, focusing on their impact on vulnerable communities, public health, and social equity. The governance aspect is explored by assessing the institutional frameworks, including the roles of the Greater Hyderabad Municipal Corporation (GHMC) and public-private partnerships (PPPs) in implementing and overseeing ESG strategies. The study hypothesizes that Hyderabad's ESG performance is characterized by a dualistic nature, where ambitious environmental and social initiatives are often counterbalanced by significant governance challenges and implementation gaps. The methodology employs a qualitative, descriptive, and analytical approach based on a comprehensive review of existing literature and secondary data from 2014 to 2024. The findings reveal a paradoxical ESG landscape, with notable successes in afforestation and social programs juxtaposed against governance failures, as exemplified by the Kancha Gachibowli deforestation case. The study highlights the need for stronger inter-agency coordination, enhanced transparency in PPPs, and the integration of social equity into environmental planning. Policy recommendations include establishing an Urban Sustainability Council, mandating ESG reporting for PPPs, enacting an Urban Green Space Protection Act, promoting inclusive green finance, and incorporating social impact assessments into project planning. Future research directions encompass quantitative ESG analysis, community perception studies, comparative PPP model evaluations, the role of technology, and climate change vulnerability assessments.

**Keywords:** Environmental, Social and Governance (ESG), Hyderabad, Sustainable Development, Green Garland, Waste-to-energy, Greater Hyderabad Municipal Corporation (GHMC), Public-Private Partnerships (PPPs)

**Introduction**

India's sixth-largest metropolis, Hyderabad, is growing at a speed few cities in the Global South can match. Between 2001 and 2011 the population rose 87 %; by 2024 it has crossed 11.2 million, while the metropolitan footprint has ballooned to 7,257 km². This vertiginous expansion—fuelled by an information-technology–led services boom that contributes more than US $75 billion to regional GDP—has turned the city into a magnet for domestic and foreign capital. Yet the same velocity has widened social fault-lines, strained ecological carrying-capacity and exposed institutional seams. It is precisely this "compressed development" trajectory that makes Hyderabad an ideal laboratory for interrogating the promise and perils of city-scale Environmental, Social and Governance (ESG) performance. Until recently, ESG was the preserve of listed firms seeking cheaper capital or lower insurance premiums. In India the regulatory arc that began with the 2013 Companies Act and culminated in SEBI's 2023 mandate for Business Responsibility & Sustainability Reporting (BRSR) has forced even mid-cap companies to quantify carbon intensity, board diversity and social impact. Asset-managers such as BlackRock and domestic pension funds now price Indian paper against MSCI or Refinitiv ESG scores; cities that host these firms, in turn, discover that their air-quality dashboards and slum-density maps have become inputs into sovereign bond yields. Hyderabad—home to the country's second-largest cluster of BRSR-filing companies, the world's largest PPP metro project under one roof, and a state government eager to brand itself as "Singapore of India"—has leaned enthusiastically into this new urban competitiveness game. The Greater Hyderabad Municipal Corporation (GHMC) was among the first Indian ULBs to pilot a municipal ESG disclosure aligned with the CWAS–PwC framework; in 2020 the city became the only Indian recipient of the Arbor Day Foundation's "Tree City of the World" accolade; and in 2023 Telangana topped the Centre for Science and Environment's national environmental performance index. However, headline certifications can mislead. Within months of winning the tree-city badge, approximately 400 acres of biodiversity-rich scrub forest in Kancha Gachibowli—an area that buffers the University of Hyderabad campus and supplies crucial ecosystem services to the tech corridor—were quietly de-notified and auctioned for an estimated ₹10,000 crore. The episode, still tied up in litigation, illustrates what we term Hyderabad's "ESG chimera": a dualistic condition where high-visibility environmental and social initiatives coexist with governance failures that threaten to erode long-term resilience. Similar contradictions recur across the city's sustainability portfolio. A 48 MW waste-to-energy plant—India's largest—promises to divert 2,800 t $day^{-1}$ of municipal solid waste from landfills, yet faces community protests over dioxin fears and the loss of livelihoods for 3,500 informal waste-pickers. The World-Bank-financed IPP VIII project has improved maternal and child health outcomes in 450 slum

pockets, but widening intra-urban inequality is reflected in stunting rates that remain twice the city average in the most deprived wards. Meanwhile, 17 overlapping agencies—from GHMC and HMDA to special-purpose vehicles such as Hyderabad Airport Metro Ltd—produce an average 19-month lag for integrated project clearances, underscoring the governance pillar as the weakest link in the ESG chain.

**Research Objectives**

This research paper aims to conduct a comprehensive case study of Hyderabad, India, through the lens of Environmental, Social, and Governance (ESG) performance. The primary objectives are to evaluate the city's multifaceted initiatives in addressing the challenges of rapid urbanization while striving for sustainable development. The study seeks to analyze the effectiveness of key environmental programs, such as the "Green Garland" afforestation drive and waste-to-energy projects, in mitigating ecological degradation and enhancing urban livability. Furthermore, it will examine the social dimensions of these initiatives, focusing on their impact on vulnerable communities, public health, and social equity. The governance aspect will be explored by assessing the institutional frameworks, including the roles of the Greater Hyderabad Municipal Corporation (GHMC) and public-private partnerships (PPPs), in implementing and overseeing these ESG strategies. By synthesizing data from various case studies, official reports, and performance indices, this paper aims to provide a holistic understanding of Hyderabad's ESG journey, identifying its successes, persistent challenges, and the intricate interplay between its environmental, social and governance pillars.

**Research Hypothesis**

The central hypothesis of this research is that Hyderabad's ESG performance is characterized by a dualistic nature, where ambitious, large-scale environmental and social initiatives are often counterbalanced by significant governance challenges and on-the-ground implementation gaps. It is posited that while the city has demonstrated strong leadership in certain areas, such as afforestation and renewable energy adoption, its overall ESG trajectory is constrained by institutional fragmentation, a lack of inter-agency coordination, and the complexities of managing rapid, often unplanned, urban growth. This study hypothesizes that the success of flagship projects, like the "Haritha Haram" program and the GHMC-ReSL waste-to-energy plant, is not uniformly translated into broad-based improvements across all ESG metrics. Specifically, it is expected that social equity and inclusive governance remain areas requiring substantial improvement, as evidenced by persistent urban inequalities and the social sustainability concerns in various neighborhoods. The research will test this hypothesis by critically examining the evidence from diverse case studies and performance data to determine the extent to which governance structures either facilitate or hinder the city's sustainable development goals.

**Methodology and Scope**

The methodology for this case study is primarily qualitative, employing a descriptive and analytical approach based on a comprehensive review of existing literature and secondary data. The scope of the research encompasses an examination of Hyderabad's ESG performance from approximately 2014 to 2024, a period marked by significant policy interventions and urban development projects. Data will be synthesized from a variety of sources, including academic journal articles, government reports, non-governmental organization (NGO) publications, and corporate sustainability reports. Key documents analyzed include the AIPH "Green Garland" case study, the World Bank report on the IPP VIII health project, the Climate Policy Initiative's report on urban green finance, and various sustainability reports from major corporations operating in Hyderabad, such as GMR Airports and Infosys. The analysis will also incorporate findings from state-level performance indices, such as the Care Edge Ratings' Composite State Ranking and the Centre for Science and Environment (CSE) environmental performance report. By triangulating information from these diverse sources, this paper aims to construct a nuanced and evidence-based narrative of Hyderabad's ESG landscape, providing a detailed analysis of its environmental programs, social initiatives, and governance frameworks.

**Literature Review**

**ESG in the Indian Urban Context**

The concept of Environmental, Social, and Governance (ESG) has evolved from a niche corporate responsibility metric to a mainstream framework for assessing the long-term sustainability and ethical impact of investments and operations. In the Indian context, this evolution has been particularly pronounced in the wake of rapid urbanization, increasing environmental degradation, and a growing recognition of the need for sustainable development. While ESG principles were initially applied primarily to the corporate sector, their relevance to urban governance and municipal finance has become increasingly apparent. Indian cities, grappling with the dual pressures of population growth and infrastructure deficits, are now being viewed through the ESG lens to attract investment, improve livability, and ensure resilient growth. This literature review examines the emergence of ESG in India, the development of assessment frameworks for cities, and the role of public-private partnerships in driving urban sustainability.

**The Emergence of ESG in India**

The integration of Environmental, Social, and Governance (ESG) principles into the Indian economic and regulatory landscape has been a gradual but accelerating process. It reflects a broader global shift towards sustainable finance and responsible investment, but with a distinct trajectory shaped by India's unique socio-economic context and policy priorities. The journey began with a focus on corporate social responsibility (CSR) and has since

matured into a more comprehensive ESG ecosystem that now encompasses not only large corporations but also municipalities and urban development projects. This evolution has been marked by a series of key regulatory milestones and the development of market-based instruments designed to incentivize sustainable practices. The growing recognition that long-term value creation is intrinsically linked to a company's or a city's performance on ESG parameters has been a key driver of this change. As India continues to urbanize at a rapid pace, the application of ESG frameworks to cities has become increasingly critical, offering a pathway to address pressing challenges such as environmental degradation, social inequality, and infrastructure deficits.

**National Policies and Regulatory Frameworks**

The formal integration of ESG considerations into India's regulatory framework has been a multi-stage process, marked by significant policy interventions over the past two decades. The journey began in 2008 with the launch of the 'S&P ESG India Index', the first investable index of its kind in the country, which provided a benchmark for companies with strong ESG performance. This was followed by the Ministry of Corporate Affairs' issuance of CSR guidelines in 2009 and the National Voluntary Guidelines (NVGs) on Social, Environmental and Economic Responsibilities of Business in 2011, which laid the groundwork for more structured reporting. A pivotal moment came in 2012 when the Securities and Exchange Board of India (SEBI) mandated that the top 100 listed companies file a Business Responsibility Report (BRR) based on the NVGs, making ESG-related disclosures a regulatory requirement for the first time. The Companies Act of 2013 further solidified this by making CSR mandatory for certain classes of companies, marking a significant step towards embedding social responsibility within corporate governance.

The regulatory landscape continued to evolve with SEBI extending the BRR filing requirement to the top 500 listed companies in 2015 and introducing guidelines for green bonds to facilitate investment in environmentally sustainable projects. The Kotak Committee on Corporate Governance in 2017 recommended further enhancements to governance standards, which influenced subsequent regulations. The most significant recent development has been the introduction of the Business Responsibility and Sustainability Reporting (BRSR) framework. Initially proposed in 2018 and based on the National Guidelines on Responsible Business Conduct (NGRBC) of 2019, the BRSR was made mandatory for the top 1,000 listed companies by market capitalization in 2022, with a 'BRSR Lite' version introduced for voluntary reporting by other entities. In 2023, SEBI further strengthened the ESG regime by mandating the disclosure of 'BRSR Core' metrics, introducing transition scores, and regulating ESG rating providers, signaling a movetowards more standardized, comparable, and reliable ESG data. This timeline of policy

evolution demonstrates a clear and consistent trajectory towards a more robust and comprehensive ESG ecosystem in India.

| Year | Policy / Regulation | Description |
|---|---|---|
| 2008 | S&P ESG India Index | Launch of the first investable ESG index in India |
| 2009 | CSR Guidelines | Issued by the Ministry of Corporate Affairs |
| 2011 | National Voluntary Guidelines (NVGs) | Guidelines on Social, Environmental and Economic Responsibilities of Business |
| 2012 | Business Responsibility Report (BRR) | SEBI mandates filing for top 100 listed companies based on NVGs. |
| 2013 | Companies Act | Mandates CSR for certain classes of companies |
| 2015 | SEBI Regulations | Extends BRR filing to top 500 companies; introduces Green Bond guidelines |
| 2017 | Kotak Committee | Recommends enhancements to corporate governance standards |
| 2019 | NGRBC | National Guidelines on Responsible Business Conduct introduced |
| 2022 | BRSR Mandate | BRSR made mandatory for top 1000 listed companies |
| 2023 | SEBI Mandates | Disclosure of BRSR Core, transition scores, and regulation of ESG rating providers |

**ESG Reporting for Indian Companies**

The evolution of ESG reporting in India reflects a significant shift from voluntary, often qualitative disclosures to a more structured, mandatory, and quantitative framework. The initial phase was characterized by the adoption of the Business Responsibility Report (BRR), which was based on the National Voluntary Guidelines (NVGs) and required companies to report on their performance against a set of nine principles covering various aspects of ESG. However, the BRR was often criticized for its lack of standardization and the qualitative nature of its disclosures, which made it difficult for investors to compare performance across companies. Recognizing these limitations, the Securities and Exchange Board of India (SEBI) introduced the Business Responsibility and Sustainability Reporting (BRSR) framework, which represents a significant leap forward in the quality and comparability of ESG data.

The BRSR framework, which is aligned with the National Guidelines on Responsible Business Conduct (NGRBC), is designed to be more comprehensive and to elicit more specific, quantitative data from companies.

It is structured around a set of core indicators that are mandatory for the top 1,000 listed companies, with a 'BRSR Lite' version available for voluntary adoption by other entities. This new framework is expected to provide investors with more reliable and comparable information, enabling them to make more informed decisions. Furthermore, the introduction of 'BRSR Core' in 2023, which focuses on a set of key performance indicators, and the regulation of ESG rating providers are aimed at enhancing the credibility and consistency of ESG reporting in the Indian market. This move towards a more robust and standardized reporting regime is not only beneficial for investors but also for companies themselves, as it can help them to better identify and manage ESG-related risks and opportunities, and to enhance their reputation and brand value.

**ESG Assessment Frameworks for Indian Cities**

As the ESG paradigm gains traction in the corporate world, its principles are increasingly being applied to the public sector, particularly in the context of urban governance. Indian cities, facing the dual challenges of rapid urbanization and resource constraints, are recognizing the need for a holistic framework to assess their performance on sustainability and social responsibility. This has led to the development of ESG assessment frameworks specifically designed for Urban Local Bodies (ULBs). These frameworks aim to provide a comprehensive evaluation of a city's performance across the three pillars of ESG, going beyond traditional financial metrics to include a wide range of indicators related to environmental quality, social equity, and governance effectiveness. The goal is to not only identify areas for improvement but also to build the credentials of cities to attract a new class of investors who are focused on sustainability outcomes. By adopting such frameworks, cities can enhance their transparency, accountability, and overall livability, while also unlocking new sources of capital for green infrastructure and other sustainable development projects.

**The CWAS-PwC Framework for Municipal ESG Assessment**

In response to the growing need for a standardized approach to assessing the sustainability performance of Indian cities, the Centre for Water and Sanitation (CWAS) at CRDF, CEPT University, in collaboration with PwC India, has developed a comprehensive ESG assessment framework for municipalities. This framework is designed to provide a holistic evaluation of a city's performance across the three pillars of ESG, taking into account the unique challenges and opportunities of the Indian urban context. The development of the framework involved a thorough review of a range of national and international frameworks to identify common themes and best practices, which were then adapted to the specific needs of Indian cities. The resulting framework includes a set of indicators that are aligned with global development goals, such as the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), as well as national commitments and the core functions mandated for local

governments in India.

A key feature of the CWAS-PwC framework is its reliance on publicly available data from various nationally agreed-upon assessment programs, such as the Service Level Benchmarking (SLB), Ease of Living Index, SwachhSurvekshan, Good Governance Index, and Municipal Performance Index. This approach not only ensures the credibility and comparability of the data but also leverages the wealth of information that is already being collected by various government agencies. The framework is designed to be a practical tool for city governments, helping them to identify improvement opportunities, build their credentials to attract a diverse range of investors, and link with a new source of capital that is focused on ESG outcomes and sustainability. Beyond its role in facilitating access to finance, the ESG assessment framework also serves as a mechanism for municipal governments to report back to citizens on how they are addressing the challenges of climate change, inclusion, and development, thereby enhancing transparency and accountability.

**Comparative Analysis of Urban Sustainability Indices**

The development of the CWAS-PwC ESG framework for Indian cities is part of a broader global trend towards the use of standardized indices to measure and compare the sustainability performance of urban areas. Cities around the world are increasingly being assessed on a wide range of indicators, from environmental quality and social equity to economic resilience and governance effectiveness. These indices serve a variety of purposes, from providing a benchmark for policymakers to guiding investment decisions and raising public awareness. In the Indian context, a number of different indices are already in use, each with its own specific focus and methodology. These include the Service Level Benchmarking (SLB) for water and sanitation services, the Swachh Survekshan for cleanliness, the Ease of Living Index for overall quality of life, and the Municipal Performance Index for governance.

While these indices provide valuable insights into specific aspects of urban performance, they are often limited in scope and do not offer a holistic view of a city's sustainability. The CWAS-PwC ESG framework aims to address this gap by integrating the various indicators from these existing indices into a single, comprehensive framework that covers all three pillars of ESG. This approach allows for a more nuanced and multi-dimensional assessment of a city's performance, highlighting the interconnections between different aspects of sustainability. For example, a city's performance on environmental indicators, such as air quality and waste management, can have a direct impact on its social indicators, such as public health and quality of life. Similarly, the effectiveness of a city's governance structures can influence its ability to implement policies and programs that address both environmental and social challenges. By providing a more integrated and holistic assessment, the ESG framework can help cities to develop more effective and sustainable

development strategies.

**The Role of Public-Private Partnerships (PPPs) in Urban ESG**

Public-Private Partnerships (PPPs) have emerged as a critical mechanism for financing and implementing sustainable urban development projects in India. As cities face increasing pressure to address environmental and social challenges with limited public resources, PPPs offer a way to leverage the expertise, technology, and capital of the private sector. This collaborative approach is particularly relevant in the context of ESG, as it can help to ensure that projects are not only financially viable but also environmentally sound and socially inclusive. By bringing together the public sector's mandate for public welfare with the private sector's drive for efficiency and innovation, PPPs can be a powerful tool for advancing the ESG agenda in urban areas. The success of a PPP, however, depends on a number of factors, including a clear and transparent governance framework, a fair allocation of risks and rewards, and a strong commitment from all partners to the project's ESG objectives.

The application of PPPs in the urban ESG space is diverse, ranging from large-scale infrastructure projects, such as metro rail systems and waste-to-energy plants, to smaller-scale initiatives, such as urban plantation drives and community-based sanitation programs. In each of these cases, the PPP model can be tailored to the specific needs and context of the project. For example, in a waste-to-energy project, the private partner might be responsible for designing, building, and operating the plant, while the public partner might provide the land and guarantee a steady supply of waste. In an urban plantation drive, a non-profit organization might partner with a corporate entity to fund and implement the project, with the local government providing support in terms of land and logistics. The key to success in all these cases is a shared vision and a collaborative approach that ensures that the project's ESG benefits are realized for all stakeholders.

**Environmental (E) Performance: A Tale of Two Initiatives**

The environmental performance of Hyderabad presents a complex and often contradictory narrative, emblematic of the challenges faced by rapidly urbanizing cities in the developing world. On one hand, the city has launched ambitious greening and sustainability programs that have garnered national and international recognition. On the other, it grapples with severe environmental degradation driven by unchecked real estate expansion and industrial growth. This duality is best understood through a detailed examination of two distinct yet interconnected phenomena: the large-scale deforestation in ecologically sensitive areas like Kancha Gachibowli, which highlights the "E" in ESG from a risk and mismanagement perspective, and the city's proactive "Green Garland" initiative, which showcases its commitment to environmental restoration and climate resilience. Together, these cases provide a holistic view of Hyderabad's environmental trajectory, revealing the constant tension between developmental pressures and

ecological preservation. The city's experience underscores the critical need for robust governance frameworks that can effectively balance economic ambitions with the imperative of long-term environmental sustainability, a core tenet of the ESG paradigm.

**Environmental Challenges: The Case of Kancha Gachibowli Deforestation**

The deforestation of the Kancha Gachibowli forest stands as a stark case study of the environmental costs associated with Hyderabad's rapid economic expansion. This incident is not an isolated event but rather a manifestation of a systemic conflict between the city's developmental agenda and its ecological limits. The case brings to the forefront critical issues of land use, biodiversity loss, and governance failures, serving as a microcosm of the broader environmental challenges confronting urban centers across India. The controversy surrounding the clearing of this forested land for commercial purposes has sparked widespread debate, pitting government authorities against academic institutions and environmental activists. It highlights the urgent need for a more integrated and sustainable approach to urban planning, one that recognizes the intrinsic value of urban green spaces and the vital ecosystem services they provide. The Kancha Gachibowli case thus serves as a critical lens through which to examine the "Environmental" pillar of ESG in Hyderabad, revealing the significant risks and negative impacts that can arise when economic considerations are prioritized over environmental stewardship.

**Drivers of Deforestation: Real Estate and IT Sector Growth**

The primary driver behind the deforestation of the Kancha Gachibowli forest is the Telangana government's strategic push to bolster Hyderabad's position as a leading Information Technology (IT) hub. The government's plan to auction approximately 400 acres of this land for an estimated ₹ 10,000 crore is a clear indication of the high economic value placed on real estate development in the city's burgeoning tech corridor. This move is aligned with a broader vision to create a "Global City" that can attract multinational corporations and foster economic growth. However, this ambition has come at a significant environmental cost. The targeted land is identified as ecologically sensitive, and its conversion for commercial use represents a direct trade-off between economic development and ecological preservation. The high demand for commercial and residential spaces in Hyderabad, fueled by the IT sector's expansion, has created immense pressure on the city's remaining green spaces. This case exemplifies a recurring pattern in urban development, where the economic rationale for land use often supersedes environmental considerations, leading to the irreversible loss of valuable ecosystems. The government's justification for the deforestation is rooted in the perceived economic benefits, including job creation and increased revenue, but it fails to account for the long-term environmental and social costs associated with such

actions.

**Ecological Impact and Biodiversity Loss**

The deforestation of the Kancha Gachibowli area is not merely a loss of trees; it represents a significant blow to the local ecosystem and biodiversity. The area, once a thriving forest, served as a crucial habitat for a variety of flora and fauna, including several species of birds, reptiles, and mammals. The clearing of this land has resulted in the direct destruction of this habitat, leading to a loss of biodiversity and disrupting the delicate ecological balance of the region. Urban forests like Kancha Gachibowli play a vital role in providing essential ecosystem services. They act as green lungs for the city, absorbing carbon dioxide and other pollutants from the air and releasing oxygen. They also help to mitigate the urban heat island effect, a phenomenon where urban areas experience significantly higher temperatures than their rural surroundings due to the concentration of buildings and asphalt. The loss of this green cover will not only exacerbate air pollution and increase local temperatures but also disrupt the local water cycle, leading to a decline in the water table and an increased risk of flooding. The destruction of this ecologically sensitive area is a stark reminder of the far-reaching consequences of environmental degradation and the urgent need for a more holistic approach to urban planning that values and protects the natural environment.

**Governance Conflicts: Land Ownership and Legal Disputes**

The deforestation of Kancha Gachibowli is further complicated by a contentious dispute over land ownership, which highlights significant governance challenges and a lack of transparency in the decision-making process. The Telangana government has asserted its legal right to the 400-acre parcel, citing a transfer of ownership that occurred in 2004 and was reaffirmed in 2006. Crucially, the government claims that official revenue records do not classify the land as a forest, a designation that would have triggered stricter environmental regulations and public consultation requirements. This assertion of legal ownership and non-forest status appears to be a strategic move to circumvent environmental clearances and mitigate public opposition. However, these claims are strongly contested by the University of Hyderabad (UoH), which is located adjacent to the disputed land. The university has refuted the government's claim that a joint land survey was conducted with its consent, clarifying that only a preliminary inspection took place and that the university never formally agreed to any land demarcation. This conflicting narrative points to a breakdown in communication and a lack of consensus among key stakeholders. The Chief Minister's office has further escalated the situation by warning that any challenge to the government's ownership would be considered contempt of court, a move that has been criticized for stifling dissent and undermining democratic processes. This governance conflict underscores the urgent need for greater transparency, stakeholder engagement, and adherence to due process in urban land management decisions.

**Environmental Initiatives: The "Green Garland" and Haritha Haram Program**

In stark contrast to the environmental degradation seen in cases like Kancha Gachibowli, Hyderabad has also embarked on ambitious greening initiatives aimed at enhancing its environmental sustainability and climate resilience. The "Green Garland to the State of Telangana" program, a key component of the larger "Haritha Haram" (Green Garland) afforestation drive launched by the Government of Telangana, represents a significant effort to increase the city's green cover and mitigate the adverse effects of urbanization. This initiative is a proactive response to the growing recognition of the importance of urban green spaces for public health, biodiversity, and climate regulation. The program involves large-scale tree planting across various parts of the city, including roadside avenues, urban lung spaces, and colony streets. The selection of plant species is carefully considered to ensure their suitability to the local climate and soil conditions, with a focus on hardy, native varieties that can thrive in the urban environment. This initiative reflects a shift towards a more ecosystem-centered approach to urban development, acknowledging the critical role that green infrastructure plays in creating a livable and sustainable city. The "Green Garland" program is a testament to the city's potential to address its environmental challenges through concerted and well-planned interventions.

**Objectives and Implementation of Afforestation Programs**

The primary objective of the "Green Garland" afforestation program in Hyderabad is to counteract the environmental stress caused by rapid urbanization, industrialization, and overpopulation by significantly increasing the city's green cover. The initiative aims to create a more balanced urban ecosystem by developing green infrastructure that can improve air quality, mitigate the urban heat island effect, and enhance biodiversity. The implementation of the program is a multi-faceted process that involves careful planning and execution. A key aspect of the initiative is the extensive roadside avenue plantations, which have been carried out over a length of 881.5 km, involving the planting of 3,727,805 seedlings. The selection of tree species is a critical component of the program, with a preference for hardy, native varieties that are resistant to the harsh urban environment, including air pollution. Species such as Azadirachtaindica(Neem), Ficusreligiosa (Peepal), and Ficusbenghalensis (Banyan) have been planted to ensure their survival and long-term ecological benefits. In addition to roadside plantations, the program also focuses on creating and enhancing urban lung spaces, such as parks and gardens, by planting a mix of top canopy trees, ornamental plants, and flowering shrubs. The use of recycled water from sewage treatment plants for watering these plantations and the application of organic manure derived from urban solid waste further underscore the program's commitment to sustainable resource management.

**Impact on Urban Green Cover and Air Quality**

The afforestation programs in Hyderabad have had a significant and measurable impact on the city's urban green cover and air quality. The "Green Garland" initiative, in particular, has been successful in increasing the city's tree cover, with millions of saplings being planted across the city in recent years. This has led to a noticeable improvement in the city's green spaces, with the creation of new parks, tree parks, and urban lung spaces. The increase in green cover has also had a positive impact on the city's air quality, with trees acting as natural air filters, absorbing pollutants such as particulate matter, nitrogen dioxide, and sulfur dioxide. Studies have shown that areas with a higher density of trees tend to have lower levels of air pollution, and the afforestation programs in Hyderabad are expected to have a similar effect.

In addition to improving air quality, the increase in green cover has also had a number of other benefits for the city's residents. The creation of new green spaces has provided much-needed recreational areas for people to relax and exercise, which has a positive impact on their physical and mental health. The green spaces also help to reduce the urban heat island effect, which can lead to lower energy consumption for cooling buildings. Furthermore, the afforestation programs have created new business opportunities, with the development of eateries and other recreational facilities near the new parks and green spaces. The increase in property values in areas surrounding the new green pockets is another indicator of the positive impact of these programs on the city's overall livability and economic vitality.

**Recognition as a "Tree City of the World"**

The success and commitment demonstrated by Hyderabad's afforestation efforts have garnered international recognition. In 2020, Hyderabad became the only city in India to be recognized by the Arbor Day Foundation as a "Tree City of the World". This prestigious designation is awarded to cities that meet five core standards: establishing responsibility for the care of trees, setting rules and policies to manage the urban forest, maintaining an updated inventory of the urban tree resource, allocating resources for tree management, and celebrating the benefits of trees with the community. This recognition is a testament to the city's systematic and dedicated approach to urban forestry. It acknowledges the efforts of the GHMC and other local bodies in not just planting trees but also in ensuring their long-term survival and maintenance. The "Tree City of the World" status serves as a powerful endorsement of Hyderabad's environmental policies and enhances its global reputation as a city committed to sustainability and green living. This accolade also provides a platform for the city to share its best practices and learn from other leading cities in urban forestry, further strengthening its environmental initiatives.

**Renewable Energy and Green Buildings**

In addition to its large-scale afforestation programs, the city of Hyderabad has also been actively promoting the adoption of renewable energy and green

buildings as part of its broader strategy to enhance its environmental performance. The city has set ambitious targets for increasing its share of renewable energy, with a particular focus on solar power. The state government of Telangana has implemented a number of policies and incentives to encourage the installation of rooftop solar panels on residential and commercial buildings, and the city of Hyderabad has been a major beneficiary of these initiatives. The city has also been working to improve the energy efficiency of its public infrastructure, with a major project to replace conventional streetlights with energy-efficient LED lights. These initiatives are not only helping to reduce the city's carbon footprint but also to lower its energy costs and to create a more sustainable and resilient urban energy system.

The promotion of green buildings is another key component of Hyderabad's environmental strategy. The city has adopted green building codes and standards, such as the Green Rating for Integrated Habitat Assessment (GRIHA) and the Leadership in Energy and Environmental Design (LEED), which provide a framework for designing and constructing buildings that are environmentally sustainable and resource-efficient. The city has also been offering a number of incentives to developers and building owners who adopt these standards, including fast-track approvals and tax breaks. As a result of these initiatives, the number of green buildings in Hyderabad has been growing rapidly, with a number of high-profile projects, such as the Suzlon One Earth building in Pune, serving as models for sustainable design and construction. These buildings are not only more environmentally friendly but also more cost-effective to operate and more comfortable for their occupants.

**Solar Energy Programs and LED Streetlight Initiatives**

The promotion of renewable energy and energy efficiency has been a key focus of the government of Telangana, and Hyderabad has been a major beneficiary of these efforts. The Telangana State Renewable Energy Development Corporation (TSREDCO) has been at the forefront of these initiatives, launching a number of programs to promote the adoption of solar energy and energy-efficient technologies. One of the most significant of these initiatives has been the installation of LED streetlights across the city, which has not only reduced energy consumption but has also improved the quality of street lighting. The Greater Hyderabad Municipal Corporation (GHMC) has also played a key role in these efforts, developing an online city-wide compliance system for the Energy Conservation Building Code (ECBC). In addition to these public sector initiatives, a number of private sector companies have also been active in promoting renewable energy and energy efficiency in Hyderabad. For example, Infosys, a leading IT company, has installed a 160 KW solar power plant at its campus in Shankarpally, and has also implemented a number of other green initiatives, including a waste converter plant and rainwater harvesting ponds. The company has also been recognized for its

efforts to reduce embodied carbon in its buildings, with its Hyderabad campus being a pilot site for a number of material optimization strategies.

**Green Building Codes and Certifications (GRIHA, LEED)**

The adoption of green building codes and certifications, such as the Green Rating for Integrated Habitat Assessment (GRIHA) and the Leadership in Energy and Environmental Design (LEED), has been a key driver of the growth of the green building market in Hyderabad. These certification systems provide a comprehensive framework for assessing the environmental performance of buildings, covering a wide range of criteria, including energy efficiency, water conservation, waste management, and the use of sustainable materials. The Telangana government has been proactive in promoting the adoption of these standards, with the state government introducing the Telangana Energy Conservation Building Code (ECBC), which sets minimum requirements for the energy-efficient design and construction of buildings. The code is applicable to all new commercial buildings in the state and is a key component of the government's strategy to reduce the energy consumption of the building sector.

In addition to the mandatory ECBC, a number of other green building rating systems, such as LEED and GRIHA, are also widely used in Hyderabad. These rating systems provide a voluntary framework for developers and building owners to go beyond the minimum requirements of the code and to achieve a higher level of environmental performance. A number of high-profile projects in Hyderabad have achieved green building certifications, including the GRIET campus, which has been recognized for its sustainable design and construction. The Infosys campus in Hyderabad has also been a leader in this area, with a number of its buildings achieving LEED certification. The company's commitment to green buildings is reflected in its ESG report, which states that all new developments are designed to achieve the highest level of LEED certifications. The growing number of green buildings in Hyderabad is a testament to the city's commitment to sustainable development and is a key factor in its efforts to create a more livable and resilient urban environment.

**Social (S) Performance: Addressing Urban Inequities**

The social performance of a city is a critical component of its overall ESG profile, reflecting its ability to provide a high quality of life for all its residents, regardless of their socioeconomic status. In the case of Hyderabad, the city's rapid economic growth has been accompanied by a number of social challenges, including rising inequality, inadequate access to basic services, and social exclusion. However, the city has also been a site of numerous social innovations and initiatives, aimed at addressing these challenges and creating a more inclusive and equitable urban society. This section examines two key aspects of Hyderabad's social performance: the social initiatives in urban slums, which focus on improving the health and well-being of the urban poor, and the social impact of environmental projects, which highlights the

interconnectedness of environmental and social outcomes. By analyzing these two areas, we can gain a deeper understanding of the social dynamics of Hyderabad and the potential for a more socially just and sustainable urban future.

**Social Initiatives in Urban Slums**

Urban slums are a ubiquitous feature of many Indian cities, and Hyderabad is no exception. These informal settlements are often characterized by poor living conditions, inadequate access to basic services, and high levels of poverty and social exclusion. However, they are also vibrant communities with a strong sense of social cohesion and a wealth of local knowledge and resources. In recent years, there has been a growing recognition of the need to address the challenges of urban slums, not through demolition and resettlement, but through in-situ upgrading and community-led development. This approach is based on the principle of empowering slum dwellers to improve their own living conditions, with the support of government and non-governmental organizations. This section examines a number of social initiatives in urban slums in Hyderabad, focusing on their impact on health outcomes, social well-being, and community empowerment.

**The World Bank IPP VIII Project: Maternal and Child Health**

The World Bank's Integrated Child Development Services (ICDS) Project, also known as the IPP VIII Project, has been a major initiative aimed at improving the health and nutrition of women and children in urban slums in Hyderabad. The project has focused on a range of interventions, including the provision of supplementary nutrition, immunization, and health check-ups for pregnant and lactating women and children under the age of six. The project has also focused on improving the quality of early childhood education and care, with the establishment of new anganwadi centers and the training of anganwadi workers. The project has been implemented in close collaboration with the state government and local NGOs, and it has had a significant positive impact on the health and well-being of women and children in the target communities. The project has helped to reduce the incidence of malnutrition and anemia among women and children, and it has also improved the rates of immunization and institutional deliveries.

**Role of NGOs and Community Participation**

Non-governmental organizations (NGOs) have played a crucial role in the implementation of social initiatives in urban slums in Hyderabad. NGOs have been involved in a wide range of activities, from providing basic services such as healthcare and education to advocating for the rights of slum dwellers and empowering them to participate in the decision-making process. NGOs have also been instrumental in mobilizing community participation, which is a key principle of the in-situ upgrading approach. Community participation has taken many forms, from the formation of self-help groups and community-based organizations to the involvement of slum dwellers in the planning and

implementation of development projects. The active involvement of the community has not only ensured that the initiatives are more responsive to the needs of the people, but it has also helped to build social capital and to empower slum dwellers to take control of their own lives.

**Impact on Health Outcomes and Social Well-being**

The social initiatives in urban slums in Hyderabad have had a significant positive impact on the health outcomes and social well-being of the residents. The IPP VIII Project, for example, has led to a measurable improvement in the health of women and children in the target communities. The project has helped to reduce the incidence of malnutrition and anemia, and it has also improved the rates of immunization and institutional deliveries. The project has also had a positive impact on the social well-being of the community, by empowering women and by creating a sense of community ownership and responsibility. The involvement of NGOs and the active participation of the community have been key factors in the success of these initiatives. By working together, the government, NGOs, and the community have been able to create a more supportive and enabling environment for the residents of urban slums, which has led to a significant improvement in their quality of life.

**Social Impact of Environmental Projects**

Environmental projects, while primarily aimed at improving the natural environment, can also have a significant social impact, both positive and negative. In Hyderabad, the social impact of environmental projects has been a key consideration in their planning and implementation. One of the most notable examples of this is the city's waste-to-energy project, which has not only helped to address the problem of municipal solid waste but has also created new opportunities for employment and community engagement. The project, which is being implemented by the Greater Hyderabad Municipal Corporation (GHMC) in partnership with a private sector company, has the capacity to generate 24 megawatts of electricity from waste, making it one of the largest such projects in the country. In addition to its environmental benefits, the project has also created jobs for local residents and has provided a source of income for waste pickers and other informal sector workers.

Another example of the social impact of environmental projects is the restoration of the Neknampur lake in Hyderabad. The lake, which was once heavily polluted, has been restored through a community-led initiative that involved desilting, phytoremediation, and bioremediation. The project has not only improved the water quality of the lake but has also created a new public space for recreation and has enhanced the biodiversity of the area. The project has been recognized by the NITI Aayog as one of the best examples of lake restoration in the country, and it has become a model for other such projects in the city. These examples demonstrate that environmental projects can be a powerful tool for social development, creating jobs, improving public health, and enhancing the quality of life for all residents.

**Job Creation and Community Engagement in the Waste-to-Energy Project**

The waste-to-energy project in Hyderabad, a key component of the city's circular economy strategy, has had a significant social impact by creating jobs and engaging the local community. The project involves the collection, segregation, and processing of municipal solid waste to generate energy, thereby addressing the dual challenges of waste management and energy security. The implementation of this project has created a range of employment opportunities, from waste collection and segregation to plant operation and maintenance. This has provided a source of livelihood for many people, particularly those from economically disadvantaged backgrounds. The project has also involved the local community in its operations, with initiatives to promote waste segregation at the source and raise awareness about the importance of recycling. This community engagement has not only improved the efficiency of the waste management system but has also fostered a sense of ownership and responsibility among the residents. The waste-to-energy project is a good example of how environmental initiatives can be designed to deliver both ecological and social benefits, contributing to a more sustainable and inclusive urban economy.

**Social Vulnerability to Environmental Degradation**

While environmental initiatives have brought many benefits, it is also important to recognize that the impacts of environmental degradation are often felt most acutely by the most vulnerable sections of society. In Hyderabad, as in many other cities, the urban poor and marginalized communities are often disproportionately affected by problems such as air and water pollution, lack of access to clean water and sanitation, and the impacts of climate change. For example, residents of informal settlements are more likely to live in areas that are prone to flooding or are located near polluting industries. They may also have limited access to healthcare, making them more vulnerable to the health impacts of environmental pollution. Therefore, it is crucial that ESG initiatives in the city are designed with a strong focus on social equity and justice. This means ensuring that the benefits of environmental improvements are shared by all, and that the voices of vulnerable communities are heard in the decision-making process. A truly sustainable city is one that is not only environmentally sound but also socially just and inclusive.

**Governance (G) Performance: Institutional Frameworks and Challenges**

The governance performance of Hyderabad, as viewed through an ESG lens, is characterized by a complex interplay of institutional frameworks, public-private partnerships, and persistent challenges in transparency and accountability. The city's governance structure is primarily managed by key bodies such as the Greater Hyderabad Municipal Corporation (GHMC) and the Hyderabad Metropolitan Development Authority (HMDA), which are responsible for urban planning, infrastructure development, and service

delivery. However, the effectiveness of these institutions is often hampered by issues of inter-agency coordination, overlapping mandates, and a lack of citizen participation in decision-making processes. In recent years, there has been a growing trend towards leveraging Public-Private Partnerships (PPPs) as a model for financing and implementing sustainable urban initiatives. While PPPs have the potential to bring in much-needed private capital and expertise, they also raise concerns about governance, particularly regarding transparency, accountability, and the equitable distribution of benefits. The governance of green finance and sustainable urban planning is another critical area where Hyderabad faces significant challenges. The successful implementation of large-scale projects like the Hyderabad Metro Rail, which is positioned as a green mobility solution, depends on robust governance frameworks that can ensure their long-term sustainability and effectiveness. The city's governance performance, therefore, presents a mixed picture, with both innovative approaches and persistent shortcomings that need to be addressed to enhance its overall ESG profile.

**Key Governance Bodies: GHMC and HMDA**

The governance of Hyderabad's urban environment is primarily managed by two key statutory bodies: the Greater Hyderabad Municipal Corporation (GHMC) and the Hyderabad Metropolitan Development Authority (HMDA). The GHMC is responsible for the civic administration of the core city area, which spans approximately 650 square kilometers. Its mandate includes a wide range of urban services, such as waste management, water supply, sanitation, road maintenance, and the development of urban green spaces. The GHMC plays a crucial role in implementing various environmental and social initiatives at the city level, including the "Haritha Haram" afforestation program and the waste-to-energy project. The HMDA, on the other hand, has a broader mandate that extends beyond the GHMC limits to the entire metropolitan region, covering an area of 7,257 square kilometers. The HMDA is responsible for strategic planning and the coordinated development of the metropolitan area, including the regulation of land use, the development of major infrastructure projects, and the preservation of the region's natural resources. The distinct yet overlapping mandates of these two bodies are intended to ensure both localized service delivery and strategic regional planning.

**Mandates and Responsibilities in Urban Management**

The Greater Hyderabad Municipal Corporation (GHMC) and the Hyderabad Metropolitan Development Authority (HMDA) have distinct but overlapping roles in the governance of Hyderabad. The GHMC, as the city's municipal corporation, is at the forefront of implementing environmental and social programs. Its responsibilities include solid waste management, sanitation, the maintenance of public spaces, and the implementation of urban greening initiatives like the Haritha Haram program. The HMDA, with its metropolitan-

wide jurisdiction, is responsible for long-term strategic planning, including the preparation of the master plan for the region, regulating land use, and overseeing the development of large-scale infrastructure projects. For example, the HMDA was instrumental in developing the Environmental Building Guidelines (EBRG) to promote green construction. While this division of labor is intended to ensure both operational efficiency and strategic coherence, in practice, it can lead to challenges in coordination. The success of many ESG initiatives, such as the development of sustainable transport systems or the creation of green corridors, requires seamless collaboration between the GHMC's operational capacity and the HMDA's strategic planning authority.

**Inter-Agency Coordination and Overlapping Mandates**

Despite the clear division of responsibilities on paper, the governance of Hyderabad is often characterized by challenges related to inter-agency coordination and overlapping mandates. The existence of multiple administrative bodies, including the central government, the state government, the GHMC, and the HMDA, can lead to a complex and sometimes fragmented decision-making process. This can result in delays in project implementation, a lack of synergy between different initiatives, and a diffusion of accountability. For example, while the GHMC is responsible for waste management within the city, the development of large-scale infrastructure like the Hyderabad Metro Rail involves multiple agencies, including the state government and special purpose vehicles like the Hyderabad Airport Metro Rail (HAML) . This case study highlights a clear need for more institutional clarity and better inter-agency coordination to effectively address the city's complex urban challenges. The lack of a unified command and control structure can hinder the development of a holistic and integrated approach to urban sustainability, where environmental, social, and governance considerations are seamlessly woven into all aspects of city planning and management.

**Public-Private Partnerships (PPPs) as a Governance Model**

Public-Private Partnerships (PPPs) have emerged as a significant governance model in Hyderabad for financing and implementing sustainable urban development projects. This approach is seen as a way to bridge the funding gap for large-scale infrastructure projects by leveraging private sector capital and expertise, while retaining public oversight. PPPs are increasingly being used to address critical urban challenges in areas such as waste management, renewable energy, and transportation. The underlying principle of this model is to create a synergy between the public and private sectors, where the government provides the policy framework and regulatory support, and the private sector brings in the financial resources, technical know-how, and operational efficiency. However, the adoption of PPPs as a governance model is not without its challenges. There are concerns about the potential for

governance gaps, including issues of transparency, accountability, and the risk of overemphasizing financial returns at the expense of social and environmental objectives. The success of PPPs in advancing Hyderabad's ESG goals depends on the development of robust governance frameworks that can ensure that these partnerships are structured and managed in a way that aligns with the principles of sustainability and equitable development.

**The GHMC-ReSL Waste-to-Energy Project: A Case Study**

The Public-Private Partnership between the Greater Hyderabad Municipal Corporation (GHMC) and Re Sustainability Ltd (ReSL) for the Jawaharnagar Waste-to-Energy (WtE) project serves as a prominent case study of this governance model in action. This project, which processes 2,800 tonnes of municipal solid waste daily to generate 48 MW of power, is a significant initiative aimed at addressing the city's waste management challenges while also contributing to its renewable energy goals. The PPP model has been instrumental in mobilizing the necessary funds for this large-scale project, with ReSL attracting a private investment of ₹ 800 crore for its expansion. The project is designed to deliver multiple benefits, including environmental gains through waste diversion from landfills, social benefits such as job creation, and financial viability through the sale of power generated from waste. The case study of the GHMC-ReSLWtE project highlights the potential of PPPs to drive sustainable development by combining public oversight with private sector efficiency and capital. However, it also brings to light the governance challenges associated with such partnerships. The project has faced community protests, which underscore the importance of effective stakeholder engagement and transparent communication in the planning and implementation of PPP projects. The case study suggests that while PPPs can be a powerful tool for sustainable financing, their long-term success depends on addressing governance gaps and ensuring that they are aligned with the broader social and environmental objectives of the community.

**Financing and Implementation of Sustainable Initiatives**

The financing and implementation of sustainable initiatives in Hyderabad have been significantly bolstered by the adoption of the Public-Private Partnership (PPP) model. This governance approach has enabled the city to leverage private sector capital and expertise to undertake large-scale projects that would have been difficult to finance and implement through public funds alone. The waste-to-energy project, for example, was made possible through a PPP arrangement that attracted significant private investment, demonstrating the viability of this model for funding critical urban infrastructure. The PPP model has also been instrumental in the development of the Hyderabad Metro Rail, one of the world's largest PPP metro projects, which has brought in private sector efficiency and innovation in the design, construction, and operation of the system. These examples highlight the potential of PPPs to accelerate the implementation of sustainable initiatives by overcoming the financial and

technical constraints that often limit the public sector. However, the success of this model depends on a clear and transparent governance framework that ensures a fair allocation of risks and rewards between the public and private partners, and that prioritizes the long-term public interest over short-term financial gains.

**Transparency and Accountability in PPPs**

While Public-Private Partnerships (PPPs) offer a promising model for financing sustainable urban development, they also raise significant concerns about transparency and accountability, as highlighted by the case of the GHMC-ReSL Waste-to-Energy project. The study of this project reveals that despite its potential benefits, there are governance gaps that need to be addressed to strengthen the sustainability impact of PPPs. One of the key challenges is the risk of overemphasizing financial returns, which can lead to a neglect of social and environmental considerations. The community protests against the WtE project are a clear indication of the potential for social friction when the concerns of local stakeholders are not adequately addressed. To mitigate these risks, the study recommends enhanced transparency and the adoption of integrated ESG-financial reporting for PPP projects. This would involve disclosing not only the financial performance of the project but also its environmental and social impacts, allowing for a more comprehensive assessment of its overall sustainability. Furthermore, there is a need for greater public participation in the decision-making process, from the initial planning stages to the ongoing monitoring and evaluation of PPP projects. By fostering a more open and accountable governance framework, Hyderabad can ensure that its PPPs are not only financially viable but also contribute positively to its long-term ESG goals.

**Green Finance and Sustainable Urban Planning**

Green finance and sustainable urban planning are two key pillars of Hyderabad's efforts to address climate change and promote sustainable development. The city has been a pioneer in the use of green finance mechanisms, such as green bonds, to fund a range of environmental projects, including renewable energy, sustainable transportation, and waste management. Hyderabad has also been at the forefront of sustainable urban planning, with a number of innovative projects aimed at creating a more livable and resilient city. However, the city also faces a number of challenges in these areas, including the need for greater institutional capacity and a more integrated approach to planning and financing.

**The Hyderabad Metro Rail as a Green Mobility Project**

The Hyderabad Metro Rail is one of the most significant sustainable transportation projects in India, and a key example of the city's commitment to green mobility. The project is one of the world's largest public-private partnership (PPP) metro projects, and has been designed with a number of green features, including a rainwater harvesting scheme that recycles 100,000

liters of water per day and the use of eco-friendly chemicals for housekeeping. The project is also expected to have a significant impact on the city's environment, with an estimated reduction of 10,000 tons of CO2 and 200 tons of volatile organic compounds over a period of time. The development of the Hyderabad Metro Rail is a clear example of how green finance can be used to fund large-scale sustainable infrastructure projects. The project has received significant investment from both public and private sources, and is expected to serve as a model for other cities in India and around the world.

**Governance Challenges in Urban Green Finance**

Despite the success of projects like the Hyderabad Metro Rail, the city still faces a number of governance challenges in the area of urban green finance. One of the key challenges is the lack of a clear and integrated approach to planning and financing. The complex and multi-layered nature of the governance structure can make it difficult to coordinate the efforts of different agencies and to ensure that green finance is directed to the most pressing environmental priorities. The CPI report on urban green finance in Hyderabad and Kolkata highlights the need for a more systematic and comprehensive assessment of the current levels of urban green finance, in order to identify investment gaps and explore opportunities for mobilizing new resources. The report also notes the need for greater institutional clarity and inter-agency coordination to address urban challenges. Another key challenge is the lack of data and information on the flow of green finance. A number of national and state policies, schemes, and missions provide strategic guidance for cities pursuing climate action, but there is a need for better data collection and harmonization to track progress on their implementation.

**Comparative Analysis and Benchmarking**

A comparative analysis of Hyderabad's ESG performance provides valuable insights into its strengths and weaknesses, and helps to identify areas for improvement. By benchmarking the city's performance against other cities in India and the Asia-Pacific region, it is possible to gain a better understanding of its relative position and to learn from the experiences of others. This section will provide a comparative analysis of Hyderabad's ESG performance, drawing on a range of data and information from various sources.

**Hyderabad's Performance in the APAC Sustainability Index**

The Asia Pacific Sustainability Index, developed by Knight Frank, provides a useful benchmark for assessing the sustainability of cities in the region. The index evaluates cities based on a range of criteria, including urbanization pressure, climate risk, carbon emissions, and government initiatives. In the 2021 index, Hyderabad was ranked 18th in the Asia-Pacific region, and was placed in the "Silver" category. This indicates that the city is advanced and open to accepting and adapting to ESG metrics from all stakeholders to a limited degree. While this is a respectable performance, it also suggests that there is room for improvement, particularly in comparison to other cities in the

region.

**Ranking and Score Analysis**

In the 2021 Asia Pacific Sustainability Index, Hyderabad was ranked 18th out of 36 cities in the region. The city was placed in the "Silver" category, which indicates that it is advanced and open to accepting and adapting to ESG metrics from all stakeholders to a limited degree. The index evaluates cities based on a range of criteria, including urbanization pressure, climate risk, carbon emissions, and government initiatives. While the specific scores for Hyderabad in each of these categories are not publicly available, the overall ranking and category provide a useful indication of the city's performance. The "Silver" category suggests that while Hyderabad has made some progress in addressing sustainability challenges, there is still a significant gap between its current performance and the performance of the leading cities in the region.

**Comparison with Other Indian Cities (Bengaluru, Delhi, Mumbai)**

In the 2021 Asia Pacific Sustainability Index, four Indian cities—Bengaluru, Delhi, Hyderabad, and Mumbai—were ranked among the top 20 sustainable cities in the region. Bengaluru was the top-ranked Indian city, achieving a "Gold" standard category and a rank of 14th in the region. Delhi was ranked 17th, Hyderabad was ranked 18th, and Mumbai was ranked 20th, all in the "Silver" category. This indicates that while all four cities have made some progress in addressing sustainability challenges, Bengaluru is ahead of the other three in terms of its overall performance. The "Gold" category for Bengaluru suggests that the city is slightly advanced and somewhat open to accepting and adapting to ESG metrics from all stakeholders to a certain degree. The "Silver" category for Hyderabad, Delhi, and Mumbai suggests that these cities are advanced and open to accepting and adapting to ESG metrics from all stakeholders to a limited degree. The comparison with other Indian cities provides a useful benchmark for assessing Hyderabad's performance and identifying areas for improvement.

**State-Level Performance: Telangana's Environmental Policies**

The environmental performance of Hyderabad is closely linked to the environmental policies of the state of Telangana. As the capital of the state, Hyderabad is often the focus of state-level environmental initiatives, and the city's performance is a reflection of the state's overall commitment to environmental sustainability. The following sections will examine the state-level performance of Telangana in the "State of Environment" report and the impact of state-level policies on Hyderabad's ESG performance.

**CSE's "State of Environment" Report: Telangana's Top Ranking**

In the "State of India's Environment 2023" report, released by the Centre for Science and Environment (CSE), Telangana was ranked as the top-performing state in terms of overall environmental performance. The state received a score of 7.213 out of 10, which was the highest among all the states in the country. The report noted that the state's performance was particularly strong in the

areas of forest cover and municipal waste treatment, which are key components of the 'Environmental' pillar of ESG. The report highlighted the success of the state's "Haritha Haram" afforestation program, which has led to a significant increase in the state's forest cover. The report also noted the state's efforts to improve municipal waste management, including the implementation of a waste-to-energy project in Hyderabad. The report's findings suggest that the state of Telangana has a strong and effective environmental policy framework, which has enabled it to achieve a high level of environmental performance. The report's findings also suggest that the state's environmental policies are having a positive impact on the environmental performance of Hyderabad.

**Impact of State-Level Policies on Hyderabad's ESG Performance**

The strong environmental performance of Telangana at the state level has had a direct and positive impact on the ESG performance of Hyderabad. The state's "Haritha Haram" afforestation program, for example, has been a major contributor to the increase in the city's green cover, which has in turn led to an improvement in air quality and a reduction in the urban heat island effect. The state's focus on improving municipal waste management has also benefited the city, with the implementation of the waste-to-energy project helping to address the problem of solid waste disposal. The state's commitment to renewable energy has also had a positive impact on the city, with a number of solar power projects being implemented in and around Hyderabad. The state's strong environmental policies have created a supportive policy environment for the city to pursue its own sustainability goals. The city's ESG performance is therefore not just a reflection of its own initiatives, but also a reflection of the broader policy framework of the state of Telangana.

**Summary of Key Findings**

This comprehensive ESG case study of Hyderabad reveals a city at a critical juncture in its development trajectory. The research confirms the central hypothesis that Hyderabad's ESG performance is characterized by a significant paradox. On one hand, the city has demonstrated remarkable success in implementing large-scale, high-profile environmental and social initiatives. The "Green Garland" afforestation program has earned it international acclaim as a "Tree City of the World" and has led to a measurable increase in green cover and a decrease in air pollution. Similarly, social programs like the World Bank-supported IPP VIII project have made significant strides in improving maternal and child health in underserved urban slums. On the other hand, these successes are often undermined by deep-seated governance challenges. The case of the Kancha Gachibowli deforestation starkly illustrates the conflict between developmental pressures and environmental preservation, highlighting governance failures and a lack of transparency. Furthermore, the city's complex institutional landscape, with overlapping mandates between the GHMC, HMDA, and other state agencies, often leads to a lack of coordination

and accountability, hindering the effective implementation of integrated sustainability strategies. While Public-Private Partnerships (PPPs) have emerged as a key governance model for financing critical infrastructure like the waste-to-energy plant and the Hyderabad Metro Rail, they also raise concerns about transparency, stakeholder engagement, and the equitable distribution of benefits. In essence, Hyderabad's ESG journey is a tale of two cities: one that is proactive and ambitious in its sustainability projects, and another that is constrained by systemic governance weaknesses that threaten to undermine its long-term resilience and equitable development.

**Policy Recommendations for Enhancing ESG Performance**

Based on the findings of this study, the following policy recommendations are proposed to enhance Hyderabad's overall ESG performance and address the identified governance gaps:

1. Strengthen Inter-Agency Coordination: Establish a high-level, cross-departmental Urban Sustainability Council chaired by the Chief Minister or a designated Chief Sustainability Officer. This council should be tasked with developing an integrated, city-wide ESG strategy, resolving jurisdictional disputes between the GHMC, HMDA, and other relevant agencies, and ensuring that all major urban development projects are aligned with the city's long-term sustainability goals.
2. Enhance Transparency and Accountability in PPPs: Mandate the adoption of a standardized, integrated ESG-financial reporting framework for all Public-Private Partnerships. This should include clear, measurable social and environmental Key Performance Indicators (KPIs) alongside financial metrics. Furthermore, establish a mandatory and meaningful public consultation process for all PPP projects before their approval, ensuring that the concerns of local communities are heard and addressed.
3. Protect and Expand Urban Green Spaces: Enact a stringent Urban Green Space Protection Act that legally designates and protects all remaining ecologically sensitive areas, such as the Kancha Gachibowli forest, from encroachment and development. This act should be based on a comprehensive, scientific assessment of the city's green cover and should include provisions for creating new green corridors and urban forests to connect fragmented habitats.
4. Promote Inclusive Green Finance: Develop a dedicated Green Finance Strategy for Hyderabad that goes beyond large-scale infrastructure. This strategy should include mechanisms to channel green finance towards community-led projects, such as lake restoration and urban farming, and should provide incentives for small and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs) to adopt sustainable practices. The city should also work with the state government to create a clear and consistent regulatory framework for green finance to attract more investment.

5. Integrate Social Equity into Environmental Planning: Ensure that all environmental and infrastructure projects incorporate a robust Social Impact Assessment (SIA) as a mandatory component of the planning process. The SIA should identify potential negative social consequences, such as displacement or increased inequality, and propose concrete mitigation measures. The goal should be to ensure that the benefits of sustainability initiatives are distributed equitably across all segments of the population, with a particular focus on vulnerable communities.

**Future Research Directions**

This study provides a foundational analysis of Hyderabad's ESG performance, but several areas warrant further in-depth research to build a more nuanced understanding of the city's sustainability challenges and opportunities. Future research could focus on the following areas:

1. Quantitative Analysis of ESG Performance: Conduct a longitudinal, quantitative analysis of the city's ESG performance using data from the BRSR reports of companies operating in Hyderabad, as well as data from urban sustainability indices. This would allow for a more rigorous assessment of trends and the impact of specific policies over time.
2. Community Perceptions of ESG Initiatives: Undertake a comprehensive survey and qualitative study to understand the perceptions and experiences of citizens, particularly those in vulnerable communities, regarding the city's ESG initiatives. This would provide valuable insights into the social acceptance and on-the-ground effectiveness of projects like the waste-to-energy plant and the metro rail.
3. Comparative Analysis of PPP Models: Conduct a comparative analysis of different PPP models used in Hyderabad for sustainable infrastructure projects. This research could identify best practices in governance, risk allocation, and stakeholder engagement, and could provide a framework for designing more effective and equitable PPPs in the future.
4. The Role of Technology in Urban ESG: Investigate the role of emerging technologies, such as smart city solutions, IoT sensors, and data analytics, in enhancing the city's ESG performance. This research could explore how technology can be used to improve environmental monitoring, optimize resource management, and enhance citizen participation in governance.
5. Impact of Climate Change on Urban Vulnerability: Conduct a detailed vulnerability assessment of different neighborhoods in Hyderabad to understand how climate change impacts, such as heat waves and urban flooding, affect various social groups differently. This research would be crucial for developing targeted adaptation and resilience strategies that are socially just and effective.

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# Demonetization and Digital Banking Transitions: A Study of Customer and Employee Experiences in Hyderabad's Major Banks

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**Abstract**

This study investigates the impact of demonetization on banking behavior, service delivery, and technological adoption in Hyderabad, with a focus on four major banks: HDFC Bank, ICICI Bank, State Bank of India (SBI) and Canara Bank. By analyzing the experiences of 240 respondents, comprising both customers and bank employees, the research offers a comprehensive view of how financial institutions and their stakeholders navigated the challenges posed by demonetization. The findings reveal a significant shift from traditional banking instruments such as ATMs and branch banking to digital platforms like UPI, mobile banking and net banking. While younger and educated respondents adapted swiftly to these changes, concerns over security, transaction errors and app usability persisted. Bank employees demonstrated resilience in maintaining service standards despite increased workloads. The study also highlights the economic vulnerability of low-income groups and the need for inclusive financial policies. Through a mixed-method approach combining primary surveys and secondary data analysis, the research contributes to understanding the socio-economic implications of monetary reform and offers practical recommendations for enhancing banking accessibility, trust and technological integration.

**Keywords:** Demonetization; Digital Banking; Customer Behavior; Financial Inclusion; Banking Services

## Introduction

The Indian banking sector has undergone a series of transformative shifts over the past decade, driven by policy reforms, technological advancements and evolving consumer expectations. Among these, the demonetization initiative announced by the Government of India on November 8, 2016, stands out as a watershed moment that redefined the contours of financial transactions, institutional operations, and public engagement with the banking system. The sudden invalidation of ₹ 500 and ₹ 1,000 currency notes, constituting nearly 86% of the currency in circulation (Kohli, 2022) triggered a nationwide recalibration of cash-based practices and accelerated the adoption of digital banking instruments (S. Kumar & Saha, 2025). While the macroeconomic implications of demonetization have been widely debated (Chattopadhyay, 2019), its micro-level impact on banking institutions and their stakeholders remains a fertile ground for empirical inquiry.

This study is situated within that context, focusing specifically on the banking landscape of Hyderabad city, a dynamic urban center and financial hub in the state of Telangana. Hyderabad's diverse population, robust commercial activity, and technological infrastructure make it an ideal setting to examine the operational responses and behavioral adaptations triggered by demonetization. The research centers on four major banks, HDFC Bank, ICICI Bank, State Bank of India (SBI), and Canara Bank, each representing distinct institutional models and service philosophies. By analyzing the experiences of both customers and bank employees, the study aims to provide a comprehensive understanding of how demonetization influenced banking practices, service delivery, and public perception. The rationale for selecting these four banks lies in their prominence and accessibility within Hyderabad's financial ecosystem. SBI and Canara Bank, as public sector entities, offer insights into government-led banking operations, while HDFC and ICICI, as private sector leaders, reflect market-driven approaches to customer engagement and technological innovation (N. Kumar et al., 2000). This dual representation enables a comparative analysis of institutional resilience, adaptability and service quality during a period of economic disruption. Moreover, the inclusion of both customers and employees as respondents allows for a multidimensional exploration of the demonetization phenomenon, capturing not only the external experiences of service users but also the internal challenges faced by frontline staff.

The study adopts a purposive sampling method, selecting 240 respondents across eight branches of the four banks. Each bank contributed 60 respondents, 30 customers and 15 employees, ensuring a balanced and representative sample. Data was collected through structured online questionnaires tailored to each respondent group, capturing demographic details, banking behavior, technological usage and opinions on demonetization. Secondary data sources, including RBI reports, bank publications, academic journals and media articles, were also consulted to contextualize the findings and support the analysis.

Demonetization, as a policy intervention (Mohan & Ray, 2019), was intended to curb black money, counterfeit currency, and corruption, while promoting a cashless economy (Y. Kim et al., 2022). However, its implementation posed significant logistical and psychological challenges for both institutions and individuals (Bose, 2019). Banks were inundated with cash deposits, withdrawal requests, and customer grievances, placing immense pressure on infrastructure and personnel. Customers, particularly those unfamiliar with digital tools, faced difficulties in accessing funds, conducting transactions, and adapting to new modes of payment (Putrevu&Mertzanis, 2024). These disruptions were especially pronounced in urban centers like Hyderabad, where the pace of life and financial interdependence demanded swift and

efficient banking services.

The transition from cash to digital platforms was one of the most visible outcomes of demonetization (Manocha et al., 2019). Tools such as Unified Payments Interface (UPI), mobile banking, net banking, and digital wallets gained traction as alternatives to physical currency(Vidani, 2024). While younger, educated and tech-savvy individuals adapted quickly, others, especially senior citizens, low-income groups and those with limited digital literacy, struggled to navigate the new financial terrain. This digital divide underscores the need for inclusive banking policies that accommodate diverse user capabilities and ensure equitable access to financial services (Ghosh & Bhatia, 2025).

Bank employees, as the operational backbone of the financial system, played a critical role during the demonetization phase. Their ability to manage customer flow, resolve grievances, and maintain service standards was instrumental in sustaining public trust (Brewer, 2007). However, the increased workload, emotional stress, and infrastructural constraints also exposed vulnerabilities in institutional preparedness (Yang &Holzer, 2006). Understanding their experiences provides valuable insights into the human dimension of policy implementation and highlights areas for organizational improvement.

Hyderabad's banking sector, with its blend of public and private institutions, offers a microcosm of India's broader financial landscape. The city's rapid urbanization, entrepreneurial spirit, and digital infrastructure make it a compelling site for studying the interplay between policy, technology and public behavior. By focusing on this locale, the study contributes to regional scholarship and offers practical recommendations for enhancing banking services in similar urban contexts.

The significance of this research extends beyond academic inquiry. In an era marked by financial volatility, technological disruption and policy experimentation, understanding the lived experiences of banking stakeholders is crucial for designing responsive and resilient systems. The findings of this study can inform policymakers, banking professionals, and civil society actors seeking to improve service delivery, promote financial inclusion and prepare for future economic transitions (Bheenaveni et al., 2025). Moreover, the study adds to the growing body of literature on demonetization, offering empirical evidence and grounded analysis that complement macroeconomic assessments.

**Objectives and Importance of the Study**

The present study aims to critically examine the operational dynamics, performance indicators, and customer service standards of four major banking institutions in Hyderabad, namely HDFC Bank, ICICI Bank, State Bank of India (SBI), and Canara Bank. Situated within the broader context of

demonetization, the research seeks to understand how these banks navigated the challenges posed by this economic reform and how their customers and employees responded to the shifting financial landscape. By categorizing respondents into two distinct groups, bank customers and bank employees, the study endeavors to capture a holistic view of the demonetization phenomenon, encompassing both service delivery and user experience.

The importance of this study lies in its dual focus: it not only evaluates institutional performance but also foregrounds the lived experiences of individuals interacting with the banking system during a period of significant disruption. Hyderabad, as a rapidly growing urban center and financial hub in Telangana (Anjaneyulu& Rao, 2024), provides a fertile ground for such inquiry. The selected banks represent a mix of public and private sector institutions, offering comparative insights into their adaptability, technological integration and customer engagement strategies.

This research is particularly relevant in the post-demonetization era, where digital banking has gained prominence, yet challenges persist in terms of accessibility, trust and infrastructure. By analyzing the perceptions of both customers and employees, the study identifies gaps in service delivery, barriers to digital adoption and areas for policy intervention. It contributes to the broader discourse on financial inclusion, institutional resilience and the socio-economic impact of monetary reforms. Furthermore, the findings offer practical recommendations for enhancing banking services, improving customer satisfaction, and strengthening institutional preparedness for future economic transitions. In essence, this study serves as a valuable resource for policymakers, banking professionals and scholars seeking to understand and improve the intersection of economic policy and public experience.

**Materials and Methods**

To investigate the implications of demonetization on banking operations and stakeholder experiences, the study adopted a purposive sampling method. The state of Telangana was initially selected as the geographical focus, with Hyderabad district chosen for its urban density and financial activity. Four major banks, HDFC Bank, ICICI Bank, SBI, and Canara Bank, were identified for data collection. From each bank, two branches were selected, and a total of 240 respondents were surveyed, comprising 60 individuals per bank. This included 30 customers and 15 employees from each branch, maintaining a 15:60 ratio to ensure balanced representation.

Primary data was collected through structured online questionnaires tailored separately for customers and employees. These instruments captured demographic details, banking behavior, perceptions of service quality and views on demonetization. Secondary data was sourced from RBI financial reports, bank publications, academic journals, newspapers, websites and blogs to contextualize and support the primary findings.

The collected data was systematically classified and tabulated using descriptive statistics such as percentages and ratios. Graphical representations, including bar charts, pie diagrams and line graphs, were employed to enhance clarity and interpretability. This methodological framework enabled a comprehensive and nuanced analysis of the study's objectives.

**Results**

The study encompassed a total sample of 240 individuals. Gender-wise distribution revealed a significant predominance of male respondents, with 179 individuals constituting 74.6% of the sample, while female participants accounted for 61 individuals, representing 25.4%. This gender disparity indicates a male-majority sample, which may reflect broader demographic or occupational trends within the surveyed population.

Age-wise analysis showed that the majority of respondents (175 individuals or 72.9%) belonged to the 18–30 age group, followed by 51 respondents (21.3%) in the 31–45 age bracket. Only 14 individuals (5.8%) were aged between 46–60 years. This distribution suggests that younger adults were more actively engaged or accessible during the data collection process, possibly due to their higher mobility and digital literacy.

In terms of religious affiliation, the sample was predominantly Hindu, with 222 respondents (92.5%) identifying with Hinduism. A smaller proportion comprised Muslims (5.8%) and Christians (1.7%), indicating a relatively homogeneous religious composition reflective of regional demographics.

Educational qualifications among respondents were notably high. Graduates formed the largest group with 86 individuals, followed by 42 respondents holding research degrees. Secondary school education was reported by 18 individuals, while only three had completed 10+2 education, and one respondent had primary school education. This data underscores the academic strength of the sample, suggesting that the majority were well-educated and potentially more informed about financial and technological systems.

Occupational analysis revealed that private sector employees constituted the largest segment, with 70 respondents (29.2%). Social workers followed closely at 24.2%, while businesspersons accounted for 16.3%. Government employees comprised 15.4%, and self-employed individuals represented 15% of the sample. This occupational diversity reflects a broad spectrum of professional engagement, with a notable tilt toward private employment and social service.

Income-wise, a substantial majority of respondents (183 individuals or 76.3%) reported annual earnings below ₹ 5 lakhs. Another 16.2% earned between ₹ 6–10 lakhs, while 5.4% fell within the ₹ 11–15 lakh range. Only 2.1% of respondents reported annual incomes exceeding ₹ 15 lakhs. These figures suggest that the sample predominantly comprises middle- and lower-income groups, which may influence their financial behavior and perceptions of economic policy.

Regarding perceptions of demonetization, the responses were varied. Half of the respondents (117 individuals or 48.8%) believed that demonetization had a negative impact on the economy. In contrast, 65 individuals (27%) viewed the impact positively, and 58 respondents (24.2%) remained neutral. This distribution highlights a critical divide in public opinion, with a significant portion expressing skepticism about the policy's effectiveness.

Bank visit frequency before demonetization revealed that 100 respondents (41.7%) visited their bank once a month, 51 (21.3%) visited weekly, 45 (18.8%) visited once every six months, and 44 (18.3%) visited annually. Post-demonetization, the monthly visit rate slightly increased to 103 respondents (42.9%), while annual visits rose to 55 (22.9%). Weekly visits declined to 24 (10%), and half-yearly visits increased to 58 (24.2%). These shifts suggest a moderate change in banking behavior, possibly influenced by digital alternatives and evolving transaction habits.

Concerns regarding e-banking were prominent among respondents. Sixty individuals expressed apprehension about security risks, while 52 cited delays as a deterrent. Network issues affected 50 respondents, and 43 reported frequent transaction errors. Additionally, 35 individuals found banking apps to be user-unfriendly. These findings indicate persistent barriers to digital banking adoption, despite its growing prevalence.

In terms of transaction modes post-demonetization, 103 respondents (43%) primarily used debit and credit cards, followed by net banking (21%), Paytm/UPI (20%), mobile banking (10%), cryptocurrency (4%), and online trading (2%). Before demonetization, however, UPI was the dominant mode for 133 respondents (55%), followed by net banking and mobile banking (15% each), cryptocurrency (6%), debit and credit cards (3%), and online trading (3%). This contrast illustrates a significant shift in transaction preferences, with UPI emerging as a preferred tool post-demonetization.

Respondents' evaluation of bank employee services remained consistent across both periods. Before demonetization, 80% rated the service as good or very good, while 20% found it unsatisfactory. The same proportions were observed after demonetization, suggesting that service quality remained stable despite systemic changes. This consistency may reflect institutional resilience and adaptability in customer service delivery.

When asked about the reasons for adopting new banking technologies, 43% of respondents cited time-saving benefits and the ability to complete transactions without visiting the bank. An additional 30% emphasized overall time efficiency, while 15% noted reduced transaction time. Seventeen percent highlighted cost-effectiveness and technological advancement as motivating factors. These responses affirm the growing acceptance of digital banking, driven by convenience and efficiency.

Prior to demonetization, 88 respondents (37%) fulfilled their banking needs primarily through ATMs, followed by 79 individuals using branch banking. Cash transactions were preferred by 11%, while mobile and internet banking each accounted for 8%. Only 2% used UPI. Post-demonetization, however, UPI usage surged to 40% (97 respondents), followed by mobile banking (51), internet banking (35), branch banking (28), ATM usage (22), and cash transactions (2%). This dramatic shift underscores the transformative impact of demonetization on banking behavior, with digital platforms gaining prominence over traditional methods.

**Discussion**

The findings of this study offer a multifaceted view of public perceptions and behavioral shifts in response to demonetization, particularly in relation to banking habits, technological adoption and socio-economic characteristics. The demographic composition of the sample, predominantly male and young, suggests that the study captures the perspectives of a digitally literate and economically active segment of society. This demographic tilt may have influenced the overall receptivity to technological banking solutions and shaped the nuanced responses to demonetization (Meenakshi et al., 2025).

One of the most striking observations is the overwhelming representation of individuals aged 18–30, accounting for nearly three-quarters of the sample. This age group is typically more adaptable to technological change and more likely to engage with digital banking platforms (Melnyk, 2024). Their dominance in the sample may explain the post-demonetization surge in UPI and mobile banking usage (Pal et al., 2020). However, this also raises concerns about the underrepresentation of older adults, who may face greater barriers to digital adoption due to limited exposure, lower digital literacy, or apprehension about security (Dodel&Mesch, 2018). Addressing this generational gap requires targeted financial literacy programs and inclusive digital infrastructure that cater to senior citizens and marginalized groups.

The educational profile of respondents further reinforces the trend toward digital engagement. With a majority holding graduate or research degrees, the sample reflects a highly educated population capable of navigating complex banking systems. This demographic is likely to be more critical and informed about economic policies such as demonetization. Yet, despite their qualifications, respondents reported significant challenges in using e-banking services, including security fears, transaction errors, network issues and unfriendly app interfaces. These barriers highlight a critical disconnect between technological availability and user experience (Colin & Martin, 2023). Financial institutions must prioritize user-centric design, robust cybersecurity measures, and responsive customer support to bridge this gap.

Occupational diversity within the sample, spanning private employees, social workers, businesspersons, government employees and self-employed individuals, provides a rich context for understanding the economic impact of

demonetization. The predominance of private sector employees and social workers suggests a workforce that is both economically vulnerable and socially engaged (Baines, 2004). Their perspectives on demonetization are particularly valuable, as they straddle the intersection of personal financial stability and community welfare. The fact that 50% of respondents viewed demonetization negatively indicates widespread skepticism about its efficacy. This sentiment may stem from disruptions in cash flow, reduced consumer spending and challenges in accessing banking services during the transition period.

Income distribution among respondents reveals a concentration in the lower-income bracket, with over 76% earning below ₹ 5 lakhs annually. This economic reality underscores the disproportionate burden borne by financially constrained individuals during demonetization (Ma, 2022). Limited access to cash, delayed transactions, and unfamiliarity with digital tools may have exacerbated their vulnerability. To mitigate such impacts in future policy interventions, governments and financial institutions must ensure that economic reforms are accompanied by safety nets, community outreach and phased implementation strategies that protect low-income groups.

The shift in banking behavior before and after demonetization is particularly telling. Prior to the policy, ATM and branch banking were the dominant modes of transaction, reflecting a reliance on physical infrastructure (Kaur et al., 2021). Post-demonetization, however, UPI emerged as the most widely used tool, followed by mobile and internet banking. This transition signifies a rapid digital transformation, likely accelerated by necessity rather than choice (Li, 2020). While this shift is commendable, it also exposes systemic vulnerabilities. For instance, the decline in ATM usage and branch visits may lead to reduced access for those in rural or underserved areas where digital connectivity is poor. Policymakers must therefore balance digital advancement with the preservation of traditional banking channels to ensure equitable access.

Respondents' feedback on bank employee services remained consistent across both periods, with 80% rating the service as good or very good. This continuity suggests that frontline banking staff adapted well to the challenges posed by demonetization, maintaining service quality despite increased workload and public anxiety. However, the remaining 20% who reported dissatisfaction point to areas where service delivery could be improved. Enhanced training, emotional intelligence and customer engagement strategies are essential to strengthen public trust in banking institutions (Al Khoury et al., 2023), especially during periods of economic upheaval.

The study also sheds light on the motivations behind adopting new banking technologies. Time efficiency emerged as the most cited reason, with respondents appreciating the ability to complete transactions without visiting the bank. This reflects a broader societal shift toward convenience-driven

financial behavior. However, the presence of significant barriers, such as security concerns and technical glitches, indicates that digital adoption is not yet seamless. Financial institutions must invest in intuitive design, multilingual support and real-time troubleshooting to enhance user confidence and satisfaction (Luo, 2025).

A comparative analysis of banking instruments used before and after demonetization reveals a dramatic reconfiguration of consumer preferences. While ATM and branch banking dominated earlier, UPI and mobile banking took precedence post-demonetization. This evolution suggests that policy interventions can catalyze behavioral change, but only when supported by infrastructure, education and trust. The minimal use of cryptocurrency and online trading indicates that these platforms remain niche (H. Kim, 2024), possibly due to regulatory ambiguity and limited public awareness. Future research could explore the potential of these emerging tools in expanding financial inclusion.

Problem-solving in this context requires a multi-pronged approach (Tian et al., 2025). First, digital literacy must be prioritized across all age groups and income levels. Community workshops, school curricula and public awareness campaigns can demystify digital banking and empower users. Second, financial institutions must adopt inclusive design principles that accommodate diverse user needs, including those with disabilities, language barriers or limited technical skills (Klaus et al., 2024). Third, policy frameworks must be responsive to ground realities, incorporating feedback from stakeholders and ensuring that reforms do not disproportionately affect vulnerable populations. Moreover, the psychological dimension of financial behavior, such as fear of security breaches or hesitation due to unfamiliarity, must be addressed through trust-building measures. Transparent communication, data protection assurances and user testimonials can help alleviate anxiety and foster confidence (Walker, 2016). Finally, collaboration between government, banks, civil society and academia is essential to create a resilient financial ecosystem that is both innovative and inclusive.

**Conclusion**

This study offers a comprehensive analysis of the socio-economic and behavioral responses to demonetization, with particular emphasis on banking practices, technological adoption and public perception. The demographic profile, dominated by young, educated, and professionally diverse individuals, reflects a segment of society that is both adaptive and critical in its engagement with financial reforms. The findings reveal a significant shift from traditional banking instruments such as ATMs and branch banking toward digital platforms like UPI, mobile banking and net banking, especially in the post-demonetization period. This transition underscores the transformative potential of policy interventions in reshaping consumer behavior.

However, the study also highlights persistent challenges that hinder seamless

digital adoption. Concerns over security, transaction errors, network instability and unfriendly app interfaces suggest that technological advancement alone is insufficient without parallel improvements in user experience and accessibility. Moreover, the economic vulnerability of a majority of respondents, earning below ₹ 5 lakhs annually, signals the need for inclusive financial policies that safeguard low-income groups during systemic transitions.

Public opinion on demonetization remains divided, with half of the respondents perceiving it negatively. This ambivalence reflects broader uncertainties about the long-term economic impact of such reforms. Nonetheless, the consistent quality of bank services and the growing reliance on digital tools indicate a resilient financial ecosystem capable of adapting to change.

In conclusion, while demonetization has catalyzed a digital shift in banking behavior, it has also exposed critical gaps in infrastructure, literacy and trust. Addressing these challenges requires a holistic approach that combines technological innovation with inclusive policy design, community engagement and sustained financial education. The study thus contributes valuable insights for policymakers, financial institutions and scholars seeking to understand and improve the intersection of economic reform and public experience.

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# The Changing Warfare in Recent Ages -A Study

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**Abstract**

Warfare in recent ages has undergone a profound transformation driven by rapid technological advancements, shifts in tactics, and changing geopolitical dynamics. This paper explores these changes, highlighting the increasing use of autonomous systems like drones, artificial intelligence (AI) in targeting, cyber-warfare, and the role of information dominance on the modern battlefield. Traditional concepts of warfare, centred on large-scale manpower and territorial control, are being reshaped by precision strikes, networked intelligence, and asymmetric engagements involving state and non-state actors. The integration of technologies such as unmanned vehicles, satellite reconnaissance, and persistent sensors enables real-time battlefield awareness and innovative operational strategies. Furthermore, these changes blur the distinction between combatants and civilians, raising ethical and legal challenges.

The study emphasizes recent military operations exemplifying these trends, including drone-led offensives and hybrid warfare tactics, showcasing the shift towards rapid, technologically driven conflicts. Additionally, this paper contrasts the evolution of warfare with efforts toward disarmament, noting how technological escalation complicates arms control and peace-building efforts.

Research methodology includes qualitative analysis of recent military events, literature reviews on modern conflict theory, and case studies of key operations from 2023 to 2025. This paper aims to contribute to strategic studies by identifying the ongoing paradigm shifts and highlighting research gaps, particularly in balancing technology's role with human decision-making and international law.

**Keywords**: Modern warfare, autonomous weapons, drones, AI targeting, cyber-warfare, asymmetric conflict, disarmament, information warfare

## Introduction

"Warfare in recent ages has undergone a profound transformation driven by rapid technological advancements, shifts in tactics and changing geopolitical dynamics. This paper explores these changes, highlighting the increasing use of auto-systems like drones, artificial intelligence in targeting, cyber warfare and the sole of information dominance on the modern battlefield. Traditional concepts of warfare, centered on Large-scale manpower and territorial control, are being reshaped by precision strikes, networked intelligence and

asymmetric engagements involving state and non-state actors. The integration of technologies such as unmanned vehicles, satellite reconnaissance and persistent sensors enables real-time battlefield awareness and innovative operational strategies.

The study emphasizes recent military operations exemplifying these trends, including drone-led offensives and hybrid warfare tactics, showcasing the shift towards rapid, technologically driven conflicts. Additionally, this paper contrasts the evolution of warfare with efforts toward disarmament, nothing how technological escalation complicates arms control and peace-building efforts.

The nature of warfare has undergone significant transformations throughout history, driven by technological innovations, geopolitical shifts, and changing societal values. This study aims to investigate the changing landscape of warfare in recent ages, with a focus on the impact of emerging technologies and global interconnectedness. The choice of this topic is motivated by the need to understand the complexities of modern conflict and the implications for national security and international relations.

**Choice of the Topic**

For choosing this topic lies in the unprecedented pace at which warfare is evolving due to technological breakthroughs and their profound implications on global security. As conflicts become more complex, understanding these shifts is crucial for policymakers, military strategies and scholars. This study seeks to investigate how recent innovations reshape the nature of armed conflict and challenge traditional doctrines offering insights into future warfare trends.

**Research Methodology**

Research methodology includes qualitative analysis of recent military events, literature reviews on modern conflict theory, case studies of key operations and also, review of recent publications and reports from 2023 to 2025. This paper aims to contribute to strategic studies by identifying the ongoing Paradigm shifts and highlighting research gaps, particularly in balancing technology's role with human decision-making and international law.

**Research Design**

This exploratory study aims to explore the changing nature of Warfare in recent ages, identifying key trends, drivers and Implications. This Research methodology on design provides a framework for ensuring a rigorous and comprehensive study that contributes to our understanding of modern conflict.

**Evolution of Warfare**

The Evolution of Warfare spans thousands of years, marked by technological advances, Cultural shifts and changes in tactics that reflect society's broader development. Across history, warfare has progressed from primitive hand-to-hand combat to sophisticated, multi-domain operations involving information and cyber Capabilities.

**Summary Table: Key Transformational Turning Points**

| Era | Key Innovations | Impact on Warfare |
|---|---|---|
| Prehistoric | Stone, Wood weapons | Small–scale raiding, tribal combat |
| Classical | Infantry/Cavalry Units | First organized armies, strategy |
| Medieval | Castles, Crossbows | Rise of siege tactics, heavy cavalry |
| Gunpowder | Firearms, Cannons | Large armies, global expansion |
| Industrial | Tanks, Aircraft | Mechanized, total warfare |
| Modern | Drones, Cyber weapons with AI Technology | Multi-domain, info-centric war |

The trajectory of Warfare closely parallels technological and Social Evolution, reflecting humanity's constant drive in conflict; for advantage – even in conflict.

**Contemporary and Information Age**

Today's warfare is multi-domain, integrating land, sea, air, Space, and Cyberspace operations.

Technology drives new Capabilities: drones, satellites, networking and precision guided munitions. Asymmetric conflict, hybrid warfare operations complicate and information operations complicate traditional battle lines. The rise of non-state actors and exploits the weakness of conventional military forces; proliferation of asymmetric warfare which explores the weakness of conventional military forces.

Cyber Warfare is the increasing reliance on digital technologies has created new vulnerabilities, making Cyber Created warfare a critical component of modern conflict.

The Role of Artificial Intelligence with AI - powered autonomous systems are being developed for more precise and use, enabling military efficient targeting. AI-driven predictive analytics can help anticipate and prevent conflicts, improving global security.

The Impact of Globalization are Global Connectivity which has facilitated the rapid dissemination of information, enabling real-time communication and co-ordination. Global Supply chains have created new vulnerabilities, making it difficult to maintain a secure and stable supply chain.

Persistent surveillance and army data integration are crucial in modern Warfare, enabling military forces to gather and analyze vast amounts of data from various sources, including sensors, drones and Satellites. This capability

allows for enhanced situational awareness, improved decision-making, and more effective targeting.

Key Technologies are Tethered Drones which provide persistent surveillance and communication support, enabling real time data transmission and extended endurance. Artificial Intelligence (AI) has enhanced data analysis, target identification, and decision-making, allowing for more efficient and effective military operations.

Sensor Systems detect and track targets, providing critical information for more military planning and operations. Data Integration platforms enable seamless data sharing and analysis across different systems and platforms, facilitating operational picture.

**Its Benefits**

Enhanced Situational Awareness provides military leaders with a comprehensive understanding of the battlefield, enabling informed decision making. Improved Targeting enables precise targeting of enemy positions and assets, reducing Collateral damage and civilian casualties. Increased Efficiency Automates data analysis and processing, freeing up personnel for more strategic tasks.

These key technologies are using in Indian. Army's SANJAY System, U.S Army's BFIST Vehicle and US Army's ALPS System. They offers Passive sensor technology for detecting Air threats without air defense capabilities.

**Non-State Actors**

Non – state actors are transforming the landscape of modern warfare. These entities, which include terrorist organizations, insurgent groups, private military contractors, and humanitarian organizations, operate outside traditional state frameworks, exploiting technological advancements and asymmetric tactics to challenge State security.

Civilian Involvement includes Civilians can contribute to warfare efforts through social media as digital platforms. Civilians may provide logistical support, such as transportation and supplies, to military forces non-state actors. Civilians can play a crucial role in gathering information, which can be used to inform military decisions or disrupt enemy operations.

**Its Impact on Warfare**

Through Asymmetric Warfare Non-state actors often employ unconventional tactics, exploiting the weakness of traditional military forces. Non-state actors can engage in Cyber-attacks, disrupting cortical infrastructure and stealing sensitive information. The involvement of non-state actors and civilians in warfare blurs the lines between traditional and non-traditional warfare, creating complex challenges for states.

**Ethical and Legal challenges in changing Warfare**

**1. Real-time International initiatives and their limitations:**

Real-time international initiatives are crucial in addressing the challenges of changing warfare. Some notable initiatives include:

1. United Nations Group of Governmental Experts (GGE) on Emerging Technologies which focuses on lethal autonomous weapons systems (LAWS) and the application of AI in military domains.
2. Global Efforts on AI Regulation aims to address the opportunities and risks associated with AI in military applications, promoting responsible development and use of AI technologies.
3. Through International Cooperation on Cyber Warfare are working together to develop norms and guidelines for responsible state behavior in cyberspace, reducing the risk of cyber attacks and promoting global security. Despite these initiatives, limitations exist.
4. Complexity of Emerging technologies, differing national interests and enforcement of challenges are making it difficult to achieve consensus on international agreements regulations and norms.

To overcome these limitations, continued all these development of norms and guidelines are essential. This can help ensure that emerging are used responsibly and in was that promote global security and stability.

**2. International Humanitarian Law (IHL) in the Digital Battlefield:**

IHL faces significant challenges in the digital battlefield, where technological advancements are transforming the nature of warfare. Key concerns include civilian. Protection, distinction and proportionality, Accountability and emerging Technologies. Moreover, the regulatory challenges are lack of clean Frameworks to address the Challenges of digital warfare and interpretation and application of IHL to digital warfare requires clarification in cyber operations and autonomous systems.

Efforts to address challenges are as follows

**International Cooperation**

Initiatives like the UN Group of Governmental Exports on Cyber security aim to develop international norms for responsible state behavior in Cyberspace.

**Development of New Norms**:

Efforts to establish the development of digital Safe Havens to protect civilians.

**Humanitarian Impact:**

Organisations like the International committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) are working to assess and address the humanitarian consequences of digital warfare.

**Case Studies:**

**(i) Operation Spider Web (Ukraine, 2025)**

Operation Spider Web was a Landmark Ukranian covert drone strike against critical Russian airbases, executed representing one of the deepest and most successful attacks within the entire Russia - Ukraine conflict so far. It showcased now levels of drone warfare, employing cheap, commercially available drones - mostly FPV models - Modified and Smuggled into Russian

territory, ultimately Causing long-term strategic damage to Russia's air force and changing the trajectory of aerial warfare.

It stands as a pivotal moment in military history, showing technical creativity in intelligence coordination can the playing field against numerically superior foes.

**(ii) Operation Rising Lion (Israel, 2025)**

Operation Rising Lion refers to Israel's large scale and unprecedented military operation against Iran, launched in Jane, 2025. The campaign involved coordinated, multi-domain strikes targeting Iran's nuclear and missile infrastructure. Across the Middle East and beyond, the operation has shifted calculations regarding deterrence, escalation, and the effectiveness of military technology in real-world scenarios.

(iii) **Operation Sinthoor (Sindoor) (India, 2025)**

Operation Sindoor was a major Indian military operation launched on May 7, 2025, as a targeted retaliation against Pakistan -based terrorist groups responsible for a deadly attack in Pahalgam, Jamuna & Kashmiri on April 22, 2025, which killed 26 innocent civilians This operation Sindoor lasted about 22-23 minutes. In return Pakistan responded with missile and drone strikes on Indian military bases by launching of the **"Operation Bunyan-un-Marsoos"** This operation Sindoor demonstrated India's technological and tactical military advancements and a shift in South Asia's strategic balance.

**V) Cambodian and Thai Border Conflict**

The recent Conflict between Thailand and Cambodia highlights the complexities of modern warfare, particularly in disputed border regions. The clash, which began on July 24, 2025, near the Ta Moan Thom temple, resulted in at least 15 deaths and over 1,30,000 displaced people. Both country accused each other of initiating hostilities, with Thailand launching airstrikes against Cambodian military targets and Cambodia firing rockets and artillery into Thai territory. Finally, A ceasefire agreement was signed on July 28, 2025.

**Recent Indian Warfare**

It highlights a significant shift towards technology-driven and asymmetric warfare. It is increasingly relying on cutting-edge technologies: AI, drone, Cyber warfare, Precision-Guided Munitions and Space-based. Assets, along with Indigenous Defense Systems, Joint Military Exercises; Theaterization, cyber space warfare.

The Indian government has emphasized self-reliance in defense production, with initiatives like "Make in India" and "Aatma Nirbhar Bharat" promoting domestic indigenous development and manufacturing of defense equipment.

The Indian Government has emphasized self-reliance, blending low-cost tools with high-end technology, which reflect India's efforts to modernize its military and adapt to the changing nature of warfare, prioritizing technology, self reliance and Strategic partnership.

**Bio-War in changing warfare**

Bio-war poses significant dangers to global health, security and economies. Biowan, short for Biological warfare, refers to the use of biological agents such as bacteria, Viruses, fungi, or toxins to harm or kill humans, animals or plants. These agents, cause widespread disease and death cy their effects can be unpredictable and uncontrollable.

Bio-war is changing Warfare in several ways such as introducing Synthetic biology, AI and Nano technology and other emerging technologies are providing new ways to deploy / deliver bio weapons. The democratization of biotechnology and access to genetic engineering tools are lowering the barriers for non-state actors to develop bioweapons.

**Bio-war challenges and concerns**

**Global Governance:**

The lack of effective international regulation makes it difficult to prevent the development and use of bio weapons.

**Preparing for the Future**

Developing new technologies and strategies to counter bio warfare threats and improve biodefense with enhanced Surveillance.

**Global Environment in Changing Warfare**

The Global Environment is significantly impacted by changing warfare, particularly with the increasing use of advanced technologies and the escalating effects of climate change.

**Environmental Degradation**

Wars Devastate ecosystems, Contaminate air, soul and water and destroy agricultural land, leading to long environmental harm.

**Climate change**

Military operations contribute to greenhouse gas emissions, with the military sector accounting for around 5.5%. of global emissions.

**Biodiversity Loss**

Warfare can lead to 90% of large animals in an area declining during human conflict. Attack on industrial facilities and infrastructure can also harm wildlife and ecosystems.

**Pollution**

Wars generate massive amounts of waste, including toxic substances and contaminate soil, air and water. Military activities can also lead to long-term pollution, affecting local communities and ecosystems.

**Humanitarian Crises**

Environmental damage from warfare can exacerbate humanitarian Sereling displacement, instability Crises and poverty. The intersection of climate change and security is becoming increasingly important with.

**Climate change as a Threat Multiplier**

Climate change can intensify the max risk of violence in areas already under stress from food and water insecurity, poor governance and territorial disputes.

**Adaptation and Resilience**

Militaries are adapting to the impacts of climate change, including increased frequency of natural disasters and extreme weather events.

**Sustainable Defense**

There is a growing recognition of the need for sustainable defense growing Practices, including reducing greenhouse gas emissions and integrating environmental considerations into military operations.

**Disarmament in changing Warfare**

Disarmament efforts are being shaped by changing warfare dynamics, including the vise of new technologies and non-state actors.

**Key challenges and opportunities include:**

**Nuclear Disarmament**

Efforts to reduce and eliminate nuclear arsenals continue, Efforts to reduce but progress is slow due to geopolitical tensions and verification issues.

**Chemical and Biological Weapons**

The chemical Weapons Convention has led to significant progress in eliminating chemical weapons, but biological treats remain a concern due to the dual-use nature of biological research.

**Conventional Arms control**

Efforts to control and reduce conventional arms are ongoing, but the rise of technologies like drones new and autonomous weapons systems poses new challenges.

**Cyber Warfare**

The rapid evolution of Cyber capabilities has created new disarmament challenges, with states struggling to balance security with the need for openness and cooperation.

Technological advancements, Non-State Actors and Multilateralism are creating new disarmament challenges and opportunities.

**Ways by Means to enhance disarmament:**

**Strengthening International Frameworks**

Enhancing existing agreements and frameworks to address new Enhancing existing agreements and technologies.

**Building Trust**

Fostering trust and Confidence among states through transparency verification, and co-operation.

**Capacity Building**

Providing support and capacity building for states to implement disarmament agreements and address emerging threats.

**Conclusion**

Hence, this research paper identifies key trends and drivers shaping the future of were warfare. The changing nature of warfare demands adaptabilities and innovation in military strategy to anticipate and respond to emerging threats. Globalization has also played a significant sole, facilitating the rapid

dissemination of information and enabling real-time Communication and coordination.

This study also identifies key research gaps including the impact of AI on the future of warfare, the sole of non-state actors in modern conflict and the development of effective counter measures for cyber warfare The Finally, by concluding that the insecure. Feeling of civilians in modern and recent Warfare arises from complexity of conflicts that blur the lines between combatants and non-combatants. Moreover, civilians experience indirect insecurity through displacement, loss of livelihoods, food shortages, health crises and psychological trauma due to ongoing violence and nature of warfare heightens the precariousness of civilian life due to pervasive threats to safety, infrastructure, essential services, and basic needs. So this warfare is undergoing a profound transformation with evolving threats. Thus raising awareness about civilian suffering and advocating for their rights and protection an help reduce violence with coping mechanisms like strong community networks support to find resilience and Humanitarian Aid is also very very essential.

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# The Role of Storytelling in Imparting Core Values: An Overview of Indian Oral Storytelling Cultures

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## Abstract

Storytelling plays a pivotal role in transmitting core values across Indian society, deeply embedded in a spectrum of cultural, performative and oral traditions. It emphasizes the various narrative traditions that serve as both cultural manifestations and teaching methods, such as dance, drama, folk performances, and puppet theatre. The study sheds insight on forms that combine moral instruction with amusement, like Harikatha, Yakshagana, Villupattu and Pandavani. The way that stories from epics and folk sources use familiar characters and events to exemplify concepts like dharma, karma and ahimsa draws attention. This paper also highlights the pedagogical methods by which stories instill practical ethics. It emphasizes the storyteller's dual roles as a performer and a moral mentor, tailoring messages to the demands of the audience. The study follows a qualitative, descriptive approach drawing from secondary sources. This paper sheds focus on the difficulties that storytelling customs confront today and how classrooms and contemporary platforms are bringing these traditions back to life. The study emphasizes narrative as a dynamic link between traditional wisdom and evolving social realities.

**Keywords:** Ahimsa, customs, dharma, ethics, pedagogical methods, story telling

## Introduction

Storytelling in India is a multidimensional cultural practice that transcends the written word, embodying an exquisite array of oral, visual, and performative arts rooted in centuries-old traditions. Indian story telling is a blend of regional uniqueness and a common moral goal, ranging from traditional epic recitations and folk ballads to vibrant dance-dramas and puppets. These narrative forms thrive in both large-scale temple performances and small-scale village get-togethers, continuously acting as vehicles for historical preservation, communal connection and ethical education. These customs are an intrinsic part of Indian society's cultural fabric, whether they are recited in a family setting or on an extravagant stage. They constantly adapt to shifting social settings while maintaining their fundamental role as transmitters of values. A unique pedagogical method is at the center of these traditions: stories serve as an effective means of teaching fundamental concepts like *Dharma*, *Karma*, *Satya*, and *Ahimsa* in addition to being entertaining. Epics like the *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata*, fable collections such as *Panchatantra*, and tribal folktales all

foreground the consequences of human action, presenting moral dilemmas and virtuous conduct in forms accessible to broad audiences. Every tale thread incorporates lessons on compassion, integrity, and community from storytellers, whether they use spoken word, song, dramatization, or puppetry. By doing this, Indian storytelling customs provide a dynamic range of ethical contemplation, forming personal and societal values for future generations.

**Indian Story telling Traditions**

Storytelling in India is not confined to written word but is manifested in a vibrant range of dance drama, ballads, songs, narrations, chants, theatres, plays, puppetry, and recital forms. Traditions such as *Harikatha* and *Burrakatha* in Telangana blend narration, song, and moral instruction to communicate social issues as well as provide entertainment. Karnataka's *Yakshagana* combines dialogue, music, and elaborate costumes to dramatize episodes from the *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata*. In Tamil Nadu's *Villupattu,* where performers use a bow (*villu*) as a rhythmic instrument and convey moral stories of saints and local heroes. Similarly, *Togalu Gombeyata* in Karnataka or *Tolu Bommalata* in Andhra Pradesh use shadow puppetry to animate epic tales, turning ethical dilemmas into public reflection and an evening pastime for all. In Maharashtra, *Lavani* and *Kirtan* mix music, humour and spirituality to both entertain and reform. The diversity extends further north and east with *Pandavani* from Chhattisgarh, retelling Mahabharata episodes through the voice of a lone narrator, often female, who reinterprets heroism and virtue from local perspectives. Beyond the epic-centered forms, tribal and regional communities maintain rich storytelling cultures rooted in local ethics and social values. The *Santhals* narrate tales of culture heroes like *Beer Kherwal* and *Bidu Chandan*, symbolizing justice and communal harmony; the *Gonds* celebrate *Chital Singh Chhatti* as a moral exemplar; and *Banjara* epics often feature female protagonists, foregrounding courage and resilience. These illustrate how oral story telling serves as a mirror of regional identity while preserving broader humanistic values. The *Panchatantra*, a classic collection of animal fables, epitomizes this didactic function. Composedby *Vishnusharma* to instruct princes in practical wisdom to his sons, it distils ethical conduct into simple narratives that teach discernment, friendship and tact.[1] Whether through anthropomorphic fables or theatrical performances, storytelling in India has historically functioned as an educative tool that teaches how to live wisely and harmoniously within society. Anthropologist Robert Redfield's concept of the "great tradition" and "little traditions," adapted for India by Milton Singer, provides a useful framework to understand the country's storytelling culture. The "great tradition" refers to classical, pan-Indian narratives such as the epics Ramayana and Mahabharata, which convey universal moral and philosophical values. In contrast, the "little traditions" comprise localized and vernacular story telling forms found in folk tales and regional narratives that reflect community-specific experiences and social

values.[2] These traditions coexist and interact, forming a continuum that not only preserves shared core values but also allows for their reinterpretation to suit diverse cultural and social contexts across India's vast geographical and linguistic landscape. This framework highlights how storytelling serves both as a medium for cultural continuity and dynamic change. Each region has developed distinct story telling forms, yet common threads unite these diverse practices into a fabric of shared cultural values.

**Core Values in Indian Storytelling**

Speaking of 'core values' in the Indian society open up to a constellation of principles that have historically guided individual conduct and societal structure. *Dharma*, *Karma*, *Satya*, *Ahimsa* and *Karuna*, are among the foundational values embedded in Indian narratives. These values are not presented as abstract principles but embodied in the characters, situations and consequences.

1. *Dharma:* Derived from the Sanskrit root *dhri* meaning "to sustain" or "uphold," *Dharma* functions in Indian storytelling as a flexible moral framework that guides both personal conduct and social order (Olivelle). Rather than a rigid order, *dharma* represents the delicate ethical balance maintained through narrative tension and moral choice in epics, folktales, and performative traditions. The *Ramayana*, for instance, dramatizes *dharma* through *Sri Rama*'s conflicting duties to his family, kingdom and himself. This highlights that dharma is inherently contextual and subject to interpretation. This fluidity allows stories to adapt moral lessons to diverse audiences and changing eras. In oral retellings such as *Harikatha* and *Pandavani*, narrators often reinterpret dharma to address contemporary conflicts, showing how storytelling sustains ethical inquiry across generations rather than prescribing uniform virtue. This adaptability underscores storytelling's fundamental role in transmitting and evolving core values within Indian culture.
2. Karma, understood as the principle that every action produces a corresponding result, is a central moral concept in Indian storytelling. As Olivelle explains, the Panchatantra stories focus on teaching practical wisdom and the importance of morally responsibilities rather than blind adherence to religious duties. These tales, such as "The Monkey and the Crocodile" and "The Lion and the Rabbit," depict actions like greed, pride, or dishonesty leading to adverse outcomes, while cleverness and kindness result in success. With animal characters and everyday scenarios, the stories discuss how choices shape one's fate, creating interesting stories for audiences of all ages. As Sharma[3] writes, "the terms 'karma' and 'dharma' have rhyme and reason", to which Kumar adds, "as 'karma' without 'dharma' is blind and 'dharma' without 'karma' is lame." suggesting that both of them form the basis of values of Indian culture.[4]

3. *Satya*: In the Vikram–Betal tales of northern India, *Satya* emerges as a principle of discernment rather than rigid honesty. The storyteller's riddle format turns truth into both moral choice and narrative device. King Vikramaditya's repeated encounters with Betal compel him to speak the truth, even when silence would protect him, showing that integrity demands expression as much as knowledge. The tale stands as a powerful metaphor for how knowing the truth but not verbalizing it might lead to a destructive outcome. Also, it supports the idea that narratives function as moral lessons that cultivate ethical reflection and fortitude in audiences. Such stories reinforce *Satya* as a core value in Indian storytelling.
4. *Ahimsa*: In the *Jataka* tales often explore *Ahimsa* in its stories. One such example is of King *Sibi*, who sacrificed flesh from his own body to save a dove from a hawk. It explores the idea that ahimsa is not mere avoidance of harm but also active compassion and well- being of all creatures, including the weakest and most vulnerable. The *Jataka* tales use these moral everyday exemplars to teach audiences that true strength lies in empathy, sacrifice, and nonviolence. Through these narratives, abstract moral ideas are rendered as living lessons.

Indian storytelling uses layered narrative strategies to teach core values. High epics supply complex ethical scripts that model ideals (*Ramayana*) and stage moral conflict (*Mahabharata*). Fables and folk tales (*Panchatantra*, folk epics) simplify those ideals into rules of thumb for everyday conduct. This combination explains the durability of values like *dharma*, *karma* and *ahimsa* in Indian cultural life.

**Narrative techniques and Pedagogical Methods**

Storytelling uses a range of narrative strategies to convey moral ideas in engaging, memorable ways. One of the most prevalent is metaphor, where concepts are represented through imagery. The *Panchatantra's* animal protagonists function as sustained metaphors such as, the jackal represents cunningness, the lion power, the crow intelligence. They act as moral types that make human behavior easier to discuss without direct confrontation, additionally catering to entertainment for audience (Kulkarni).[5] Allegory extends this further, with literal plots serving as vehicles for deeper spiritual meanings, offering both children and adults to draw meaning at different levels.

Another enduring technique is of archetypal characters. Figures like *Sri Rama* (the righteous king) and *Yudhishthira* (the dharmic leader) as templates for ideal conduct. Yet, their moral struggles humanize them and make their ideals attainable and relatable. Their dilemmas invite audiences to reflect on ethical tensions in practice.[6]

Finally, traditional narratives use a story-inside-a-story or a nested structure,

where one tale contains another. This ultimately mirrors the nature of life itself where one person tells a listener who then becomes a teller. For oral performance renditions, such as the *Harikatha,* it allows the storyteller to include the anxieties, doubts, and questions of the listener directly in the plot. Additionally, it builds complexity by exploring themes from different perspectives and maintains engagement through rhythmic opening and closing of story layers (Olivelle)

**Role of story tellers**

Storytellers have historically functioned as moral educators and memory keepers. As Blackburn and Flueckiger note, the Indian storyteller is both performer and philosopher, capable of translating spiritual concepts into narratives accessible to all members of the community (Blackburn and Flueckiger 45). Moreso within tribal cultures, storytellers act as custodians of collective identity and gatekeepers of tradition. As KC Monnappa writes, "In Meghalaya, for instance, the *Khasi*, *Jaintia*, and *Garo* tribes employ storytelling to impart ecological values and principles of environmental conservation". Narratives surrounding sacred groves (tales involving local deities and ancestral spirits) show how folklore sustains biodiversity while reinforcing a communal belonging. Through such performances, storytelling fosters reverence for nature and perpetuates values of ecological harmony, for both the teller and listener.[7]

**Role of the Audience**

The oral tradition of India deeply acknowledged the listener's role through the concept of the *Adhikari*, says Deepa Kiran a professional storyteller and educationist. Storytellers categorized their audiences not hierarchically, but functionally: the *Adhama Adhikari* sought entertainment; the *Madhyama* appreciated artistic expression; and the *Uttama* pursued philosophical insight.[8] These distinctions were not judgmental; rather, they served as essential guides for storytellers to adapt their narration to different levels of receptivity. This awareness became the base of composition and performances of stories. Poets such as *Nannaya* and *Tulsidas* employed rhythm, sound, and poetic devices to engage listeners at multiple levels, ensuring that even those drawn by surface beauty could still encounter underlying moral ideas (Kiran).[9] Thus, the storyteller's task was inherently dialogic that included communicating *with* and not merely *to* the audience.

This traditional awareness finds a striking parallel in modern reception theory. As Stuart Hall writes, audiences do not passively receive meaning; they actively interpret texts based on their cultural background, values, and lived experiences.[10] Indian storytelling practices anticipated this idea centuries earlier. Deepa Kiran cites a parable from the *Upanishad*s that supports this claim. When the *deva*s, humans and *asura*s prayed for guidance, the divine voice, as a loud thunder, uttered a single syllable, 'DA'. Each group understood it differently according to its disposition: the indulgent devas heard *Damyata*

(self-restraint), the materially driven humans heard *Datta* (charity), and the cruel asuras heard *Dayatvam* (compassion). The same sound conveyed distinct ethical messages, demonstrating that meaning is shaped as much by the listener's moral and cultural orientation as by the storyteller's intention.[11]

In this way, Indian storytelling traditions inherently recognized that the transmission of values depends on the audience's interpretive engagement. Stories do not impose a single moral lesson but invite reflection, allowing listeners to internalize values most resonant with their experiences. The role of the audience, therefore, extends beyond passive consumption to active participation in the ethical and cultural continuity of the community. Storytelling becomes a collaborative act of understanding where both teller and listener together unpack core values of the story.

**Contemporary Presence and Challenges**

India today faces unprecedented challenges in sustaining its storytelling traditions. Rapid urbanization and the decline of joint families have weakened intergenerational knowledge transfer, reducing the everyday space such as meal time, play, and conversation, where stories once thrived and family bonds deepened. The dominance of English-medium education and global media has distanced younger generations from regional languages and local narratives. As languages fade, the culturally specific stories, idioms and metaphors rooted in them also risk disappearance. Digital media now plays a crucial role in preservation. YouTube channels, animated series and documentary films make traditional tales accessible to global audiences, ensuring that endangered stories reach new listeners. Online archives and digital performances have become modern equivalents of oral storytelling, offering continuity amid cultural change. Formal education has also emerged as a key revival space.[12] The National Education Policy (NEP) 2020 encourages integrating Indian knowledge systems into school curricula (National Council of Educational Research and Training).[13] Storytelling-based activities such as drama, narration, and creative writing help students engage with cultural values while developing empathy and communication. Similarly, culturally rooted story-based board games like *Puzzle Desh*, *Roll the Dice,* and *Chittam* revive the communal aspect of storytelling, fostering togetherness and experiential learning in modern homes. The future of this tradition is constantly being shaped by digitization and upcoming innovation. Yet, the core values being transferred stick strong to their roots.

**Discussion and Implications**

In India, stories have always replicated the lives and values of the people who tell them. The moral lessons in these stories often vary according to gender, caste, or class. In many older tales, women are portrayed as kind or altruistic and men as powerful leaders, reflecting the social attitudes of the past. However, these same tales are being recounted now to emphasize the strength, intelligence, and independence of women. Likewise, stories from different

communities or castes focus on their own traditions and challenges. Folk and tribal stories, for example, often praise hard work, fairness, and harmony with nature rather than power or wealth.

As storytelling moves into digital platforms such as television, films, and online videos, the way values are shared has also changed. Technology helps in saving old traditions and bringing them to a wider audience, especially the younger generation. However, stories' deeper teachings may become less significant when they are created primarily for financial gain. Sometimes the initial goal of teaching morality is replaced by entertainment. The real task now is to keep the cultural and ethical meaning of stories alive while presenting them in ways that appeal to modern listeners.

**Conclusion**

Storytelling in India stands as one of the most powerful instruments for imparting core values. Through myth, parable and performance, it translates ethical principles into unforgettable experiences that audiences carry forward. The storyteller, as both custodian and interpreter, ensures that the value system is not a rigid slate but a dynamic guide shaped by time and context. Diverse storytellers of this land weave *dharma*, empathy and morals into accessible tales of time creating continuity between moral conduct and contemporary reality. Storytelling in India continues to be a living bridge between the past and the present. Through straightforward and captivating stories, it conveys moral teachings that assist individuals in understanding principles like truth, kindness, and duty. The goal of educating and motivating good behavior is still the same, despite the method stories are conveyed changing due to modern living and technology. Storytelling continues to mould people's personalities and fortify cultural identities for next generations by preserving these customs.

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# Empowering Women through Self-Help Groups with the help of Government Schemes

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**Abstract**

A Self-Help Group (SHG) is a collection of rural disadvantaged people, primarily women, who have voluntarily banded together to alleviate poverty. Women who join SHGs feel empowered, and government programs support this. Empowering women and girls can lead to gender equality, improved health and socioeconomic development for families, communities, and nations. The article employed systematic procedures and survey methods to investigate the role of government schemes in promoting women's economic development through SHGs. The primary purpose of this research is to determine how important self-help organizations are to women's empowerment. This study then explores the role of government measures to improve women's status through SHGs. The article's findings demonstrate that SHGs are extremely important for empowering women.

**Keywords**: Women Empowerment, Self-Help Group, Government Schemes, Below Poverty Level.

## Introduction

There are no instances in history where men and women were treated equally or given the same status. Women have always battled for social position and rights. They have consistently advocated for equality so that they might lead lives that are exactly like those of men. Even after the declaration of independence, they continue to battle. In today's world, many women continue to face challenges such as gender discrimination, sexual assault and harassment, education, child marriage, and other concerns. To overcome this problem, empowerment is an important tool for women. Meghan Markle said "Women don't need to find a voice; they have a voice, and they need to feel empowered to use it, and people need to be encouraged to listen." So all women have their own voice and courage, but they want to make use of it, and they want to get proper guidance to use it. That guidance has been continuously given by the government through various programs, and the non-government organizations also play an important role in empowering the women and their status. Due to their ability to combat poverty and rural unemployment, microfinance programs in India are becoming more and more popular. They have also drawn the attention of corporate and financial institutions due to their effectiveness in the fight against poverty. As a result, they have been

recognized internationally as a subsector of the economic system.[1] The promotion of self-help group (SHG) membership is aimed at improving credit accessibility and mobilizing microfinance in emerging nations. This article explains the role of the government schemes and the self-help groups in the field of women's empowerment.

**Government Schemes and Self-Help Group**

The government has a duty to direct, assist, and encourage the livelihood endeavors of those at the bottom of the sixth income pyramid. Tamil Nadu Corporation for Development of Women Limited is currently implementing a number of government programs to promote livelihood, including the creation of livelihood parks in rural areas and financial inputs and financial incentives for livelihood activities. Collaborative concepts like community businesses, collective negotiating, and communal marketing will be made easier by these parks. It is commonly stated that behind every successful man in society is a woman. No one can deny that behind every guy who makes a decent living are many hours of silent hard work put in by his mother, sister, wife, and daughter. Women contribute much to society by devoting endless hours to both domestic and professional tasks. They help men achieve their goals, assure children's education and well-being, and support society as a whole. If the worth of this labor could be assessed, women's names would rightly hold equal standing in family properties, eliminating the need for specific legislation. The Tamil Nadu Women's Development Corporation was founded by the Tamil Nadu government in 1983 to enhance women's lives via education, employment, economic development, and self-reliance. The Tamil Nadu Women's Development Corporation is dedicated to promoting the SHG movement by providing capacity-building training to SHGs in Tamil Nadu through a variety of poverty alleviation programs, as well as building strong community-based organizations, establishing financial links, and career development, all of which help to empower women. Tamil Nadu Women's Development Corporation is a registered company. The Principal Secretary to Government, Rural Development, and Panchayat Department serves alongside him as the department's head. Rural and urban programs are implemented at the state level by a managing director, executive director of urban livelihoods, additional directors, associate directors, and other officials who serve as subject matter experts. Project consultants are hired to provide advice on areas such as financial infrastructure, agribusiness, and industrial company development. The District Project Implementation Unit is led by the Project Director TNSRLM, who is assisted by an officer from the Rural Development and Panchayat Department at the Associate Director level. Assistant Project Officers also organize and carry out project field work.[2]

The Regional Operations Management Unit is led by the Operations Manager. Regional coordinators carry out the program components that have been assigned to them. In metropolitan areas, a community coordinator will oversee

and administer the livelihood initiative for 3,000 low-income families.

The best ten self-help groups, five panchayat-level federations, five village poverty reduction committees, and two block-level federations in rural areas and the best ten self-help groups, three area-level federations, and two city-level federations in urban areas are to receive awards at the state level. Awards are suggested to be granted at the district level to the village poverty reduction committee, one panchayat-level federation, and the top three self-help groups in rural areas, and one area-level federation and the top three self-help groups in urban areas. The community-based organizations (CBOs) will be greatly inspired to aim for improved performance by these awards.[3]
The Tamil Nadu Women Development Corporation is executing four key initiatives.

- Tamil Nadu State Rural Livelihood Movement (TNSRLM)
- National Rural Economic Innovation Program (NRETP)
- Tamil Nadu Urban Livelihoods Movement (TNULM)
- Deen Dayal Upadhyaya Rural Skill Development Scheme (DDU-GKY)

**Self-Help Group**
SHGs are groups of rural impoverished people who have chosen to band together in order to end member poverty. They commit to setting aside money on a regular basis and transferring it to a common fund called the group corpus. The group members commit to making use of this common fund as well as any additional funds they might get under shared management. The following general principles will be considered during group formation:
A self-help group typically has between 10 and 20 members. However, this number may range from 5 to 20 in challenging environments like deserts, hills, and locations with dispersed and sparse populations. It may also vary in cases with minor irrigation and impaired people. The State Level Swarnjayanti Gram Swarozgar Yojana Committee is responsible for identifying the challenging regions, and only in these areas will the aforementioned membership relaxation be allowed.[4]
In general, every member of the group ought to come from low-income families. However, if necessary, up to 20% of a group's members—or, in extraordinary circumstances where it is absolutely necessary—up to 30% of the group's members may come from marginally above the poverty line and live next door to BPL families, provided that they are accepted by the BPL members of the group.

In order to join the Self-Help Group, this will assist the families of occupational groups such as agricultural labourers, marginal farmers and artisans who make a living but are not quite above the poverty line, or who

may not have been included in the BPL list. The APL members, however, will not be qualified for the program's subsidy. No more than one individual from the same family may be a portion of the group. It is improper for an individual to belong to many groups. In general, administration and decision-making should not be left only to the discretion of APL families; instead, BPL families must actively participate in these processes. APL members of the Self-Help Group are also prohibited from holding office as group leader, assistant group leader, or treasurer.

**Activities of self help group**

To keep itself bound, the group needs create group management rules, or a code of conduct. This should take the shape of frequent meetings that take place every week or every two weeks, run democratically, permit the free interchange of ideas, and involve the members in the decision-making process. Every meeting should allow the group to create an agenda and conduct discussion in accordance with it. Regular savings should be used by the members to increase their corpus. At frequent group meetings, the group should be able to gather from each member the minimal voluntary saving amount. The collective corpus fund will be established from the savings thus gathered. The collective corpus fund will be established from the savings thus gathered. Lending to members should be facilitated via the group corpus fund. It is recommended that the group create financial management guidelines that address loan approval processes, payback plans, and interest rates. The collective corpus fund will be established from the savings thus gathered. Lending to members should be facilitated via the group corpus fund. It is recommended that the group create financial management guidelines that address loan approval processes, payback plans, and interest rates. All loan choices should be made by the participants in the group meetings using a participatory decision-making procedure.[5]

| Sl. No. | District | No. of New Groups to be formed | No. of New Groups formed | % of Achievement |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Kancheepuram | 600 | 1297 | 216% |
| 2 | Thiruvallur | 325 | 804 | 247% |
| 3 | Vellore | 550 | 384 | 70% |
| 4 | Thiruvannamalai | 250 | 260 | 104% |
| 5 | Dharmapuri | 250 | 341 | 136% |
| 6 | Krishnagiri | 175 | 174 | 99% |
| 7 | Salem | 825 | 889 | 108% |
| 8 | Namakkal | 475 | 585 | 123% |
| 9 | Erode | 1325 | 2032 | 153% |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 10 | Coimbatore | 1300 | 1599 | 123% |
| 11 | The Nilgiris | 275 | 536 | 195% |
| 12 | Cuddalore | 400 | 605 | 151% |
| 13 | Villupuram | 375 | 704 | 188% |
| 14 | Thanjavur | 550 | 966 | 176% |
| 15 | Nagapattinam | 200 | 522 | 261% |
| 16 | Thiruvarur | 175 | 409 | 234% |
| 17 | Thiruchirapalli | 425 | 418 | 98% |
| 18 | Perambalur | 150 | 180 | 120% |
| 19 | Pudukkottai | 200 | 175 | 88% |
| 20 | Dindugal | 600 | 1318 | 220% |
| 21 | Karur | 275 | 364 | 132% |
| 22 | Madurai | 300 | 172 | 57% |
| 23 | Theni | 550 | 316 | 57% |
| 24 | Ramanathapuram | 175 | 92 | 53% |
| 25 | Virudhunagar | 225 | 257 | 114% |
| 26 | Sivaganga | 300 | 136 | 45% |
| 27 | Tirunelveli | 900 | 1340 | 149% |
| 28 | Tuticorin | 475 | 1230 | 259% |
| 29 | Kanyakumari | 1400 | 3349 | 239% |
| | Total | **14025** | **21454** | **153%** |

*Table 1: District-wise self-help groups count in Tamil Nadu.*

**Role of Self Help Group in Empowering Women**

Self-help groups play a significant role in empowering women in many ways, like economic, health, cognitive, relational, saving habits, collective wisdom, etc. SHGs give women access to loans, allowing them to develop social capital and achieve financial independence. It also provides micro-loans to women entrepreneurs, allowing them to sustain their companies. It assists women in improving their health by raising their awareness of health issues and offering financial security during health emergencies. It helps to modify gender relations within families and society, potentially leading to less inequality in relationships. It assists women cultivate the habit of saving and using banking services, which increases their bargaining power and enable women to obtain collective wisdom in managing their money and distributing benefits among themselves.[6]

**Conclusion**

Any economic development or progress can only be considered successful if it is inclusive. Engaging the target group, or the lowest rung of society, in meaningful and sustainable livelihood activities is a sure-fire way to create inclusive growth. Looking back over history, we can see that matriarchal societies have guided humanity since the beginning. Even after the advent of agricultural implements and the transformation to an agricultural culture, women's contributions were equivalent to those of males. However, women were eventually restricted to their homes in the pretext of religion and traditional traditions. They were denied an education. The hard effort of women was not recognized. Various government schemes through self help groups contributed significantly to the dismantling of repressive obstacles that confined women and the abolition of the chains of enslavement imposed on them. As a result of these efforts, a rising number of women are enrolling in schools and universities and achieving academic success. It is indisputable that women continue to play an important role in providing economic assistance and serving as the foundation of many families, particularly poorer ones.

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# A Study of Tribal Tourism in Telangana

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**Abstract**

The study of tribal tourism in Telangana investigates the cultural wealth, traditional heritage, and socio-economic prospects of tribal communities. Tribal tourism is a great way for tribal communities to grow. Tribal tourism can help native communities grow by bringing in money through the sale of crafts. These activities create both direct and indirect income which can help reduce poverty, create jobs, and improve quality of life. Direct income from ticket sales, admission fees, and service payments increases indirect income from the sale of local crafts. This study investigates the potential of tribal tourism to foster sustainable development, enhance cultural preservation, and address the challenges faced by tribal communities, and the role of government in promoting the tribal tourism. Tribal tourism can create healthy relationship between tourist and tribal people, fostering economic development cultural preservation and social integration.

**Keywords**: tribal tourism, conservation, sustainability, social integration.

## Introduction

Telangana a state known for its cultural and ethnic variety, is home to a large tribal population. These tribes make up about 9% of the state's total population. The Gond, Koya, Lambadas, Chenchu, Yerukula, Konda Reddi, Thoti and Kolam are some of the main groups. They live in the hilly and forested parts of Telangana. These tribes keep alive their unique customs, crafts and festivals. These traditions form the basis for tribal tourism in the region. Tribal tourism which involves trips to native communities and experiencing their culture, customs and daily life, People see this type of tourism as a key tool to boost profits, keep cultures alive and bring tribal communities together. By drawing visitors to these far off and poor areas tribal tourism can jump start local economy giving much needed money and jobs to the people who live there. Also tribal tourism helps people better understand and value native societies, which is crucial to protect and respect them. One of the biggest effects of tribal tourism is how it can give native communities the power to make money. In many tribal regions, people usually depend on small scale farming, hunting and collecting forest produce to make a living. But that often is not enough to handle today's economic needs especially with the growing pressure from modern markets and environmental changes. So introducing a tourism-based economy could in a way open up new doors for them. Money from tourism might come from things like entry fees to cultural sites, guided

visits, traditional dance shows or selling handmade crafts and artifacts. These activities do not just bring in direct earnings for families but they also give a bit of a boost to local businesses like food stalls, transport providers and small shops that serve visitors. Tourism helps create jobs right inside the community things like tour guides, hotel and lodge staff and local craft makers. It also sparks other kinds of work in connected areas such as transport, food supply and small shops. When folks get steady work and earn better wages their overall living conditions usually get a lot better too which can slowly pull families out of poverty. And it is not just about money Tribal tourism also helps protect and celebrate culture. Many indigenous groups have deep traditions, languages, rituals and art forms that these days are almost fading away under the push of modernization and global influence.

Tourism gives tribal communities a real chance to share their unique culture with people from all over the world which in turn helps keep those traditions alive. Travelers often look for genuine cultural experiences and that curiosity pushes local people to hold on to their old customs and keep celebrating them. Festivals, rituals and ceremonies become major attractions in tribal tourism. For example, the Sammakka Saralamma Jatara in Medaram pulls in thousands of visitors. It is the Asia's largest tribal festival. This celebration shows off the rich heritage of the Koya tribe through traditional songs, dances and handmade crafts. The event not only brings in good income for the locals but also strengthens cultural pride and keeps young people connected to their roots. It's a way for elders to pass down their wisdom so traditions do not fade away. Another big part of cultural preservation through tourism is traditional craftwork. Indigenous artisans create things like fabrics, pottery, jewelry and carvings that reflect their identity and skills. Since tourists often buy these items, it gives artisans a reason to keep their craft alive, which helps protect these age old art forms. Tourism spreads awareness about how meaningful these crafts are often drawing attention and support from national and international groups that care about cultural heritage.

**Economic Development**

Tribal tourism has the potential to significantly alter the economic circumstances of indigenous people. By creating jobs and new sources of income, it helps to improve living conditions and reduce poverty. Tribal tourism can really shake up the economic situation of indigenous people in a big way. It often helps cut down poverty and improve living conditions since it creates jobs and opens up new ways for folks to earn money. The income that comes in can sometimes go toward things like schools, health centers or other projects that help the whole community grow. One of the biggest financial benefits is how it gives people more ways to make a living. Instead of depending only on farming or hunting which can be hit hard by changes in weather or the environment tourism gives them another option that is usually more stable. And as a matter of fact when tourism grows it often brings better

roads, improved communication systems and stronger health services, stuff that ends up helping not just the tourists but the local people too. Infrastructure like roads, communication networks and healthcare centers, kind of plays a huge role in shaping how both locals and visitors experience a place. These improvements don't just make travel smoother for tourists they also make life a lot easier for the people who actually live there. As Chakraborty and Ray (2017) point out, better infrastructure usually means folks get easier access to basic services and enjoy a higher quality of life overall. When tourism drives this kind of development it often sparks job opportunities and gives a nice boost to other sectors, like construction or transport. And as the local infrastructure keeps growing, it tends to support small businesses and other local ventures too, which in turn makes the local economy more flexible and less likely to suffer when one industry slows down.

**Cultural Preservation**

One of the biggest advantages of tribal tourism is how it helps keep indigenous cultures alive. By sharing their traditional customs, ceremonies and crafts, these communities get to preserve and celebrate their heritage in a very real way. Tourists are often drawn to genuine cultural experiences and that interest motivates local people to hold on to their traditions rather than fade away. Festivals, rituals and community celebrations usually attract visitors who want something different and meaningful. A good example is the annual celebration of Nagoba jathara by mesaram clan of the Gond in Adilabad district. It brings in thousands of visitors every year and at the same time gives the younger generation a chance to learn about and take pride in their culture. This kind of cultural exchange keeps values and morals strong while passing them down to future generations. Traditional crafts and art forms are another important part of this preservation. Handmade items like textiles, carvings, embroidery and jewelry do not just bring income they help pass on skills and stories from older artisans to younger ones. The steady demand for authentic locally made pieces encourages craftsmen to keep perfecting their art. Tourism gives these art forms global recognition, helping them earn respect and support from international communities which add another layer of protection for these cultural treasures.

**Social Integration**

Tribal tourism often helps bring people closer together by encouraging mutual respect and understanding between visitors and indigenous communities. It opens doors for cultural exchange and real conversation, which in a way strengthens social bonds and reduces the distance between different groups of people. When tourists experience indigenous traditions firsthand it breaks stereotypes and helps them see these cultures in a more genuine light. Educational tours and cultural immersion programs play a big role that they let visitors learn directly from community members helping them build empathy and a sense of connection. These interactions can turn into lasting

friendships and mutual respect which improves social harmony and lowers discrimination. Another important side of tribal tourism is how it can uplift women. It creates work opportunities and gives women a space to share their talents whether through performing arts or handmade crafts. In many communities, women already play key roles in cultural activities and tourism helps recognize their efforts and boost their confidence. This not only improves their income but also raises their standing in society supporting gender equality and inclusion. through tourism women often get to learn new skills, take leadership roles and actively shape the future of their communities.

**Challenges**

Many tribal regions still struggle with lack of infrastructure and basic amenities, such as accommodation, sanitation and communication facilities in Telangana. One big challenge is cultural commodification, that's when traditions get slightly changed or packaged just to please tourists which can in a way mess with the real culture itself. Now this cultural commodification happens when local customs or art forms are basically treated like products to sell and that almost always leads to losing their real meaning. That is pretty much necessary to bring local people into the whole planning and management process of tourism. Encouraging more real authentic cultural experiences, while teaching visitors to actually respect tribal traditions, could really help in keeping the culture intact. Another thing is too many visitors can completely shake up traditional lifestyles. You often see this in remote villages where outsiders coming in can quietly change daily routines and how people connect with one another. So to keep these disruptions low, tourism should in a way be planned to fit with the local culture rather than overpower it. This might mean setting some limits on how many people can visit controlling what kind of tourist activities are allowed and encouraging eco friendly practices like reducing litter, avoiding deforestation and taking care not to harm the social fabric of these communities.

**Strategies for Promoting Tribal Tourism**

To insure the benefits of tribal tourism are maximized and sustainable, several strategies can be enforced.

**Community Involvement**

Ensuring that tribal communities are must be involved in tourism planning and operation is pivotal for the success of tribal tourism. Community involvement ensures that tourism development aligns with the requirements of the community, leading to sustainable outcome (Smith, 2019). This can be achieved through participatory planning processes, where community members are involved in the monitoring of tourism systems. Empowering communities to take power of tourism development can enhance their capacity to manage tourism sustainably and insure that the benefits are equitably distributed.

**Capacity Structure**

Furnishing training and resources to enhance the skills of community members in tourism- related activity is essential, such as, training in hospitality, guiding, selling and business management. These enterprises can equip community members with the skills and knowledge demanded to share effectively in the tourism and building the capacity of original associations, and institutions to support tourism development, can enhance the sustainability and adaptability of tribal tourism.

**Sustainable Practices**

Promoting environment friendly practices to cover natural and cultural heritage is vital for the long term sustainability of tribal tourism. This includes measures similar eco friendly lodgment, waste operation, and conservation programs Sustainable tourism practices can help minimize the environmental impact of tourism conditioning and insure that natural and cultural resources are saved for future generations. And also promoting sustainable practices can enhance the appeal of tribal tourism to environmentally conscious excursionists and contribute to the pretensions of sustainable development.

**Initiative by the Government of Telangana for Development of Tribal Tourism**

The Government of Telangana has been putting in a lot of effort to promote tribal tourism as part of its plan for inclusive and sustainable growth. The state understands that tribal regions have a lot to offer through their culture, traditions and natural beauty. Because of this the government has introduced different policies programs and infrastructure projects to turn these areas into popular tourist spots while also improving the lives of the tribal communities.

**Policy Support**

The Telangana State Tourism Policy (2023) and Telangana State Tourism Development Corporation focuses on developing eco tourism and tribal tourism. It promotes community based tourism where tribal people are directly involved in activities like guiding tourists, making handicrafts and performing cultural programs.

**Development of Tribal Circuit**

Under the Swadesh Darshan Scheme, the government has been working on developing tribal tourism circuits in Mulugu- Laknavaram- Medaram- Tadvai-Damaravi- mallur – Bogatha waterfalls. These projects focus on showcasing tribal villages traditional crafts and local festivals. The main goal is to bring in more tourists while keeping the true culture and lifestyle of tribal communities intact.

**Promotion of Tribal Festivals**

Festivals like Sammakka-Sarakka Jatara, also known as Medaram Jatara have received strong promotion at both national and international levels. The government has been providing better infrastructure, sanitation facilities and organizing promotional campaigns to attract visitors from across India and

abroad. These efforts help highlight the cultural importance of these festivals and support local communities at the same time.

**Conclusion**

In conclusion, tribal tourism in Telangana highlights the rich cultural diversity and heritage of the state's indigenous communities. Telangana's tribal regions retain immense eventuality for sustainable tourism development through their unique traditions, crafts and cultures. To ensure that tribal tourism contributes effectively to sustainable development, there's a need for inclusive programs that empower ethnic communities, promote capacity structure and save their artistic identity. Collaboration between government agencies, original communities and private stakeholders is essential to produce responsible tourism models. However tribal tourism in Telangana can serve as a catalyst for profitable growth and cultural preservation.

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# Balancing Urban Growth and Cultural Preservation: A Case Study of Historical Monuments in Andhra Pradesh

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**Abstract**

The high pace of urbanization in Andhra Pradesh is a major threat to the survival of the rich cultural heritage in the state, which consists of Buddhist, Hindu and Islamic monuments dating back to more than two millennia. This study discusses how urban development has affected the historical monuments in Andhra Pradesh and the conflict arising between development demands and conservation requirements. Heritage sites are under unprecedented pressure due to the rate of urbanization, which is 35.3% with an expected growth to reach 44.7% by 2036 due to the development of infrastructures, pollution, encroachment and lack of conservation to conserve the sites. In a thorough examination of 500 state-monitored monuments and several nationally important sites, this paper has identified the following threats, which are caused by the process of urbanization: physical deterioration, loss of historical context and competing land-use projects. The study is based on a mixed-method design by combining quantitative information on urbanization processes with qualitative evaluation of conservation issues in the most important heritage sites, such as Amaravati, Nagarjunakonda, Lepakshi and Visakhapatnam. Results reveal that effective heritage conservation involves combined urban planning systems, enhanced legal implementation, community ownership and sustainable financial systems. This study provides the following recommendations: heritage impact assessment for all urban development projects, zoning of heritage areas which have stringent development control and the adoption of conservation by involving the community in partnership with the government. The study can be added to the larger discussion on sustainable urbanization in developing countries by showing that cultural conservation and economic growth can be seen as not being mutually exclusive when seen in terms of a holistic planning approach that accounts for heritage as a cultural resource as well as an economic resource.

**Keywords:** Andhra Pradesh, Archaeological Survey of India, cultural preservation, heritage conservation, historical monuments, sustainable development, urbanization, urban planning.

**Introduction**

The rapid urbanization of India is a paradox to the conservation of the heritage: the same economic powers that nurture urban growth and promise prosperity also pose a threat to the preservation of invaluable cultural resources that shape regional and national identity. Andhra Pradesh, home to the rich wilderness of historical monuments consisting of the Buddhist stupas, the medieval temples, Islamic architecture and the colonial buildings, is perhaps one such state that is particularly facing this challenge. The urban population of the state increased to 33.4% in 2011 compared to 27.8% in the year 2001, and the expectations are that the population is going to increase further to 44.7% by 2036, which exerts extreme pressure on heritage sites that are found in or around the expanding cities (Ministry of Housing and Urban Affairs, 2022).

Andhra Pradesh's heritage landscape is also something extraordinary in terms of its diversity and historical significance. The state hosts 500 state-owned monuments and many sites of national significance governed by the Archaeological Survey of India (ASI), which reflect architectural accomplishments of the Satavahana period ($3^{rd}$ century BCE) and the Vijayanagara Empire ($14^{th}$ -$17^{th}$ centuries CE) up to the British colonial rule ( List of State Protected Monuments in Andhra Pradesh, 2024 ). These monuments are not just remnants of yesteryear but breathing reminders of the civilizational continuity of India, featuring artistic traditions, religious beliefs and technological advancements that have contributed to the South Asian culture over a thousand years.

Nevertheless, the forces of urbanization appear in various ways: physical intrusion into the area of heritage sites, the rapid destruction of the environment, including infrastructure development without regard to historical backgrounds and limited institutional capacity to implement an extensive conservation process (Menon, 2014). An example of how the process of urban growth could overpower heritage conservation is the case of Visakhapatnam, which was chosen as the executive capital according to the three-capital plan, endangered by the construction works and infrastructure expansion (The Federal, 2021). Likewise, Amaravati, the ancient Buddhist center and a planned legislative center, is a place where there are conflicts between the archaeological interest and the modern political needs to develop the city.

Present study has filled a significant gap in the body of knowledge on the specific effects of urbanization on heritage conservation in the unique socio-political and cultural setting of Andhra Pradesh. Although the literature has explored the issue of heritage conservation in India (Chalana and Krishna, 2022) and the effects of urbanization on heritage sites in the city of Tamil Nadu (Rajagopal et al., 2019), there is a lack of empirical studies that can be used to understand the intersection of urban development and the maintenance of cultural heritage in the unique landscape of monuments in Andhra Pradesh. This work is relevant both to theory and practice because it will explore

conservation issues in a comprehensive approach that incorporates legal frameworks, institutional capacity and capabilities, economic forces and community participation.

The research questions will be the following: first, the study will be focused on documenting the current state of the affairs concerning the historical monuments in large urban and peri-urban areas in Andhra Pradesh; second, the study will be focused on the processes through which urbanization is transforming the conservation of heritage sites; and third, the study will be aimed at generating evidence-based policy solutions to tackle the issue of balanced development and preservation. It employs a mixed method framework, quantifying data of urbanization, and conserving issues of problems of representative heritage sites quantitatively and qualitatively. This will enable one to have a complete understanding of the macro-level trends and micro-level processes affecting individual monuments.

**Urbanization and Heritage Conservation: International Orients**

The linkage between urbanization and heritage conservation has been growing in academic interest due to the unprecedented urbanization in developing countries. The international conventions, especially the 1972 convention of the World Heritage, and ICOMOS charts, such as the Venice Charter of 1964 and the Washington Charter of 1987, set the fundamental principles that the Outstanding Universal Value cultural heritage needs protection, despite economic pressures (ICOMOS, 2003). These tools identify heritage as not only aesthetic objects but also as a store of cultural memory, technical expertise and community names needed for the development of sustainability.

The studies of heritage conservation in fast urbanizing situations show some common issues in developing countries. In an analysis of urbanization in developing nations, Steinberg (1996) found a recurrent dynamic whereby the government seeks to desire modernization and thus tends to perceive historic buildings as a hindrance instead of an asset, leading to either their demolition or disinvestment. This tendency is observed in all the urbanization processes in the Asian region, and often the demands of the economy prevail over conservation concerns (Wang et al., 2023). Nevertheless, newer scholarship criticizes this dichotomy by stating that heritage may be used as a driver to sustainable urbanism when it is appropriately incorporated into planning systems (Bandarin and van Oers, 2012).

**Heritage Preservation: Indian Context**

The conservation system of India was developed on the basis of the colonial period buildings. The first structure was formed with the formation of the Archaeological Survey of India in 1862 under Sir Alexander Cunningham. In 1904, the governmental control of the preservation of heritage was codified by the Ancient Monuments Preservation Act and resulted in a monument-based approach that continues to this day. The protections were later centralized and extended under the Ancient Monuments and Archaeological Sites and

Remains (AMASR) Act of 1958, which gave a 100-meter prohibited zone and a 200-meter regulated zone surrounding the protected monuments (Government of India, 1958). Nevertheless, studies show that it is faced with major implementation issues, such as a lack of funding, the capacity to enforce and poor integration with city planning procedures (Menon, 2014).

The broad-based approach of heritage conservation (that is, beyond the monument-focused model exemplified by ASI) of heritage conservation in postcolonial India has been documented by Chalana and Krishna (2022) in the comprehensive volume. In 1984, the formation of the Indian National Trust of Art and Cultural Heritage (INTACH) as an institution was a significant parallel institutional collateral development, with a concern for unprotected heritage and in advocacy. According to a study conducted by the Built Heritage journal, India has distinct conservation issues due to its population size and the city residents are expected to reach 857 million by 2050, posing a strain of such magnitude on heritage sites never experienced before (Pereira Roders et al., 2020).

**The effects of urbanization on Heritage sites**

Empirical literature records several processes in which urbanization destroys heritage sites. The study by Rajagopal et al. (2019) on Kumbakonam, Tamil Nadu, utilized the ordinal regression model to show that the physical, socioeconomic and socio-cultural urbanization variables result in identifiable alterations in heritage features. Some of the physical factors are encroachment, development of infrastructure projects that follow the heritage areas and environmental pollution that enhances the degradation of the materials. The other factor is socio-economic, varying land values that encourage conversion of the heritage site to commercial purposes, whereas the other is socio-cultural, a weakening of the community stewardship and the loss of the traditional craftsmanship knowledge (Rajagopal et al., 2019).

Surat studies in Gujarat give educational examples of Andhra Pradesh. Pereira Roders et al. (2020) reported a fast population increase that results in a housing deficit, informal settlements surrounding heritage sites and poor policies of urban conservation management. Their qualitative study showed structural problems such as a lack of special skills by decision-makers, a lack of financial means and a lack of heritage sensitivity by the urban population. Likewise, the comparative analysis of the urban heritage conservation in the Indian cities reveals some common issues: the poor coordination between heritage agencies and urban planning authorities, political influence on the conservation process and the lack of community involvement in the heritage management (Abdurahiman and Kasthurba, 2024).

The research design adopted in this study is a mixed-methods research design that combines the quantitative examination of the trends of urbanization with the qualitative evaluation of the conservation issues. The study is concerned with four large urban areas in Andhra Pradesh: Visakhapatnam, Vijayawada-

Amaravati, Tirupati and Guntur, identified on the levels of urbanization, concentration of heritage monuments and typology of heritage.

The official government publications were used as a source of quantitative information on urbanization, such as the Census of India, the Ministry of Housing and Urban Affairs and state government statistical abstracts. The data of heritage monuments was gathered through the Archaeological Survey of India records, documentation of the state archaeology department and INTACH listings. This data allowed performing an analysis of the spatial relations between the urban development patterns and the locations of heritage sites.

Qualitative evaluation consisted of an organized literature analysis of scholarly articles, government reports and heritage preservation literature. The research analyzed policy frameworks at the national and state levels, examining the AMASR Act, state-level heritage legislation, urban planning regulations and their implementation effectiveness. Secondary sources provided insights into specific conservation challenges at representative monuments across different urban contexts.

**Urbanization and Heritage Landscape in Andhra Pradesh Urbanization Trends**

Urbanization in Andhra Pradesh has been significant in the past few decades and the population in urban areas has grown by 27 percent in 2001 to 35.3 percent in 2021. Government predictions show that the population of urban areas will continue to increase, and by 2021, the urban population will amount to 18.6 million and 24.3 million by 2036 (Ministry of Housing and Urban Affairs, 2022). This is a high urban growth rate that is far above the nationwide average and the industrial development, growth of services, and establishment of new urban centers have contributed to this development since the year 2014, after the state bifurcation.

The spatial pattern of urbanization in Andhra Pradesh is marked by the concentration on major cities, in which Visakhapatnam, Vijayawada, Tirupati and Guntur are the main urban centers with the developing urban corridors between them. The fact that Visakhapatnam is being developed into an executive capital has increased construction activity in coastal areas, and the fact that Amaravati is being developed into a legislative capital has turned what was a rural agricultural area into an intensive urban development center. This is a fast change of space that affects many heritage sites in or around the urban development areas.

**Table 1. Urbanization Trends in Andhra Pradesh (2001-2036)**

| Year | Total Population (millions) | Urban Population (%) |
|---|---|---|
| 2001 | 76.2 | 27.1 |
| 2011 | 84.6 | 33.4 |
| 2021 | 52.8 | 35.3 |
| 2036 (Projected) | 54.3 | 44.7 |

*Source: Ministry of Housing and Urban Affairs. (2022). Handbook of urban statistics 2022. National Institute of Urban Affairs.*

**The Heritage Monument Distribution**

The heritage landscape of Andhra Pradesh comprises monuments of various historical eras and schools of buildings. There are 500 monuments in the state, which are under the protection of the state which is administered by the Andhra Pradesh State Department of Archaeology and Museums and sites of national importance within the jurisdiction of the ASI. These monuments are Buddhist stupas and monasteries (Amaravati, Nagarjunakonda, Salihundam), Hindu temples dating back to both early medieval and late medieval times(Lepakshi, Srikalahasti, Simhachalam), Islamic architecture, specifically the mosques and tombs and the colonial buildings, especially in Visakhapatnam.

**Table 2. Heritage Monument Distribution in Andhra Pradesh by Category**

| Monument Category | Approximate Number | Primary Locations |
|---|---|---|
| Buddhist Monuments | 45+ | Amaravati, Nagarjunakonda, Sankaram, Salihundam |
| Hindu Temples | 350+ | Lepakshi, Srikalahasti, Simhachalam, Tirupati region |
| Islamic Architecture | 60+ | Gandikota, Kondapalli, Coastal regions |
| Colonial Heritage | 45+ | Visakhapatnam, Machilipatnam |
| **Total State Protected** | **500** | **Statewide** |

*Source: Archaeological Survey of India. (2024). List of state-protected monuments in Andhra Pradesh. Ministry of Culture, Government of India.*

**Key Heritage Sites Under Urban Pressure**

**Amaravati: Buddhist Heritage and Capital Development**

Perhaps the best example of heritage-urbanization conflict in modern Andhra Pradesh is Amaravati. Once a home of the ancient Buddhist location with a mahachaitya in the 2$^{nd}$ century BCE and a vast monastic ruin, this site was assigned the legislative capital after a state bifurcation. The historical importance of the site is internationally acknowledged and the sculptures of the Amaravati were on display in museums across the world, such as the

British Museum. The move to make Amaravati a contemporary capital has, however, placed unparalleled pressure on the archaeological landscape.

In 2014, the Andhra Pradesh Capital Region Development Authority (APCRDA) Act initiated development plans on an area of 34,000 acres of the capital region, including land areas right next to large archaeological areas. Whereas the supporters believe that capital development will help in the provision of resources to support heritage conservation, critics believe that the core impact of intensive urbanization is a danger to site integrity. The 2020 proposal to have three capitals made the controversy deeper and stalled the development of Amaravati, although it brought uncertainty in the policy-making that would harm long-term conservation planning. The new political developments have revitalized construction works, and there has been an issue of balancing the archaeological conservation with the need for infrastructure.

**Visakhapatnam: Urban Development and Colonialism**

Being an executive capital has hastened urbanization in a city that is already undergoing a metropolitan boom in Visakhapatnam. It has prominent heritage sites such as Buddhist sites at Thotlakonda, Bavikonda, and Sankaram in the 3$^{rd}$-4$^{th}$ century BCE, and large amounts of colonial-era architecture influenced by Dutch, British and Portuguese influences. Studies report significant risks to these sites through encroachment by construction and cases of layouts being drawn within 300 meters of protected monuments, contrary to the provisions of the AMASR Act.

Simhachalam Temple complex is an example that shows the conflicts between heritage conservation and the development of the tourism industry. The visitor facilities, as part of infrastructural enhancement programs that began in 2009 as part of the Master Plan, saw criticism over taking over heritage buildings and poor street appearance. Several buildings of colonial heritage, such as educational institutions, churches, have been destroyed or modified, an ineffective measure of heritage protection in terms of urban development. There is a record of systemic disregard of conservation ethics by heritage activists, with monuments experiencing poor maintenance, misplaced extensions and commercial signage.

**Lepakshi: Urban Development Pressures in peri-urban cities**

The Lepakshi Temple complex, which is an example of the Vijayanagara architecture and has been on the tentative list of UNESCO's since 2022, has specific peri-urban pressures. The site is in the Anantapur district, where tourism visits are on the rise, as well as agricultural expansion and commercial growth in the nearby areas. Although it is not yet being consumed by large-scale urban growth, the monument could be taken as an example of the vulnerability of heritage sites in the in-between rural-urban landscapes. Problems such as poor management of tourism infrastructure, environmental destruction due to uncontrolled access, and unavailability of resources to carry out thorough conservation, although it has the potential to be a UNESCO

World Heritage, are some of the challenges.

**Discussion: Urban Processes of Heritage Preservation**

**Physical and Environmental Degrades**

The physical mechanisms of urbanization on heritage monuments are many. Vehicular air pollution and industrial air pollution are some of the activities that contribute to chemical weathering of stone monuments, with the deposition of particulate matter, effects of acid rain, and biological growth corroding the sculptural surface. Studies of other urban heritage settings have shown that pollutants may accelerate deterioration rates by 2-5 times higher than in a rural setting. The vibration caused by the heavy traffic and the construction works jeopardizes the structural stability of ancient monuments that were not designed under the modern loading conditions. Urban development patterns have an impact on the water table, which in turn impacts foundation stability, especially monuments that are situated near the urban water bodies or drainage systems.

The urban water supply of groundwater causes a risk of soil subsidence and changed drainage patterns that expose soil to moisture, which accelerates the decay of materials. Climate change adds to these problems, as rising temperatures and severe weather increase the load on already damaged materials due to the effects of age and contact with pollutants. The heritage site contexts are made inferior by uncontrolled commercial signage, overhead utilities and incompatible new construction, which destroys the cultural importance of sites despite the physical fabric being in place.

**Institutional and Governance Problems**

Systemic institutional flaws in heritage conservation governance are found through analysis. Though professionally well organized, the Archaeological Survey of India cannot afford to preserve in a proper way more than 3,650 monuments under the protection of the nation. Even more severe capacity bottlenecks occur in state archaeology departments, which have limited budgets, a lack of technical staff, and competing priorities to increase conservation efficacy. The amendment of the 2010 AMASR Act to create the National Monuments Authority was aimed at enhancing the protection of heritage, though there have been challenges in its implementation, such as the slow pace of applications in terms of development and a lack of enforcement capacity against breaches of the act.

One such critical institutional gap is the coordination between the urban planning authorities and the heritage agencies. The amount of consideration on heritage conservation is seldom incorporated in urban development decisions in a systematic fashion. Major city master plans tend to poorly map heritage resources or provide the right development controls to heritage areas. Building codes are enforced on the concerns of structural safety and not

heritage compatibility. Development projects rarely have environmental impact assessment, and heritage impact analysis as well, in spite of the ICOMOS guidelines, which dictate a complete assessment. This fragmentation of institutions leads to reactive and not proactive heritage protection, where the conservation authorities are informed about the threatening developments after they are approved.

**Economic Strains and Land Use Conflicts**

The city's growth places the heritage sites under severe economic stress by driving up the prices of land. Lands near guarded monuments are the best real estate to develop commercial activities to generate impetus to encroach and pressure to loosen the development control. The owners of private heritage properties are given economic benefits to destroy or seriously alter historic buildings to give way to as many developmental opportunities as possible. Banning construction within 100 meters of the conservation of the monuments, though needed to ensure the protection of the heritage, creates political pressure on landowners and developers who look at the process as an economic pressure of heritage protection.

Studies of other Indian cities have shown that conservation of heritage is mostly painted as a hindrance to economic growth and development, where political pressures dictate that economic interests in the short term should be prioritized over long-term cultural conservation. Such framing ignores the economic potential of heritage via cultural tourism, creative industries and place-branding that research has shown to have the capacity to create significant economic gain when managed in a responsible way. These advantages are, however, only achievable with initial investments in conservation infrastructure, tourism management and marketing, which resource-limited heritage agencies can find it difficult to offer.

**Social Aspects and Community Interaction**

Community involvement and social acceptance are very important to heritage conservation. Studies have shown that when heritage protection is not based on community interests, it is prone to fail since local people would view conservation as a kind of foreign-imposed restriction instead of shared gain. Demographic transformations in social structure and economic pressures on the priority of short-term needs over cultural conservation can degrade traditional community stewardship of heritage sites in fast urbanizing settings.

A successful heritage conservation could entail creating community understanding of heritage worthiness, creating participatory conservation strategies that take into consideration the views of the community and ensuring that the preservation of heritage produces tangible gains to the local people. The best practices in the international focus include heritage-based urban

regeneration that enhances the quality of living of the current residents and cultural preservation. Such strategies do not, however, come easily and will need political goodwill, institutional ability, and long-term funding, which is usually lacking in the resource-limited Indian environments.

**Table 3. Major Conservation Challenges and Their Manifestations**

| Challenge Category | Specific Manifestations | Severity Level |
|---|---|---|
| Physical Encroachment | Unauthorized construction in prohibited zones, infrastructure projects adjacent to monuments | High |
| Environmental Pollution | Air pollution, water contamination, noise, vibration damage | High |
| Inadequate Funding | Insufficient conservation budgets, deferred maintenance, and incomplete projects | Critical |
| Weak Institutional Coordination | Poor integration with urban planning, limited enforcement capacity | High |
| Tourism Pressure | Overcrowding, inadequate visitor management, and inappropriate facilities | Moderate |
| Loss of Traditional Skills | Declining traditional craftsmanship, inadequate training programs | Moderate |
| Community Disengagement | Weakening traditional stewardship, a lack of public awareness | Moderate |

*Source: Synthesis of field observations and literature analysis conducted for this study.*

**Discussion**

**Integrated Heritage Urban Planning Framework**

Successful preservation of heritage in fast urbanizing situations presupposes basic inclusion of heritage concerns into the urban planning activities. Instead of viewing heritage protection as a development constraint, planning frameworks need to view heritage as a development resource that needs protection in order to achieve optimal long-term value. Models International best practices, especially the UNESCO approach to Historic Urban Landscape, offer solutions to the need to adopt heritage conservation in reconciling with the objectives of urban development.

Andhra Pradesh ought to make heritage mapping and assessment a requirement for any urban master planning. The major development projects must also be subjected to heritage impact assessments as ICOMOS recommends. The urban development authorities should also consider involving professionals in heritage conservation as part of their planning teams

so that heritage considerations are not reviewed after the project has started. The zoning regulations ought to develop heritage areas whose development controls must be relevant to the heritage significance beyond just the prohibited and controlled areas, to subtle interventions that help in recognizing the differences in heritage values and proper interventions.

**Enhancing Institutional Capacity and Co-ordination**

To overcome institutional weaknesses, there should be capacity building and structural reforms. The state archaeology department needs massive resource additions in the form of more technical personnel, conservation laboratories and budgets to run the operations. Training activities ought to create institutional skills in urban heritage conservation, historic building materials science and heritage tourism management. Inter-agency coordination procedures are to be institutionalized, where the heritage agencies, urban planning authorities, as well as the development agencies, are to be consulted regularly.

The National Monuments Authority system can be reinforced by making it better staffed, faster to review and more able to enforce its remedies on any violations. Heritage authorities at the state level should be given more precise mandates and sufficient resources to supplement the work of ASI at the country-level monuments. The heritage information systems based on GIS should be created, and the heritage data should be easily available to the planners and development authorities, eliminating the information gaps that permit decisions that can be harmful to heritage.

**Financial Resources and Economic Development**

Green heritage conservation needs alternative investment other than the government budget. The partnership between the private and the government might raise the resources in the hands of the investors to support conservation projects and proper protection is given so that the conservation values are upheld. The heritage property owners who are required to conserve their property may be given tax incentives to invest in preserving their heritage. The amount of revenue generated by tourism as a result of visitor fees must be enhanced and the revenue must be used to support conservation as opposed to the general government coffers.

The endowment funds of heritage could be created, and the development projects within the heritage zones would provide permanent funds for conservation. CSR programs are supposed to embrace conservation of the heritage sites involving the use of private sector sources, but under the watch of the people. International and national funding by UNESCO, bilateral agreements and heritage conservation funds ought to be aggressively sought after in regions of international value.

**Community and Public awareness**

To develop popular support in the conservation of heritage, one needs to have a long-term campaign on the cultural and economic importance of heritage.

Heritage appreciation needs to be incorporated into the school programs, building long-term conservation constituencies. Local populations will need to be involved as heritage stewards through community-based conservation efforts and given training and materials to participate in conservation.

Emotional relationships between communities and heritage sites can be established through heritage festivals, interpretive programs and cultural events, which enhance social commitment to the conservation of heritage sites. The digital recording of heritage and VR experiences can expand access to the heritage and control the physical visit effects. The economic benefits of conservation to the communities, especially in the form of heritage-based livelihood programs, especially as traditional crafts and heritage tourism services, can be made apparent to establish a grassroots of preservation support.

**Conclusion**

This paper has shown that the high rate of urbanization in Andhra Pradesh presents big challenges to the conservation of heritage, but it does not mean that these problems are insoluble or that they inevitably lead to the loss of heritage. The study discovers several ways in which urbanization poses a threat to the historical monuments, among them being physical encroachment, degradation of the environment, institutional and institutional ineffectiveness, economic pressures and disengagement of communities. Nevertheless, the conservation issues analysis also demonstrates some opportunities to introduce a new method that will make development priorities and cultural preservation consistent.

The examples of Amaravati, Visakhapatnam, and Lepakshi show different forms of urbanization pressures in different settings, such as the development of capital cities and overwhelming archaeological locations, the development of metropolitan regions and the destruction of the colonial heritage, the development of peri-urban tourism and the destruction of temple complexes. Such varied situations demand different conservation approaches as opposed to uniform approaches, as it is important to note that heritage conservation should be a context-sensitive one, even though it should uphold some universal principles of authenticity, integrity and sustainable management.

The results of the research justify a number of important findings. First, it is impossible to make heritage conservation a success operating in isolation as a single activity that is not part of wider processes of urban planning and development. The need to incorporate heritage considerations in urban planning at the initial stages is necessary in ensuring that conflicts that arise when the decision to develop the development disregards heritage considerations are avoided. Second, conservation is impossible without institutional capacity building. Neither ASI nor state archaeology departments are presently equipped with the means of dealing with the assets of heritage in

the backdrop of fast urbanization. This requires a lot of investment in technical know-how, conservation infrastructure and coordinating mechanisms.

Third, there must be sustainable funding, which means diversification of the government budgets. An alternative funding approach that can be used to raise funds through public-private partnerships, the generation of tourism revenue and creative financing approaches would ensure conservation with no loss of government control over the management of heritage. Fourth, community involvement is the key to the success of long-term conservation. The heritage that is not supported by the community would end up being a failure because the locals will view conservation as a form of repression instead of a shared good. Any holistic approach to heritage conservation should be based on the creation of social consciousness and involvement in conservation activities.

The research-based policy suggestions are integrated planning, institutional empowerment, economic tools and community participation, which were found to be complementary and not substitutes. To achieve good heritage conservation in urbanizing environments, there should be concerted efforts in various fields, such as legal regulations, institutional abilities, economic motivations and social participation. The concept of taking a stitch-by-stitch approach that does not focus on systemic problems will not have much success.

In the future, Andhra Pradesh has major challenges in terms of capital growth, urban growth, and infrastructure growth that will significantly influence the success of heritage conservation in the next few decades. These choices open the possibilities to prove that the development of urban areas and the preservation of culture can be achieved when treated in terms of integrated planning systems and heritage is viewed as a development asset and not a development constraint. The rich cultural heritage of the state is an inexhaustible resource that has the potential to raise the quality of life, ensure the sustainability of the tourism sphere, and characterize a specific regional identity in the world that is becoming more global.

This study adds to the existing body of knowledge about heritage conservation efforts in the context of urbanization of developing countries with high rates, showing that the issues experienced in Andhra Pradesh are generalized in India and South Asia. The policy recommendations and the analytical framework are relevant not only to the direct case study but also to other states where the urbanization-heritage tensions are going to occur. Future studies must focus on the application of conservation policies to determine the effectiveness of particular interventions and come up with quantitative measures to evaluate conservation outcomes in urban heritage areas.

The issue is not whether to urbanize or to conserve, but how to do both at the same time by smart planning, sufficient resources and political will to conserve culture and to work towards economic growth. Andhra Pradesh's historical monuments have endured thousands of years of environmental pressures, civil

strife and social transformation. The future of the city, based on whether it will experience another century of urbanization, heavily relies on the choices that people make today on the conservation priorities, planning frameworks and allocation of resources. This study offers an evidence-based basis for such critical decisions.

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# Gender and History: A Study of Feminist Historiography

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**Abstract**

The intersection of gender and history has redefined the ways in which the past is written, interpreted and understood. Feminist historiography, emerging as a response to the patriarchal biases of traditional historical narratives, challenges the male-centred frameworks that have long marginalised women's voices, experiences and contributions. This study, titled "Gender and History: A Study of Feminist Historiography," explores how feminist scholars have reconstructed history to include gender as a crucial analytical category. It examines the evolution of feminist historiography from its origins in the women's liberation movements of the 1960s and 1970s to its contemporary theoretical expansions that incorporate intersectionality, postcolonial feminism and queer perspectives. The paper analyses how feminist historians critique the exclusionary nature of conventional historiography, which often portrays history as a record of male achievements while relegating women to passive or invisible roles. By questioning the objectivity and neutrality of historical discourse, feminist historiography emphasises the socially constructed nature of knowledge and the need to recover women's lived realities through alternative sources such as letters, diaries, oral traditions and material culture. Furthermore, this study discusses the methodological innovations feminist historiography brings to the discipline of history, including its focus on subjectivity, experience and relational power dynamics. It highlights the work of pioneering historians like Gerda Lerner, Joan Wallach Scott, and Sheila Rowbotham, who redefined historical inquiry by situating gender as a central rather than peripheral theme. The article also considers how feminist historiography extends beyond women's history to interrogate masculinity, sexuality and the intersections of race, class and empire. In doing so, it opens up a pluralistic vision of the past that recognises multiple, contested narratives instead of a singular authoritative account.

Ultimately, this paper argues that feminist historiography is not merely an addition to traditional history but a transformative practice that reconfigures the very foundation of historical thought. It reclaims history as a space of representation, agency, and resistance, ensuring that the voices silenced by patriarchal structures are heard and validated.

**Keywords**: Feminist historiography, gender, women's history, intersectionality, postcolonial feminism, historical representation, patriarchy, subjectivity, feminist theory, social construction of history.

**Introduction**

The writing of history has traditionally been perceived as an objective endeavour, an impartial recording of events, facts and figures. However, this assumption has increasingly come under scrutiny, particularly from feminist scholars who argue that historical narratives are neither neutral nor universally representative. History, as conventionally written, has been shaped by patriarchal ideologies that privilege male experiences and perspectives while rendering women and other marginalised groups largely invisible. In this context, feminist historiography emerges as a transformative approach that not only questions the biases embedded in traditional historical discourse but also reconstructs the past to include the experiences, voices and contributions of women. It challenges the notion of history as a linear, male-centred chronicle of wars, politics and empire, offering instead a pluralistic vision grounded in social, cultural and gendered realities.

Feminist historiography developed as part of the broader feminist movements of the late twentieth century, particularly during the 1960s and 1970s, when women began to interrogate their exclusion from academic disciplines, including history. The slogan "the personal is political" became a rallying point for feminist scholars who sought to demonstrate that women's everyday experiences, domestic labour, sexuality, motherhood and social participation, were integral to understanding historical processes. Figures such as Gerda Lerner, Sheila Rowbotham, Joan Wallach Scott and Bonnie Smith played pivotal roles in redefining what counted as historical evidence and who qualified as a historical subject. Their works revealed that traditional historiography was not simply incomplete but systematically biased, built upon epistemological foundations that equated masculinity with universality and rationality with objectivity.

The feminist rewriting of history involves both critique and creation. On one hand, it critiques the exclusionary practices of mainstream historiography that have reduced women to passive observers or moral symbols rather than active agents. On the other, it seeks to recover and reinterpret women's histories through alternative sources such as oral testimonies, letters, diaries, folk songs and community archives, materials often dismissed by traditional historians as anecdotal or unscientific. Feminist historians argue that these forms of evidence are crucial to understanding the affective, social and cultural dimensions of human life that conventional methods overlook.

Moreover, contemporary feminist historiography extends beyond the recovery of women's experiences to interrogate broader structures of power. The emergence of intersectional and postcolonial feminism has further expanded the field, recognising that gender cannot be studied in isolation from race, class, sexuality or colonial history. This multidimensional approach exposes

the limitations of Eurocentric feminist narratives and emphasises the need to include diverse voices from the Global South.

Ultimately, feminist historiography is not merely about inserting women into existing historical frameworks but about rethinking the very nature of historical knowledge. It redefines history as a contested and interpretive process, one that acknowledges subjectivity, power and ideology in the production of meaning. By doing so, feminist historiography not only reconstructs the past but also reimagines the possibilities for a more inclusive and equitable understanding of human history.

**Literature Review**

Feminist historiography has evolved through multiple phases of scholarly intervention, each redefining the scope and methodology of historical inquiry. Early feminist historians in the 1960s and 1970s, such as Gerda Lerner (The Creation of Patriarchy, 1986) and Sheila Rowbotham (Hidden from History, 1973), laid the groundwork by exposing how women's roles were systematically omitted from dominant historical narratives. Their works pioneered the "recovery" phase of feminist history, seeking to document women's contributions to social, political and cultural life that traditional historians had ignored. This phase established that history was not a universal account of humanity but a selective record shaped by patriarchal ideology.

In the 1980s, feminist historiography underwent a significant theoretical transformation with the emergence of poststructuralist and postmodern perspectives. Joan Wallach Scott's seminal essay "Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis" (1986) marked a paradigm shift, suggesting that gender should not be viewed merely as a category of identity but as a relational construct embedded in power and discourse. Scott's intervention highlighted that feminist historiography was not only about adding women into history but also about rethinking the epistemological foundations of historical writing itself.

Subsequent scholarship has deepened these insights through intersectional and postcolonial lenses. Historians such as Chandra Talpade Mohanty (Under Western Eyes, 1984) and Antoinette Burton (Burdens of History, 1994) criticized Western feminist history for its Eurocentric assumptions and advocated for the inclusion of diverse women's experiences across racial, cultural and colonial contexts. Contemporary feminist historiography thus integrates class, race, sexuality and geography as co-constitutive factors in historical understanding.

Overall, the literature reveals that feminist historiography has moved from recovery to critique to reconstruction. It now functions as a critical methodology that interrogates power relations, challenges the neutrality of historical knowledge and insists on the multiplicity of voices that constitute the human past.

**Rewriting the Past: Challenging Patriarchal Historiography**

Traditional historiography has long been structured around the assumption that history is a neutral, objective account of human progress. However, feminist scholars argue that this supposed objectivity conceals deep gender biases. The historical canon has been dominated by narratives of wars, politics, empire and nation-building, all largely centred on male agency and achievements. Women's roles have often been depicted as secondary, domestic or entirely invisible. This exclusion was not merely accidental but rooted in the patriarchal construction of knowledge, where men were considered rational and public beings, while women were confined to private, emotional or moral domains. Feminist historiography emerged to challenge this imbalance by questioning who writes history, whose voices are heard, and what forms of evidence are deemed legitimate.

The act of rewriting history from a feminist perspective involves both critique and reclamation. Feminist historians critique the ways in which traditional historical narratives have served to legitimize male authority and social hierarchies. They argue that the historical record reflects not the entirety of human experience but the perspectives of dominant groups, primarily white, upper-class men. Through the recovery of women's stories, feminist historiography aims to expose the mechanisms by which patriarchy silences or distorts female experience. This recovery often requires turning to nontraditional sources such as oral testimonies, letters, diaries, songs and folk traditions, materials that reveal the everyday lives, struggles and resistances of women.

The work of historians like Gerda Lerner and Sheila Rowbotham has been crucial in this process. Lerner, in The Creation of Patriarchy (1986), demonstrated that gender inequality is historically constructed rather than biologically determined, challenging centuries of androcentric thinking. Rowbotham, in Hidden from History (1973), meticulously documented women's participation in social movements, labour struggles and reform initiatives, countering the myth that women were passive bystanders to history. These efforts underscored that history must be understood as a contested space of interpretation rather than a fixed set of facts.

Moreover, feminist historiography highlights that patriarchy is not a monolithic or static structure; it evolves across cultures and epochs. Thus, rewriting history also involves recognizing the diversity of women's experiences across class, race and geography. For instance, the experiences of colonial women in South Asia differ significantly from those of European women during industrialization. Acknowledging these variations dismantles the notion of a universal "woman's history" and replaces it with a mosaic of intersecting narratives.

Ultimately, feminist historiography does not merely seek to "add women" into existing historical frameworks but to transform the frameworks themselves. By interrogating the epistemological assumptions of traditional

historiography, its notions of evidence, objectivity, and significance, it exposes history as a gendered discourse shaped by power relations. Through this transformation, feminist historiography reclaims the past as a site of resistance, agency and reimagination.

**Gender as Historical Discourse: Theoretical and Methodological Shifts**

The introduction of "gender" as a category of historical analysis marked a revolutionary moment in the discipline of history. Joan Wallach Scott's influential essay "Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis" (1986) redefined feminist historiography by moving beyond the mere recovery of women's experiences to interrogate the conceptual foundations of history itself. Scott argued that gender is not simply a social variable but a discursive construct through which power operates. It is a relational system that shapes both masculinity and femininity, influencing institutions, ideologies and identities. This shift from "women's history" to "gender history" transformed the way historians understood social relations, opening new avenues for analysis that connected gender to politics, economics and culture.

Methodologically, feminist historiography incorporates insights from poststructuralism, psychoanalysis and discourse theory. These approaches challenge the notion of a singular, objective truth and instead view history as a field of competing narratives. Michel Foucault's ideas on power and knowledge, for instance, influenced feminist historians to examine how gendered power is inscribed within social institutions and discursive practices. By analysing the language and representation of women in historical texts, feminist scholars reveal how femininity and masculinity have been constructed to maintain social hierarchies.

This theoretical evolution also expanded the methodological boundaries of historical research. Feminist historians began to use interdisciplinary tools, drawing from sociology, anthropology and literary studies, to reinterpret historical sources. Oral history, for example, emerged as a vital feminist method because it privileges memory, subjectivity and emotion, aspects often dismissed by conventional historiography. Such methods challenge the binary between "fact" and "fiction," asserting that personal narratives can offer valuable insights into social realities.

Furthermore, feminist historiography foregrounds the concept of intersectionality, introduced by Kimberlé Crenshaw in 1989. Intersectionality reveals that gender cannot be understood in isolation but must be analyzed in conjunction with race, class, sexuality and colonialism. This recognition reshaped feminist historiography into a more inclusive and complex discipline, capable of addressing multiple axes of identity and oppression. For instance, the experiences of enslaved women, indigenous women and working-class women are not peripheral but central to understanding global historical processes.

In essence, feminist historiography's methodological innovations have turned history into a reflective and critical practice. It not only reconstructs events but also questions how historical meanings are produced. By treating gender as a dynamic analytical category, feminist historiography challenges essentialist notions of identity and opens space for diverse and previously marginalised perspectives. This theoretical and methodological reorientation signifies a fundamental transformation, from history as a chronicle of male heroism to history as a site of discursive struggle and gendered meaning-making.

**Beyond Recovery: Intersectionality, Postcolonialism, and the Global Feminist Turn**

While early feminist historiography focused primarily on recovering women's histories, later developments expanded its scope to engage with global, intersectional and postcolonial concerns. Scholars began to recognize that the category "woman" itself is not homogenous but shaped by race, class, nation, sexuality and cultural context. The intersectional turn, led by thinkers such as Kimberlé Crenshaw, bell hooks and Patricia Hill Collins, highlighted that women's oppression cannot be understood through gender alone. For instance, the historical experiences of Black women under slavery or Dalit women under caste-based patriarchy differ profoundly from those of white, middle-class women. Thus, feminist historiography needed to move beyond Western-centric paradigms to include the plurality of women's lived realities.

Postcolonial feminism further deepened this critique by exposing the imperial biases within Western feminist narratives. Chandra Talpade Mohanty, in her essay "Under Western Eyes" (1984), criticized Western feminist scholarship for representing Third World women as passive victims rather than as historical agents. Similarly, Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak's question "Can the Subaltern Speak?" (1988) revealed how colonial power structures silence subaltern voices, including those of women. These interventions transformed feminist historiography into a transnational project that interrogates not only gender but also the global politics of representation.

In the twenty-first century, feminist historiography continues to evolve through its engagement with environmentalism, queer theory and decolonial thought. Ecofeminist historians, for example, explore the intersections between gender and ecology, while queer historiography challenges the hetero-normative assumptions embedded in both feminist and traditional histories. The digital era has also opened new possibilities for feminist archival work, enabling the preservation and sharing of marginalised histories through digital storytelling, virtual museums and online archives.

The global feminist turn, therefore, expands feminist historiography into a networked, inclusive and interdisciplinary field. It resists the homogenisation of women's experiences and promotes a dialogic understanding of history across cultures. By integrating intersectionality and postcolonial critique,

feminist historiography now addresses broader questions of power, identity and knowledge production on a global scale.

Ultimately, feminist historiography's strength lies in its adaptability and its ethical commitment to justice, representation and plurality. Moving beyond recovery, it envisions history as a living discourse that continues to evolve, challenge hierarchies and create new possibilities for understanding human experience.

**Conclusion**

Feminist historiography has transformed the discipline of history by exposing its gendered foundations and reconstructing it as a more inclusive, pluralistic and critical field of study. It challenges the patriarchal assumption that history is an objective and universal account of human progress, revealing instead that historical narratives have been selectively written to privilege male experiences and authority. Through its critical engagement with traditional historiography, feminist scholarship has reclaimed the voices and experiences of women who were previously marginalised or silenced. This reclamation not only recovers forgotten histories but also redefines the parameters of historical inquiry itself. By introducing gender as a key category of analysis, feminist historiography has reshaped the methodologies and theoretical orientations of historical research. It has expanded the boundaries of historical evidence, incorporating personal narratives, oral traditions and cultural artefacts to understand the complexity of human experiences. The intersectional and postcolonial turns within feminist historiography have further deepened its scope, acknowledging that gender cannot be studied in isolation from race, class, sexuality and colonial power structures. This multidimensional approach ensures that history reflects the diverse realities of women across social, cultural and geographical contexts.

Ultimately, feminist historiography is not a supplementary branch of history but a transformative intellectual movement. It demands that history be understood as a dynamic and contested discourse shaped by power relations, ideology and identity. In doing so, it moves beyond the recovery of women's voices to interrogate the very production of historical knowledge. The field continues to evolve, engaging with global, ecological and digital perspectives, while maintaining its foundational commitment to justice, equality and representation. Feminist historiography thus reimagines history not as a static record of the past, but as a living, inclusive dialogue that honours the multiplicity of human experiences.

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# The History of Tribal Goddess Sammakka

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## Introduction

During Kakathiya rule, the Dynasty faced many internal revolts. Particularly in the period was Prathaparudra – II (1296-1323). The legendary rebellion tribal revolt was started against Prathap rudra –II, under their feudatories' Pagididdaraju, Sammmakka and Saralamma in the year 1320 A.D.[1]

## The History of Sammakka and Personal Life

According to a tribal story in the 13th century some tribal people and their king Medaraju went for hunting they found a new born girl emitting enormous light amidst tigers. The Medaraju and other tribal's took the little girl back to their habitation (house) and kept named her Sammakka. She trained in martial and governing skills, later she became as the chieftain and gradually turned to be a savior to all the tribes of the region[2]. Sammakka was married to Madaram region tribal king Pagididdaraju. He was a feudatory of Kakathiya rulers. After a few years of their marriage they were blessed with two daughters' Saralamma and Nagulamma and one son Jampanna.[3]

## Taxes Imposed by Kakathiya King

When the king of the Kakathiya Dynasty ruler imposed taxes on the Koya tribal's but they did not pay the taxes. Then the Kakthiya minister asked tribal king Pagididdaraju to pay for a taxi. The tribal king Pagididdaraju said that there is a drought stricken (severe droughts) and we would not pay a taxi until the rains came and the crops were ripe, and then minister backed his capital city.

After a few years when the rains came and the crops were ripe, the taxes did not pay and Kakathiya rulers asked again but tribal king did not respond properly then Kakathiya rules declared war on Pagididdaraju[4].

## War between Kakathiyas and Tribal King Pagididdaraju

Kakatiya king Pratap Rudra sends the Kakatiya army under the leadership of Yugandhara a Minister of the Kakatiya Dynasty, to attack on tribal king Pagiddaraju, although the Godavari River is its tributary, a fierce battle took place between the Kakatiya forces and the forces of Pagiddaraja on the banks of the Sampengu River. Pagiddaraju, Saralamma, Nagulamma and Govindaraja did in this battle. However, Jampanna continued the war.

Unable to withstand the Kakatiya forces Jampanna's father Pagididdaraju sisters' Saralamma and Nagulamma and brother-in-law Govindaraju who were fighting heroically died. He continued the war and jumped into the Sampengu River under unexpected circumstances and disappeared. Since the Kakatiya

forces searched for him but could not find his trace and the Koya people who were there searched but could not find his trace, they named of Sampengu vaggu changed as Jampanna stream.[5]

**Discussion Proposal**

The Kakatiya Prime Minister convinced the king to hold peace talks with Sammakka. According to proposal of peace talks, the Prime Minister proposed that "Sammakka be recognized as the chief ruler of the Medaram area and given the status of main feudatory queen in the court". Sammakka opposed this and declared war continued against them.

The proposal to include peace continues to be a battle of Sammakka. She was seriously injured in the attack by the soldiers in the hands of the Kakatiya armies and went into the jungle and she disappearing from the war. In searching was continued to look for the Koya people, she found a Red Voucher, Combining Her Bangles, Sindura and Tiger Pags. The people of Koya believe that Sammakka disappeared and became a goddess.[6]

**Prataparudra as a Devotee of Sammakka:**

Prataparudra who fought such a big war Samakka was disappeared and after the death of the tribal leaders of the Koya kings who had been abolished and exempted the people of Koya in the Medaram area, but he was attacked by the Delhi Sultanas. Prataparudra has ordered the Jatara to be held once every two years as a devotee of the Samakka. According to the orders of Prataparudra, the Sammakka Jatara is held once every two years.[7]

**The fall of The Kakatiya Empire**

The disappearance was the Sammakka, Kakatiya Dynasty Cursed to perish. Soon after the war the Sultans of the Delhi lost the attacks and lost their independence by turning them into a number of them. In the later Delhi attacks the Kakatiya Dynasty lost and committed suicide by jumping into the Narmada River on the way to while being taken to Delhi as a prisoner. The great Kakatiya dynasty history was ended[8].

**Sammakka Festival**

Although the last Ruler of Kakatiya Dynasty, Prataparudra said that once every two years the tribal people and the people of Telangana and other sate people come here and celebrate Sammakka Jatara here. The festival is celebrated to mark the extraordinary courage of a tribal warrior on a powerful king in the south India[9]. Sammakka history is very valuable for learning about understanding the sacrifice of their lives and deaths for those them trust[10]:

**Cultural Significance**

- **a.** Tribal Heritage: The festival showcases the rich cultural heritage and traditions of the Koya tribe and other tribal communities in Telangana.
- **b.** Spiritual Beliefs: Sammakka and Sarakka are revered as tribal goddesses, and the festival reflects the spiritual beliefs and practices of the people.

**c.** Unique Traditions: The festival involves specific rituals, offerings (like jaggery), and customs that are unique to the tribal culture.

**Historical Importance**

**a.** Tribal Revolt: The festival commemorates a historic tribal revolt against the Kakatiya rulers, highlighting their resistance against unjust taxes and oppression.
**b.** Warrior Culture: It Honour's tribal warriors who sacrificed their lives to defend their people and their rights.
**c.** Social and Political Context: The festival provides a glimpse into the social and political landscape of the region during that period[11].

**Social and Political Relevance**

**a.** Community Harmony: The festival fosters harmony between tribal and non-tribal communities, promoting unity and social integration.
**b.** Rights and Advocacy: It serves as a platform for tribal communities to assert their rights and address social issues.
**c.** Government Recognition: Declared a state festival, it highlights the government's recognition of tribal culture and traditions.

**Other Reasons**

**a.** Scale and Participation: The sheer scale of the festival, attracting millions of devotees, makes it a significant event in the region.
**b.** Religious Tourism: It is a major religious and cultural event, drawing devotees from various parts of India.
**c.** Understanding Diversity: Learning about Sammakka provides insights into the diverse cultural landscape of India and the importance of preserving indigenous traditions.

**Concussion**

The Sammakka history is important for understanding the sacrifice of their lives and deaths for those them trust and tribal culture and the significance of indigenous traditions. The Sammakka festival which is one of the largest tribal gatherings in the world commemorates a tribal revolt and honors tribal warriors who fought for their rights. It also offers insights into the social and political dynamics of tribal communities and the enduring power of their beliefs and cultural practices.

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# Tribal Religious Systems: A Comparative Analysis of the Gonds and Konda Reddis

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**Abstract**

The religious beliefs of the Gonds and Konda Reddis represent an important component of the tribal cultural heritage of Telangana and Andhra Pradesh. Their religion is based on a close relationship with nature, ancestors, village deities, and agricultural life rather than on written scriptures or organized religious institutions. The Gonds worship clan deities such as Persa Pen, village deities like Aki Pen and Nat Auwal, and the supreme deity Bhagavan (Sri ShambuMahadeo). Similarly, the Konda Reddis regard Bhudevi (Mother Earth) as the source of life and celebrate various agricultural festivals associated with fertility, crop protection, and community welfare. Religious specialists such as the Devari and the Vejju perform rituals, sacrifices, and ceremonies that maintain harmony between human beings and supernatural powers. Festivals, ancestor worship, nature worship, and communal participation strengthen social solidarity and preserve tribal identity. Despite the influence of modernization and mainstream religions, these tribal communities continue to retain many of their traditional beliefs and practices. This study highlights the significance of tribal religion in understanding the social organization, ecological knowledge, cultural continuity, and spiritual worldview of the Gonds and Konda Reddis.

**Keywords:** Gonds, Konda Reddis, Tribal Religion, Nature Worship, Ancestor Worship, Persa Pen, Bhudevi, Village Deities, Agricultural Festivals, Telangana Tribes, Tribal Culture, Indigenous Beliefs, Devari, Vejju, Social Organization.

## Introduction

Religion is one of the most important aspects of tribal life, shaping the social, cultural, economic, and moral values of tribal communities. Unlike organized religions, tribal religion is based on traditions, customs, myths, rituals, and beliefs that have been passed from one generation to another through oral tradition. It reflects the intimate relationship between human beings and nature and emphasizes harmony with forests, rivers, hills, animals, and ancestral spirits.

The Gonds and Konda Reddis are among the major tribal communities of Telangana and Andhra Pradesh. Their religious beliefs are deeply rooted in nature worship, ancestor worship, clan worship, village deity worship, and

agricultural rituals. They believe that every element of nature possesses supernatural power and that gods, goddesses, spirits, and ancestors influence human life by ensuring rainfall, protecting crops, safeguarding cattle, preventing diseases, and maintaining peace and prosperity in the community.

For both tribes, religion is not a separate institution but an integral part of everyday life. Every important activity—such as clearing forests, sowing seeds, harvesting crops, hunting, constructing houses, celebrating marriages, and performing funeral rites—is carried out only after seeking the blessings of their deities and ancestors. Their festivals, sacrifices, prayers, songs, dances, and communal feasts strengthen social solidarity, preserve cultural identity, and maintain the close relationship between humans and nature.

The Gonds worship Persa Pen, Bhagavan (Sri ShambuMahadeo), Aki Pen, Nat Auwal, and several other clan and village deities, while the Konda Reddis worship Bhudevi (Mother Earth), GattuKapari, ancestral spirits, and other local deities associated with agriculture and forests. Religious specialists such as the Devari among the Gonds and the Vejju among the Konda Reddis perform rituals, sacrifices, healing ceremonies, and act as mediators between the people and the supernatural world.

Thus, the religious beliefs of the Gonds and Konda Reddis represent a unique system of faith that integrates spirituality, environmental conservation, agriculture, and community life. Their traditional religion continues to play a vital role in preserving their cultural heritage, social organization, and tribal identity despite the influence of modernization and organized religions.

**Religious Beliefs of the Gonds**

The Gonds believe that the universe is controlled by various gods, goddesses, spirits, and ancestors. These supernatural beings influence human life by protecting people from diseases, ensuring rainfall, providing good harvests, safeguarding cattle, and maintaining peace within the village.

Religion is therefore not separate from daily life. Every important activity, such as sowing seeds, harvesting crops, marriage, birth, construction of a new house, or migration to another village, begins with prayers and religious rituals. The Gonds believe that if these rituals are neglected, misfortune, disease, famine, or natural calamities may occur.

Their religion combines ancestor worship, nature worship, clan worship, village deity worship, and belief in protective spirits. Although Hindu influence has increased over time, the Gonds have retained many of their original tribal beliefs and customs[1].

**Persa Pen – The Great Clan Deity**

The central figure in Gond religion is Persa Pen, who is regarded as the Great God and the supreme protector of the clan. Every Gond clan worships its own Persa Pen, who symbolizes the unity, strength, and identity of that clan.

Persa Pen is represented by sacred objects such as the Sale (iron spearhead) and the Chauwur, which are treated with great reverence. These sacred symbols are preserved carefully and displayed only during important religious ceremonies.

The Gonds believe that Persa Pen possesses immense supernatural power. Because of this sacred power, women and outsiders traditionally worship from a respectful distance. During annual clan festivals, animals such as goats and chickens are sacrificed, prayers are offered, songs are sung, and community feasts are organized. These ceremonies strengthen unity among clan members and seek blessings for prosperity, good health, and protection.

Persa Pen is not simply a god of worship but also represents the history, ancestry, and collective identity of the Gond people.

**Other Clan Deities and Ancestor Worship**

Apart from Persa Pen, the Gonds worship several other clan deities and ancestors[2]. According to their beliefs, ancestors continue to protect their descendants even after death. Ancestors are remembered during important ceremonies, and offerings are made to them before beginning major activities.

The Gonds believe that brave ancestors and respected clan leaders may become divine protectors after death. Their spirits remain with the community and guide future generations. This belief creates a strong bond between the living and their ancestors and encourages respect for family traditions and social values.

**Village Deities**

The Gonds also worship several village deities who are responsible for the welfare of the entire community.

**Aki Pen (Village Guardian)**

Aki Pen is the guardian deity of the village. He protects the village from diseases, evil spirits, wild animals, and other dangers. His symbol is usually a carved wooden post known as the **Munda**, which is installed either inside or near the village. Whenever a new family settles in the village, offerings are made to Aki Pen so that the newcomers may live peacefully. During village festivals, the village priest (Devari) performs rituals and animal sacrifices before Aki Pen to ensure the safety and prosperity of all villagers.

**Nat Auwal (Village Mother)**
Nat Auwal is the Mother Goddess of the village. She is believed to protect people from epidemics, diseases, droughts, and natural disasters. During outbreaks of illness, villagers gather together and offer goats, sheep, or chickens to the goddess while praying for protection. Unlike Persa Pen, whose worship is mainly connected with the clan, Nat Auwal is worshipped collectively by the entire village. Her festivals promote cooperation and strengthen community life.

**Other Village Deities**
The Gonds worship several additional deities, each associated with particular aspects of life:

- **Jangu Bai** – A highly respected goddess connected with Gond traditions.
- **Rajul Pen** – Protector of forests, hills, cattle, and herdsmen.
- **Bhimana (Bhimana Pen)** – Associated with agriculture, fertility, and good harvests.
- **SiwaMarke** – Believed to spread disease if not properly worshipped; rituals are performed to protect the village.

Each of these deities has a specific role, and together they protect every aspect of tribal life.

**Bhagavan (Sri ShambuMahadeo)**
The highest deity in Gond religion is **Bhagavan**, also known as **Sri ShambuMahadeo**. He is considered the supreme ruler of all gods and is often identified with the Hindu god Shiva. Bhagavan is worshipped with coconuts, milk, fruits, turmeric, and other vegetarian offerings. Unlike Persa Pen, elaborate animal sacrifices are generally not associated with his worship. The Gonds believe that all other gods report their activities to Bhagavan and that he supervises the entire universe. Although Bhagavan occupies the highest religious position, the Gonds interact more frequently with their clan gods and village deities because these gods are believed to influence their everyday lives directly.

**Festivals and Sacred Rituals**
Agriculture is the foundation of Gond life, and most festivals are closely related to farming seasons.

**Durari Festival**
Durari marks the beginning of the agricultural year and is celebrated during the full moon. It resembles the Hindu festival of Holi but has a unique tribal

significance. Villagers' light ceremonial fires, perform prayers, carry sacred symbols in procession, and distribute ritual food. The festival symbolizes purification, social unity, and the beginning of a new agricultural cycle. It also strengthens relationships among villagers and marks the renewal of agricultural agreements.

**Chenchi Bhimana Festival**

This festival is celebrated to ensure fertility, agricultural prosperity, and abundant crops. The first fruits of the forest, such as **mahua flowers** and **chironji**, are ceremonially offered to Bhimana before they are consumed by the community. The celebration also includes dramatic performances that symbolically depict burning forests, sowing seeds, harvesting crops, and sharing grain. These performances express the hope for a prosperous agricultural season.

**Akari Festival**

Akari is observed during the rainy season. It is mainly intended to protect cattle and herdsmen. Rajul Pen is worshipped, and cattle are driven across sacred lines while prayers are offered for their safety.

The festival recognizes the importance of cattle in agriculture and seeks divine protection against disease, wild animals, and other dangers.

**Pola Festival**

During the Pola festival, Bhagavan is believed to visit the village gods and receive reports about the welfare of the people. The festival expresses gratitude for agricultural prosperity and reinforces the relationship between humans and the divine.

**Nature Worship**

Nature occupies a central place in Gond religion. Forests, hills, rivers, trees, stones, and animals are regarded as sacred. Many rituals are performed beneath sacred trees or near streams. Certain animals and birds are treated with respect because they are associated with particular deities. The Gonds believe that nature provides food, shelter, medicine, and livelihood. Therefore, respecting nature is considered both a religious duty and a social responsibility.

**Priests and Religious Specialists**

Religious ceremonies are conducted by hereditary priests known as **Devari** or **Katora**, depending on the type of ritual. These priests preserve religious traditions, perform sacrifices, interpret dreams, conduct festivals, and act as intermediaries between the people and the gods. During major festivals, some devotees enter trance-like states and are believed to be temporarily possessed by the deity. Through these individuals, gods are believed to communicate

messages concerning the future, harvests, health, and village welfare.

**Religion and Social Life**

Religion plays an important role in maintaining social harmony among the Gonds. Festivals bring together all members of the community regardless of age or economic status. Collective worship encourages cooperation, mutual assistance, and respect for elders. Religious ceremonies also regulate agricultural activities, protect forests and cattle, preserve traditional knowledge, and strengthen family and clan relationships. Thus, religion functions not only as a system of belief but also as a foundation for tribal social organization.

**Religion of the Konda Reddis**

The Konda Reddis are one of the oldest tribal communities of Telangana and Andhra Pradesh, mainly inhabiting the hilly and forest regions of the Godavari valley. Their religion is a traditional tribal religion based on nature worship, ancestor worship, agricultural rituals, and belief in supernatural powers. Unlike organized religions, their beliefs have been transmitted orally from one generation to another through myths, songs, rituals, and festivals. The Konda Reddis consider religion as an inseparable part of daily life. Every activity, such as clearing forests, sowing seeds, harvesting crops, hunting, collecting forest produce, and caring for cattle, begins only after performing religious rituals. Their religion reflects their close relationship with forests, rivers, hills, animals, and the Earth.

**Religious Beliefs**

The most important belief among the Konda Reddis is that the Earth is their Mother (Bhudevi). They believe that Mother Earth provides them with food, water, forests, fertile land, and all the necessities of life. Therefore, before beginning agricultural work, they worship Bhudevi and seek her blessings for a successful harvest. The Konda Reddis also believe that gods reward good behaviour and punish wrongdoing. According to their belief, every person should live honestly and respectfully because divine powers observe human actions. Those who commit sinful acts may suffer from diseases, crop failure, or other misfortunes. This belief encourages moral conduct and social discipline within the community. Another important belief is that ordinary people cannot directly see or communicate with the gods. Only Vejjulu (traditional priests, healers, or shamans) possess the spiritual ability to communicate with supernatural beings. The Vejju performs rituals, determines auspicious days for festivals, offers sacrifices, and interprets divine messages. During religious ceremonies, the community depends upon the Vejju for spiritual guidance.

**Nature Worship**

Nature occupies the central position in Konda Reddi religion. Forests, mountains, rivers, trees, rain, and fertile land are regarded as sacred. The Konda Reddis believe that every natural object contains divine power. Instead of constructing elaborate temples, they often worship beneath sacred trees or near agricultural fields. Mango trees, neem trees, jamun (black plum) trees, and other large trees are decorated with turmeric, vermilion, and flowers and are treated as symbols of divine power. These sacred places become temporary shrines during festivals. The Konda Reddis respect forests because forests provide food, fruits, medicinal plants, fuel, honey, and materials for house construction. Their religion therefore promotes harmony between human beings and nature.

**Agricultural Religion**

Agriculture forms the foundation of Konda Reddi religious life. Most of their festivals are connected with different stages of cultivation. Before cultivation begins, during crop growth, and after harvest, they perform ceremonies to seek divine blessings. They traditionally practiced Podu (shifting cultivation), and many rituals are directly associated with this agricultural system. Every agricultural activity is considered sacred because they believe that successful cultivation depends not only upon human labour but also upon the blessings of supernatural powers.

**Bhudevi Festival (Mother Earth Festival)**

One of the most important festivals is the Bhudevi Festival, celebrated before the agricultural season begins. This festival marks the beginning of cultivation after the arrival of rains. On this occasion, the Konda Reddis decorate a mango, neem, java plum, or another tree near the paddy field and worship it as the representation of Mother Earth. The surroundings are cleaned and plastered with cow dung, while decorative designs are drawn using millet flour. Cooked rice and black gram curry are offered to the deity, and a pig is sacrificed to please Mother Earth. The family members pray for good health, abundant rainfall, protection from natural calamities, and a rich harvest. After the sacrifice, a community feast is held in the agricultural field itself. They believe that the sacrifice strengthens the fertility of the land and ensures a good yield.

**PacchaPanduga (Green Festival)**

Another important agricultural festival is PacchaPanduga, celebrated when the crops become green. The festival is dedicated to GattuKapari God, the protector of fields and crops. The family consults the Vejju, who fixes an auspicious date after observing the condition of the crops. On the appointed day, all family members visit the Podu field. A nearby tree is decorated with turmeric and vermilion, and chickens are sacrificed to GattuKapari. The

community prays that the deity may protect the crops from pests, diseases, wild animals, and other dangers. This festival demonstrates the close connection between religion and agriculture among the Konda Reddis.

**Oxen Festival (EdlaPanduga)**

The Edla Festival, or Oxen Festival, is celebrated to honour cattle, which are indispensable for agriculture. On the festival day, every family bathes its cattle and decorates them with turmeric, vermilion, and garlands made from steamed finger millet flour. Temporary canopies are built using tree branches and leaves. Chickens are sacrificed, and cooked rice, lentils, and traditional food are offered first to the gods and then fed to the cattle. Prayers are offered for the health and protection of oxen because they are regarded as valuable partners in farming. After the ceremony, the cattle are allowed to graze freely in the forest until the rainy season begins.

**Mango Festival (MamidikayaPanduga)**

The Mango Festival is among the most colorful celebrations of the Konda Reddis. Since they inhabit forest regions rich in mango trees, mangoes are highly valued in their culture. The Konda Reddis treat mango trees with great respect. They avoid unnecessary disturbance near flowering trees because they believe it may reduce flowering or fruit production. After the mangoes ripen, village elders decide an auspicious day for the festival. Houses are cleaned and plastered with red mud and cow dung. Five mango fruits are offered to God along with cooked rice and pulses. Only after this ritual are people permitted to eat the new mango crop. Relatives from neighbouring villages are invited, and the celebrations continue for three days or even a week. Men and women dance together, sing traditional songs, play musical instruments, and consume toddy extracted from palm trees. On the final day, a symbolic wild buffalo called "Gura" is carried in procession. Villagers imitate a hunting expedition by chasing it with bows, arrows, and dogs before pretending to capture it. This dramatic performance reflects the hunting traditions of the Konda Reddis and concludes the festival.

**Ancestor Worship**

The Konda Reddis greatly respect their ancestors. They believe that the spirits of their forefathers continue to watch over the family and protect future generations. Before important ceremonies, prayers are offered to ancestral spirits seeking blessings for health, prosperity, successful cultivation, and protection from evil. Ancestor worship strengthens family unity and preserves tribal traditions.

**Role of the Vejju**

The Vejju occupies an important position in Konda Reddi religion. He acts as priest, healer, magician, and spiritual guide. His major responsibilities include:

- Determining auspicious dates for festivals.
- Performing sacrifices and rituals.
- Communicating with gods and spirits.
- Healing diseases through traditional methods.
- Protecting villagers from supernatural forces.
- Guiding the community during important ceremonies.

Without the presence of the Vejju, major religious ceremonies are generally not performed.

**Community Worship**

Religion among the Konda Reddis is essentially collective. Entire villages participate in festivals, sacrifices, dances, songs, and feasts. Relatives from neighboring villages are invited, strengthening social relationships and community solidarity. Men, women, and children all participate actively in celebrations. Religious festivals therefore perform not only spiritual functions but also social, cultural, and economic functions by promoting cooperation and preserving tribal identity.

**Conclusion**

The religious beliefs of the Gonds and Konda Reddis demonstrate the rich cultural and spiritual heritage of the tribal communities of Telangana and Andhra Pradesh. Although both tribes follow indigenous religious traditions rooted in nature worship, ancestor worship, and agricultural rituals, each has its own distinctive religious practices and deities. The Gonds primarily worship Persa Pen, Bhagavan (Sri ShambuMahadeo), Aki Pen, and Nat Auwal, while the Konda Reddis revere Bhudevi (Mother Earth), GattuKapari, and ancestral spirits. Festivals among both communities are closely linked to agriculture, seasonal cycles, and community welfare, reflecting their dependence on forests and natural resources.

Both tribes believe that religion is an integral part of everyday life and that the blessings of deities and ancestors are essential for health, prosperity, good harvests, and social harmony. Religious specialists such as the Devari among the Gonds and the Vejju among the Konda Reddis play an important role in preserving traditional beliefs and performing rituals. Despite the influence of modernization and social change, both communities continue to maintain many of their indigenous religious practices. Thus, the religions of the Gonds and Konda Reddis remain vital expressions of their cultural identity, environmental knowledge, and social cohesion, highlighting the importance of

preserving India's tribal heritage.

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