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1.	Prof. Dr. Aarti Wani	Articulating the Region: The Rural Turn in Marathi Cinema in Vebhuti Duggal, Bindu Menon and Spandan Bhattacharya (eds.), *Film Studies: An Introduction,* Worldview Publications, New Delhi, · ISBN: 978-93-82267-51-5, 2022
2.	Prof. Dr. Aarti Wani	Love, Romance and the Nation in Bombay Cinema of the 1950s in Vebhuti Duggal, Bindu Menon and Spandan Bhattacharya (eds.), Film Studies: An Introduction, Worldview Publications, New Delhi, · ISBN: 978-93-82267-51-5, 2022
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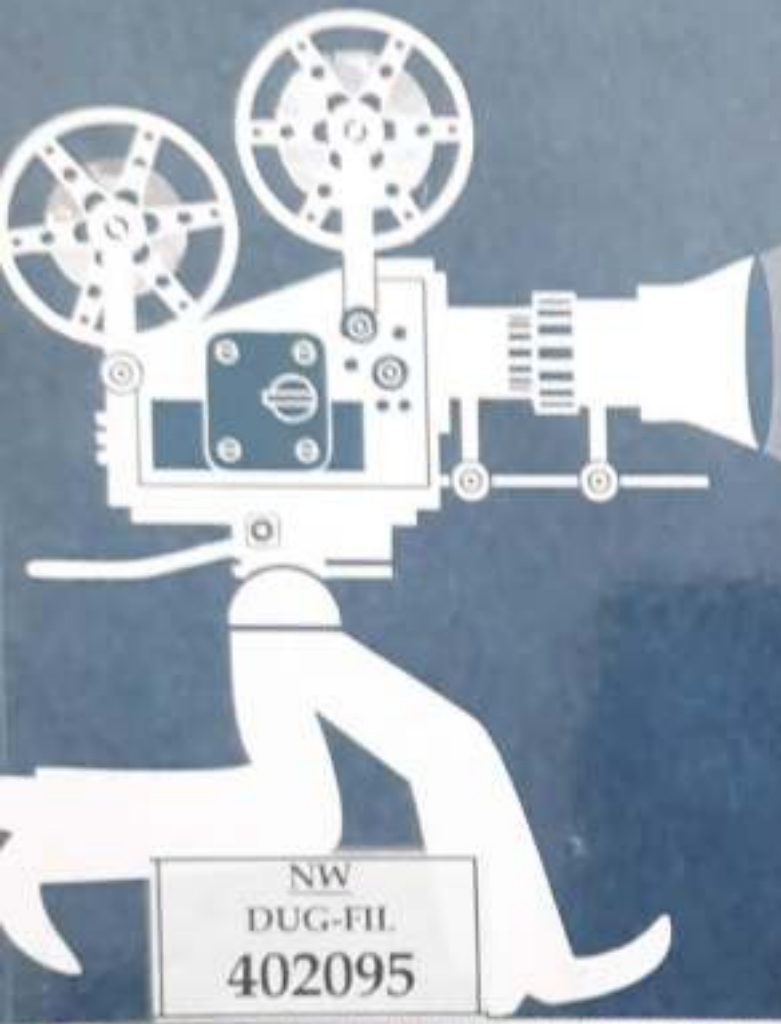
FILM STUDIES

AN INTRODUCTION



Edited by VEBHUTI DUGGAL,
BINDU MENON AND SPANDAN BHATTACHARYA

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Film Studies: An Introduction

Edited by

Vebhuti Duggal, Bindu Menon
and Spandan Bhattacharya

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SECTION 5

FRAMEWORKS OF THE INDIAN FILM INDUSTRY: THE MAINSTREAM, THE PARALLEL AND THE B-CIRCUIT

SECTION 6

CRITICAL CINEMATIC CONCEPTS

Articulating the Region: The Rural Turn in Marathi Cinema

Aarti Wani

Similar to other regional and the 'national' Hindi cinema, Marathi cinema in the fifties witnessed processes of generic change and realignment. Not a few of these changes were a consequence of Marathi cinema's disadvantageous proximity to the competing Hindi film industry. Indeed, the Marathi industry has always been compelled to negotiate with the more dominant and financially stronger Hindi film industry, which had a national reach and an ability to absorb talent and personnel from across the sub-continent.

It is well-known that the credit of founding the Marathi film industry goes to two brothers, Baburao Painter and Anandrao Painter, who founded the Maharashtra Film Company in Kolhapur in 1918. The Kolhapur studio not only evolved a language and cinematic style that was to be influential in the decades to come, but a number of personalities, who went on to contribute to the Marathi film industry as directors, technicians, musicians and actors had learnt their craft in this studio, V. Shantaram being the most well-known example. From the mid-twenties onwards, for nearly two decades, the film industry produced a large variety of socials, domestic dramas, comedies, historicals, mythologicals etc.

The mid-forties, however, were to witness a gradual, but decisive downturn due to multiple factors, not least being the presence of the Hindi film industry located in Bombay, the economic and cultural hub of the area that was eventually demarcated as the linguistic state of Maharashtra. First, the forties witnessed the beginning of the migration of directors such as V. Shantaram, Vasant Joglekar and Raja Nene to the more promising Hindi film industry. Second, the Marathi film industry also suffered more in comparison to the Hindi/Urdu industry during wartime and the post-war economic constraints, rationing and import curbs on cinematic raw stock because the latter was financially much stronger and thus, its producers had greater staying power (Kale 1979). And last but not the least, Marathi audiences too seemed to prefer the more glamorous Hindi films, so much so that in 1943, not a single Marathi film saw release (Narwekar 1995).

The Marathi film industry responded to the challenges posed by this downturn by effecting a thematic realignment and shifting the locus of its stories from the urban to the rural sites. The evolving trend of *gramin* cinema in the late forties and through the fifties was an attempt by the industry to

win back the audience it was losing to Hindi cinema. Thus, the linguistic dialect of the characters, their costumes and the physical and cultural infrastructure they inhabit produced a distinctly regional mise-en-scène. If Hindi cinema with its glamorous cosmopolitan stars and stories of urban romance was able to attract a pan-national audience, Marathi cinema's mobilisation of a rural imaginary addressed the region by producing a unique variant of 'vernacular modernity' (Hansen 2000).

In terms of popularity, the most important genre within the larger rural film category was the *tamasha* film. Drawing on folk performative traditions of *tamasha* and *lavani* which were centred on sexualised female performance, films like *Lokshahir Ram Joshi* (dir. V. Shantaram and Bhalji Pendharkar, Painter, 1947) and *Jai Malhar* (dir. D.S. Ambapkar, 1947) in the late forties, became big hits and started the trend of the *tamasha* film.[1] Subsequently, the fifties witnessed a consolidation of the genre as it mobilised a realist and melodramatic aesthetic to tell contemporary stories of love, crime, rivalry, ambition, feudal oppression etc., based in rural and at times, small-town locations. The female tamasha performer, the *tamasgirin* was important and often central to these stories that raised questions of gender, identity and feudal patriarchy. For instance, one of the most successful and popular tamasha films of the period, *Sangate Aika* (dir. Anant Mane, 1959), had the legendry star Hansa Wadkar as the *tamasgirin*, who challenges and brings to his knees the village patriarch, Patil.

Significantly, the *tamasha* film is an example of, what Madhava Prasad terms 'assembling' or 'genre mixing' (2011). For example, aspects of the Hollywood Musical, such as the interspersing of song and dance sequences in the filmic diegesis to function as narrative pegs were adapted by the *tamasha* film. Thus, the new realities of the market, audience orientation, talent migration, changing cultural realities due to assertion of regional identity, propelled the Marathi film industry to skirt 'the nation' in the fifties as it accessed and produced regional tastes and identity by suturing vernacular folk forms to modern national and international cinematic conventions and genres.

NOTE

1. *Tamasha* is a folk form of Maharashtra, popular since the eighteenth century. Its main features are sexualised performance of *lavani* and dance by female performers, accompanied by traditional music instruments such as the *dholki*, along with skits showcasing improvised humour and stock characters. Although, no more popular, it is still has a marginal presence in the cultural landscape of Maharashtra.

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Lokshahir Ram Joshi (*People's Poet Ram Joshi*). Directed by V. Shantaram and Baburao Painter, performances by Vasant Shiledar, Hansa Wadkar, Shakuntala Paranjpye, Parashuram, G.D. Madgulkar, Sudha Apte, Samarth, Jayram Desai and Gundopant Walavalkar, Rajkamal Kalamandir, 1947.

Pingat Nika. Directed by Anant Mane, performances by Chandrakant, Jayshree Gadkar, Sulochana Latkar, Dada Salvi, Suryakant and Hansa Wadkar, Anant Mane, 1959.

Love, Romance and the Nation in Bombay Cinema of the 1950s

Aarti Wani

Film scholarship of the post-independence decade has drawn attention to the project and ... of modernity as it was imagined and articulated in the cinema of the period while also noting ... intersection with the nation on the one hand and tradition on the other. Scholars have variously looked at the presence of tradition, in form, content and spectator position in the modern practice of cinema.[1] Crucially, cinema as the site for constructing the nation and providing a national identity has been the central concern. Seeing in Indian popular cinema an 'evocation and inscription of Indian national identity,' Sumita Chakravarty (5), for instance, attempts a reading of this cinema against its condemnation by an elite opinion which claimed to safeguard Indianness; and finds in it 'contaminating, masquerading impersonating impulse' (10), a 'mediated form of national consciousness' (9). Ravi Vasudevan too views the 1950s film as responding to the processes of modernity by conceptualising an extended geography for the national subject' (1994, 108). By bringing together a variety of concerns and motifs such as geography, travel, community, region, representation, gender and modes of address, Vasudevan unravels this cinema's production of a 'national space' while alerting us to the uncertainties and fissures inherent to the enterprise.

Reading the film *Andaz* (dir. Mehboob Khan, 1949) to bring out the contradictions at the heart of the fifties cinema's involvement in 'nation-building as modernising enterprise' (Vasudevan 1994, 84), Vasudevan unravels its complex mechanisms of framing, mise-en-scène and narrative structure. The tension between the pleasure of transgression afforded by the heroine, Neena's persona and the narrative closure that inflicts on her a punishing regime, emanating from and representing a masculine, and patriarchal 'nationalist authority,' places the woman as the emergent figure of modernity in need of containment. Vasudevan (1995) suggests that *Andaz* set a trend in the 1950s whereby a gendered modernity was systematically erased by the 'foregrounding of masculine action and romantic fulfilment' (104). According to this reading, through strategic framing and carefully calibrated processes of melodramatic narration that produced moral hierarchies, the spectator was invited into the space of the nation.[2]

More recently, Bhaskar Sarkar's, *Mourning the Nation: Indian Cinema in the Wake of Partition*

...a book-length exploration of Indian cinema's complicated negotiation and participation in the ...ject of nationhood, focuses on the history and memory of the particular event of the partition of ...subcontinent as a foundational and traumatic moment of origin, loss and mourning. Describing ...book to be about the 'historicity of cinematic representations of partition' (3), Sarkar explores ...ression of the one traumatic event in the life of the nation as it refracts through many sites ...perience and representation. Intrigued by post-independence cinema's apparent silence over ...monstrous event from its immediate and constitutive past, Sarkar situates the 1950s cinema in ...ation to the nationalist project. Tracking this cinema's conflictual relationship with the state and ...dominant institution, he explores its allegorical relation to the trauma of partition.

Earlier in the nineties, the narrative of nationalism had found an additional dimension of the ...sis in the work of Madhava Prasad. In *Ideology of the Hindi Film* (2008), Prasad argued that the ...heterogeneous mode of manufacture of film is reflected in film form, the most dominant of which ...ject of the feudal family romance (99-100). As a part of a hegemonic cultural project, the feudal ...ily romance carries the ideological burden of the continuing presence of a pre-capitalist economic ...and social organisation that has arrested the development of democratic formations and modernity. ...The resultant 'blocking' of the 'representation of the private' is behind the unwritten ban on the ...ss. The 'injunction against the representation of the private' reflects the ideology of the state in its ...nationalist attitude to women and in the preservation of tradition. The policies of the state play a ...crucial role, in this reading, in fabricating a national culture through cinema.

The authority of nationalism as the explanatory trope of post-independence cinema is not ...surprising, given that the emergence of this cinema was co-temporal with the formation of the Indian ...nation-state, which in turn had followed upon the heels of an immensely popular mass movement ...for national independence. The category of the national has given weight to reflections on several ...formal, thematic and visual articulations in the post-independence Hindi cinema, such as the visual ...consolidation of national geography through travel and landscape, a moral economy influenced by ...understanding of Indian tradition, the recurrence of certain motifs, figures, and power structures ...associated with the nation's history, as well as technologies of framing and representation. But it has ...been unable to account for the 1950s films' overwhelming investment in romantic love. In performance ...and song, through spectacle and mise-en-scène, and often also in the main pivot of plots and stories, ...romantic love had, in fact, overwhelmed the 1950s. The national argument, however, resting on the ...assumption that films address as they construct national subjects by providing moments and spaces ...in the cinematic for identification with the collective unity of the nation, examines deep structures ...in films that connect with a pre-existing set of values, images, symbols, myths, legends, motifs and ...metaphors held by the audience in a kind of collective unconscious. In the process, the romantic ...love of the films, seen as a mere surface, vehicle or formula is ignored or sidelined. Criticising the ...cultural turn in film studies generally, Walsh (15) argues that 'National imaginary criticism limits ...itself by the assumption that artworks function overwhelmingly to manage an unconscious psychical ...economy'. It was perhaps romantic love's, self-evident, surface-level ubiquity that made it invisible ...to critics looking for deeper, unconscious meanings underlying this superficial waste of spectacle ...and affect. Also, since romantic love was this 'strange affair' having little credence, either ideational

or practical in the lives of Indians as 'Indians,' an anomalous 'non-Indian' or foreign [illegible] played a minimal role, if any, in the quotidian culture of the nation, it was automatically [illegible] underexamined by criticism focused on nationhood and modernity.

Little wonder, then, that discussion about the 'national' in cinema has slipped by the obvious [illegible] and presence of romance in Indian cinema. To be sure, Madhava Prasad speaks of the formation [illegible] the couple, but only to insist that the prohibition of the private, evinced in the unwritten ban [illegible] the kiss, is the ultimate postponement of modernity's promise of individuation. However, if [illegible] did not kiss on Indian screens, they bravely romanced and serenaded each other in public [illegible] public spaces of gardens and streets in the cinematic diegesis, and effectively in the public [illegible] darkened, space of the cinema. The question is what kinds of publics were thereby created? Do we find in the interstices of 'Indian modernity' revealed through the nation, yet another, alternate modernity afforded by the transgressive pleasures of romance? Perhaps we need a more calibrated understanding of the films' trade in identities and pleasures? Do we find lurking within the [illegible] of a national imagination, other, alternate forms of being and experience encoded and affected by cinema? In the dark space of the theatre, where each is alone with others, did the spectator find herself intermittently relieved of the burden of nationhood, escape into an affective no-man's-land of romantic fantasy? I suggest cinematic modernity in the 1950s was being configured and negotiated through romantic love. In doing so, undoubtedly, it weaved itself with the concerns of the nation as it ploughed in the traditional. However, the sheer volume of cinematic investment in romance and also the excesses of this imagination, allowed it to construct and make public identities, situations, events, moods, ideas, and spaces that elide, exceed or reshape the contours of the traditional and the national. In other words 'love and romance,' I would like to argue, is cinema's fantasy of the modern in the 1950s.

At this point, it is worth taking a detour to ask, was there any place or rule for romantic love in the nationalist imagination, either in the praxis of national struggle or in the ideas or ideals of the new nation in the making? That the youth involved in the national struggle for independence experienced the romance of adventure, danger and at times violence is a matter of legend. For instance, the romanticism inherent in the life and struggle of young revolutionaries like Bhagat Singh and his comrades was palpable as it was cinematic; evident from the numerous films it engendered. But the question about what the freedom fighters thought of love becomes urgent only if romantic love is imagined to be relevant for any transformative politics trying to create a new social reality. Even though an exploration of the emergence of the romantic episteme during and within the [illegible] of the nationalist movement is beyond the scope of the present study, it is interesting, if perhaps reductive, to read Bhagat Singh's ideas on love as representative of a larger revolutionary sentiment. In a letter to his friend and comrade, Sukhdev, Bhagat Singh eulogises love as a great support in life's struggle, demands that it be 'pure,' unlike the 'animal attraction' seen in films, and expects that it will finally transcend the individual to merge with a universal love of mankind (Chamanlal 357). Despite the fact that Bhagat Singh seems to allow youngsters the choice of falling in love, while asking them to rise above it, in actual practice, romantic love remained an anomaly and could not be normalised nor acquire social sanction even during the heady days of anti-colonial struggle in the

decades of the century. It is interesting, therefore, that it is during this time that its textual life and secular forms in the novels, plays and films, which contributed to the making of modern public sphere. Similar to its discursive formation in Bengali novels (Kaviraj 2007), there was a veritable explosion of love in novels and stories written in Marathi, Hindi and other languages.[3] Noting the popularity of such fiction among women in the Hindi public sphere to the fledgeling articulation of the 'right to feel,' Orsini (239) suggests that these 'social romances defended and expressed individual feeling.'[4] Orsini, however, goes on to observe that this exploration of 'individual feelings' was bound to be merely textual and literary, since its relationship to reality was to remain 'at best oblique' (ibid.).

Even as the colonial encounter, capitalist industrialisation, modernisation and the national movement for political independence caused enormous social churning, romantic love remained illegitimate and continued to be a rare and extraordinary occurrence. In this regard, the history of the law that made love marriage possible and legal is intriguing. Tracing the origins, tumultuous progress and consolidation of the law that opened a space in which 'two Indians could legitimately enter out of choice and love rather than by the dictates of birth,' Mody (223) demonstrates the ethical schism between the law governing free unions, between couples in love and its social acceptability. Throughout its checkered history, the law, first passed in the late nineteenth century and consolidated with the passing of the Special Marriage Act in 1954, met with sharp criticism and resistance from religious bodies and individuals, who felt it to be against their faith and way of life. Significantly, when the law, making love marriage legal for the first time was first passed in 1872, after much deliberation and vitriol, it actually accommodated its critics by virtually excommunicating the marrying couple from their respective religious communities. At all times, even after the Special Marriage Act, the law concedes parental authority by mandating a period of time between the application of the desire to marry and its solemnising, as a time given for parental intervention.[5] Mody observes that love marriage in India continues to be viewed as a challenge to 'natural' (that which *Kudarath* or nature, has created) caste hierarchy, and social considerations of class, status and wedding (225-226). Parental pressures, community norms and caste rules governing alliances have continued to overpower young desire for autonomy. How do we understand this obdurate resistance to individual choice and agency in the realm of the private, despite the flow of powerful currents of modernity? Why did the modernising landscape of the nation have no place for 'the transformation of intimacy'[6] (Giddens 1992).

Partha Chatterjee's elegant explanation of the specific modernity endorsed by nationalism hinges on the resolution of the women's question by the nationalist movement. According to Chatterjee, the nineteenth-century movement for social reform was sidelined during the national movement for independence by the imagination of two separate spheres of activity and being: the inner and the outer. Aligned with the home and the world, the private and the public, the inside-outside was formulated in a way that there 'would have to be a marked *difference* in the degree and manner of transformation of women, as distinct from men, in the modern world of the nation' (243). If the rigid binaries of this explanatory model allow us an understanding of the nationalist discourse, it is necessary to be aware of the fact that many other kinds of modernities, other than the nationalist

variety, were, in fact, being produced, retailed and accessed by the people.[9] Additionally, the [illegible] romantic love can be seen as an excess that spills over and problematises these neat binaries.

Firstly, as pointed by Gupta in her study of colonial publics, incidences of 'elopement [illegible] conversion' hinting at 'love and romance,' stirring the public sphere every once in a while [illegible] to the fact that there were 'elements of defiant love and sexual pleasure in the face of a culture [illegible] continually sought to restrict them' (326). Secondly, the 'inside-outside' spliced with 'women-[illegible] dichotomy is inadequate to explain the prohibition of romance. If a woman was in love, which [illegible] did she occupy? Undoubtedly, in the confinement of her home; the demand that she be 'appropriate [illegible] Indian' would divest her of any agency and freedom in the choice of her partner. However, if [illegible] defiance of these norms she did fall in love, her very act dissolved the boundaries between the home [illegible] and the world, as she entered a liminal space by 'publically' constituting a 'private world of intimacy' [illegible]

More importantly, the prohibition on love applied equally to men, and even if ordinarily men [illegible] had greater freedom and control over their sexuality, when it came to romantic love leading up to [illegible] marriage, they were as helpless as women. In matters of love, the 'new patriarchy,' Chatterjee speaks [illegible] of, in fact, made no difference between men and women and was equally oppressive to both. It is [illegible] evident therefore that it was not solely the inner space of the home, but the outer realm of affairs [illegible] within the public sphere, the communal space between homes in the interstices of the politics and [illegible] economics of nation-making that was also being regulated. Hence, the holding back of the promise [illegible] of modernity in the realm of the personal cannot be read along the lines of gender alone.

Surveillance and regulation of the communal borders of caste were of utmost importance to [illegible] patriarchy deeply invested in the ideology of purity. It is not surprising to find that one of the most [illegible] perhaps lone, voices to advocate 'love marriage' as essential for women's emancipation was to come [illegible] from the Tamil Self-Respect movement. The anti-caste, anti-brahminical position of Periyar, and his [illegible] desire for a radical transformation of Tamil society made him a logical and strident supporter of [illegible] women's sexual freedom, and the freedom to choose the person they wished to marry (Geetha 1998). [illegible] It is necessary to see in the continued power of the caste system and its structures of hierarchy along [illegible] with nationalist modernity's connivance in its perpetuity, the real cause behind the thwarting of the [illegible] modernity of love.

In an effort to define the spirit of the caste system, Bougle states that even as hereditarily and [illegible] hierarchically separated groups do not tolerate miscegenation, what actually 'animates the whole [illegible] system of the Hindu world is a force of repulsion' (69). The horror of impure contacts excludes not [illegible] sharing of spaces and food, but much more importantly, Bougle says, 'caste is a matter of marriage. [illegible] Marriage outside caste is strictly forbidden: the caste is rigorously endogamous' (71). Evidently, the [illegible] ideology and practice of romantic love is the very obverse of caste, one is based on attraction and the [illegible] other on repulsion, but more pertinently, the emergence of one would automatically ring the death [illegible] knell of the other. Historians have debated the exact contours of nationalist modernity's engagement [illegible] or dalliance with women's emancipation, caste eradication and patriarchal family and community [illegible] structures. However, there is no denying the social conservatism at the heart of the nationalist project. [illegible] For instance, Mahatma Gandhi, who is credited with bringing women into the public sphere under [illegible] the aegis of the national movement, was extremely puritanical when it came to their freedom [illegible]

matters of sexuality. If for Gandhi, 'mothering was the most venerated form of female sexuality (...) remained within the parameters of Hindu marriage,' he ideally preferred women to 'renounce sex altogether,' remain unmarried and devote themselves to work with their rural sisters (Katrak 399). Not surprisingly, although Gandhi condemned untouchability, his obfuscating ideas about the *Varnashrama*, led him to brush aside intermarriage; even if in principle he was not against it. He believed that in the original law of *Varnashrama* was observed, 'there would naturally be a tendency, so far as marriage is concerned, for people to restrict the marital relations to their own *varna*' (Chakravarty 2006, 155). Post-independence too, the legacy of Gandhi as well as other orthodox Hindu opinion continued to resonate in and outside the parliament, stalling and contradicting the reform process set in motion by Jawaharlal Nehru and B.R. Ambedkar (Som 2007). The duo's endeavours of introducing legislative reform that would regulate Hindu marriage and divorce, among other things, in the form of the Special Marriage Act 1954 and the Hindu Code Bill 1935, met with stiff opposition and angry protest from old guard Gandhians like Rajendra Prasad and Vallabhbhai Patel, other traditionalists from the congress, as well as parliamentarians from the Akhil Bharatiya Hindu Mahasabha and other opposition parties, revealing 'age-old superstitions, complexes, patriarchal feelings, and deep-rooted prejudices running along caste, class and regional lines' (ibid. 249).[11] By the time a much-diluted bill was passed in 1935, we are in the middle of the cinematic decade under consideration, at the site of a contradiction: hundreds of films espousing romantic love were made and released to an audience inhabiting and inventing a modernity imbricated by caste and patriarchy. Significantly, even as I undertake to delve into the cinematic romance of the 1950s, a question that teases but possibly remains unanswered is, indeed, whether caste is the absent presence of this cinematic engagement? In other words, is caste the subtext of these films, something that is seldom named, but is under erasure by their unequivocal celebration of romantic love?

THE 1950s

Taking shape as it did amidst a post-war economic crisis and the social and political turmoil of independence, the 1950s cinema seems a breathtaking feat. One of the greatest pre-war studios Bombay Talkies had closed down in 1942, and even its surviving breakaway Filmistan saw its decline in the early fifties. But this space was immediately filled by filmmakers setting up their own production houses.[12] Consequently, a truly varied array of films from romantic comedies to crime thrillers, brooding tragedies to probing socials were made. However, romantic relations, love and desire between the sexes, were a running theme through a majority of films. More importantly and specifically, we find films where love and romance are explicit thematic concerns. In a seemingly generic compulsion, the uncomplicated plots of films such as *Anokha Pyar* (dir. M.I. Dharamsey, 1948), *Barsaat* (dir. Raj Kapoor, 1949), *Arzoo* (dir. Shahid Latif, 1950), *Deedar* (Nitin Bose, 1951), *Jeevan Jyoti* (dir. M.L. Anand, 1952), *Aah* (dir. Raja Nawathe, 1953), and *Yahudi* (dir. Bimal Roy, 1958), among countless others, merely strung together scenes with two or three characters performing love, its avowal or disavowal through the various stages of declaration, rejection, misunderstanding, separation, mourning and reconciliation. Even when films were not so single-mindedly about love,

the unusual intensity, energy and emotional charge released through narrative, visuality, the play of light and shadow and most significantly the lyrics and music around the trope of love was singularly definitive of the period.

If contemporary conversation about and around the films of the 1950s is any indication, there is a case for saying that films and film stars were overwhelmingly perceived in terms of the discourse of love and romance. For one, films were commonly publicised as 'love stories' and one can easily come across countless advertisements such as *'SENSATIONAL, GLAMOROUS, AMOROUS, LOVE at its Best! LOVE that made history!'*[13] Or *'EMOTION CHARGED DRAMA OF LOVE... SUFFERING AND WOMAN'S DESTINY!'*[14] Or, *'WHEN BOY (Of Today) MEETS GIRL (Of Tomorrow)...'*[15] Or, *Memorable LOVE STORY of your LIFE TIME...'*[16] Similarly, even film reviews described particular films as 'a moving love story,' 'love tale,' 'thrilling romance' and so on. Film magazines routinely carried features that one way or other emphasised the film industry's investment in love. Thus, you can find a piece that compares the 'torrid love-making' of earlier films to the 'languid romance' of the day (*Filmfare*, May 13 1955, 10-11) and stars discussing their first love scenes, their ideas of love or advising their fans on this delicate matter of heart and custom. For example., *Filmfare* carried a long article by Kidar Sharma, titled 'Cupid Directs the Film' (August 8, 1952). Sharma, a successful director and an insider to the industry writes in order to give an overview of Hindi cinema's engagement with love. Warily observing that 'love forms the basis of ninety-eight per cent of Indian films' (11), Sharma categorises films according to their directors' conception of love, giving us the westernised, realistic, poetic and caveman attitude to love. Castigating the majority of directors for their 'westernised' rendition of love scenes and conversely, for catering to the imagination of love as it 'exists in the imagination of the millions of uneducated, illiterate filmgoers' (ibid. 13), Sharma called for a greater realism in the depiction of this popular obsession. If in demanding that filmmakers be true to the Indian ethos in their depiction of love, Sharma was begging the question, the very schism that separated fact and fiction, the real-life experiences and expectations of the audience and the fantasy world created by films, produced a sharp reaction. A normative and censorious discourse can be seen to emerge which assumed an identification of the movies with the 'immorality' or 'obscenity' of love, while also holding the movies responsible for teaching love to an unsuspecting audience. For instance, it is quite common to find gossip magazines like *Chaya* running moralistic articles blaming the film industry; one particular piece blamed the heroines for 'giving lessons of love' by way of producing massive quantities of love (February 1949, 4).[17] Furthermore, just as heroines were blamed for promoting love, women audiences were seen as dupes. Hence, rejection of screen love which was seen to set 'on fire the susceptible hearts of girls of marriageable age. They yearn for love affairs like those depicted on the screen' (ibid.) found popular expression. Paradoxically, even though most films ended with the loving couple united in marriage, the institution of marriage itself was felt to be threatened by this depiction of the pre-marital courtships of young lovers and demands were made for substituting these 'sickening themes of boy-meets-girl' with more suitable subjects espousing 'nationality, patriotism, self-reliance and strict discipline' (*Filmindia*, June 1947, 51).

Commenting on the dominant intellectual critique of films in the fifties, Ravi Vasudevan suggests that the discourse was 'related to the formation of art cinema' and 'addressed a potential art cinema

audience' (Vasudevan 2000, 100). In an obvious contrast to contemporary critics like Kobita Sarkar, who represented an elite point of view in demanding a Hollywood style realism from Bombay film, there was a groundswell of popular criticism deploying nationalist rhetoric and questioning films and the film industry for their romantic themes and 'cheap love-making' that were seen as 'foreign to the indigenous culture of either Hindus or Muslims.'[18] In the early months of independence, one 'Staff' of the *Bombay Chronicle* in a series of articles hoped that freedom will open a new era that will give us films, which, 'elevated the taste of the masses,' and stopped 'pandering to sensuality and cheap values (sic)' (August 23 1947, 8). Baburao Patel, the owner and editor of *Filmindia* complained that Indian film producers can do no better than produce 'hackneyed love stories told a thousand times over and stuffed with silly sequences, vulgar songs and dances and almost obscene jokes' (April 1948, 3). Patel's continuous rants and the magazines call, in his editorials, for bans provide an interesting archive of the conservative opinion formed around the film industry.[19] The ban on particular films because of the seeming obscenity of language and depiction was normally couched in terms of religion, tradition or culture.[20] For instance, very early in our period, an editorial of *Filmindia* appealed to the censors to ban the film *Panihari* (*Water Girl* [dir. V.M. Gunjal, 1947]) and accused the 'great Brahmin writer' of the film, Pandit Indra, for being anti-social and disrespectful of Hindu traditions by way of loading the film with 'filthy,' 'vulgar' and sexually explicit or suggestive language (March 1947, 3).[21] Interestingly, the writer, Pandit Indra was allowed to defend the film in the next issue, which he did by asking if the editor wanted a 'nation of 400 million saints' and by invoking the literary tradition of Kalidas and Bhartrihari to justify sexual explicitness. Pandit Indra ended his piece with a warning that if the editor and ministers did not change their views then a day may come 'when will (sic) make the whole country a sex-starved one' (May 1947, 47).[22] Indra's utterance is significant because in evoking the traditional repertoire of love, he sought to yoke an elite literary idiom, with its explicit sensuality, to a mass cultural product that often invited the ire of cultural elites. In this regard, the President, Rajendra Prasad's, condemnation of films with 'sex appeal' for playing 'havoc in our society' not only gave voice to a generally held view among conservatives, but also news favouring the restriction of 'social intercourse between men and women' along with the evils of prostitution' all expressed in the same speech, reveal deep-seated anxieties regarding the influence of cinema on the sexual economy of the country?[23] Clearly, in this inaugural moment of the 1950s, when the idealism of a new nation laced with a specific understanding of our 'national culture' suffused the air, a section of the public felt and expressed an acute discomfort with cinema's unmediated immersion in the 'alien' imaginary of romance.

Echoing the elite orthodox opinion, the official state's response to films and the film industry displayed indifference, confusion or downright hostility. Sarkar (54), aptly describing the 'official doublespeak' of the contemporary government's reactions to the medium says, 'even as the state derided and denounced cinema for pandering to base instincts and promoting values and lifestyles that conflicted with an 'authentic' Indian ethos, it called upon the industry to play a significant role in nation building.' The Indian state, caught between its own contrary position of wanting to curb cinema as a social vice' and the desire to use it as 'one of its ideological apparatuses' (ibid. 55), put in place a regulatory mechanism that mostly translated into heavy taxation, a censorship regime and

bans. The film industry responded with bitter complaints as is evident from the then president of the Film Federation of India, Chandulal Shah's plea for tax relief. Lamenting the 'top-heavy and [illegible] taxations which had been crippling' the industry, Shah ascribed it to the prejudice in official circles that saw films as a 'demoralising influence on the people' (*Bombay Chronicle*, May 9 1952, 2). This remarkable coalescence between cultural orthodoxies and state policy thus evolved in the 1950s, infamous and by now the much-discussed ban on Hindi film music being its most bizarre [illegible]. Even when tremendously popular and loved, film music had its puritan detractors articulating their angst in the pages of popular magazines. A letter to the editor of a magazine, worried about its adverse effect on young girls and boys, of the 'riotous, pubescent and lustful' film songs, and called for government intervention (*Rajatpat*, February 15 1950). Similarly, a full-length article in the early fifties is striking in the ferocity of its invective against film music, which was seen, as [illegible] and destructive of our social foundations.[24] Thus, when Mr. Keskar, the Minister of Information and Broadcasting in the Nehru cabinet, effectively stopped the broadcasting of film songs from *All India Radio*, it is indeed a coalition of forces, in the government and outside that ranged against what was seen as anti-national, alien influence. A champion of Indian classical music and a promoter of 'national culture' with a desire to educate the Indian masses, minister Keskar, believed that 'music for raw and immature people like children and adolescents, householders in general detested film music.'[25] Consequently, he first reduced the time allotted to the broadcast of film songs and then disallowed the announcement of the film titles because it was a form of advertisement. Producers reacted by withdrawing film songs from *All India Radio* itself (ibid. 207-214). In this regard, the fans' famed behaviour of promptly turning to Radio Ceylon's shortwave service that was broadcasting Hindi film music, and thus eventually forcing *AIR* to restart its programming of the same by [illegible] alerts us to the emergence of a contrary and unstructured public sphere propelled by consumer desire in the immediate aftermath of independence.

A vocal public also made its presence felt in debates around censorship that were given prominent place in popular film magazines. Revealing the confusion of the moment an editorial in a magazine like *Filmindia*, which was at the forefront in demanding bans on individual films, decried what it termed 'Censor's vagaries' and complained that, 'To be anti-vulgarity is one thing but authoritarian puritanism is quite another. To ban cheap and vulgar dances is one thing; to suppress all scenes suggestive of love and romance is entirely different' (May 1948, 3). Questioning the wisdom and expertise of the censor judges, *Filmfare* in its turn blamed the overzealous censor board on the government's indifference to the medium, evinced in statements made even by the likes of the Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru himself, who wanted to see progress in other industries that 'would produce something concrete and provide employment for the unemployed' (November 28 1952). Readers of the magazine, participating in a 'Filmfare Forum on Censorship' mostly expressed their chagrin at the censors' high handedness. One particularly astute reader questioned the Board members' wisdom in banning pictures they themselves had seen and survived in the process of censoring. If the pictures had no adverse effect on the members, what gave them the right to presume that it will 'have the effect on others?' he asked, and further mocked, 'It is as good as saying, in effect: "This film will harm my neighbour, but not me because I am a superior being"' (April 29 1955, 14).

Indeed, the strict censorship regime regulating the industry was at the heart of the mid-century disappearance of the kiss from Bombay films. Since it was clearly present in early cinema, attempts to account for its subsequent absence have popularised the formulation 'unwritten ban' of the kiss. The Report of the Film Enquiry Committee 1951, includes, among many other suggestions 'kissing and embracing by adults, exhibiting passion repugnant to good taste, shall not be shown. Though common in Western Countries, kissing and embracing by adults in public is alien to our country'.[26] Surprisingly, the ban on the kiss was clearly resented as is evident from B.D. Garga's article 'Men and Misses' in *The Motion Picture Magazine* (November, 1950).[27] Garga presents a brief social history of the kiss on-screen. Criticising 'the vagaries of our senseless censorship' as far as kissing was concerned, Garga maps the disappearance of the kiss which was boldly present even two decades ago and asks, 'Did we have more sensible view that time? Or has the moral code changed since then?' Conceding that Indians don't kiss in public he points out that lovers in India do kiss: in films. Garga goes on to argue a case for a greater liberality and ends the article by suggesting that filmmakers be allowed to exercise discrimination, and that 'none can endorse the silly fads and fancies of the censors' (15-16, 20).[28] Even the normally moralistic *Chaya*, on occasion, mockingly pointed out the fact that kissing was not allowed in Indian films, and that how often during the shooting of films, family members, husbands objected to the most innocent of intimacies required of the actors (May 1950, 7). A regular feature in this magazine was a box titled 'Censors' Scissors' which meticulously detailed the cuts demanded from a particular film, complete with the descriptions of the offending heaving breasts, obscene words and songs that now stood censored, but continued to have a censorious afterlife in the pages of the magazine. Clearly, in driving a wedge between the 'orthodox' puritanical' view represented by the nationalist state on the one hand and the film industry and its clientele on the other, the issue of censorship underscores a transgressive and potentially subversive aspect of the 1950s film culture.[29]

[28]

According to Chidananda Dasgupta (1991), the spectator continues to have a pre-modern, irrational expectation and understanding; for Ashis Nandy (1995), cinema continues to carry the traces of pre-modern form and traditions and Ashis Rajadhyaksha (1987a, 1987b) has drawn attention to frontality and the darshanik visual conventions in early cinema.

Vasudevan (2011, 64) has since nuanced his position to see Indian cinema as instantiating an 'unprecedented public congregation outside the constraints of ritual and social hierarchies based on caste and community prescription.' Calling it an 'illegitimate form that flew in the face of priorities generated by state-cultural officials and elite publics invested in national culture — based on classical and folk forms and realist imperatives.' Vasudevan suggests that the cinema 'provided an alternative public realm, if rather different from the counter cultural connotations of that category.'

Christopher Pinney (203) ascribes the preponderance of films on Bhagat Singh to the nature of visual history as distinct from the textual history of the nation in the making. According to him, this explains why there have been hardly any films on 'official' national figures like Gandhi and Nehru who dominate textual histories, while 'unofficial' figures like Bhagat Singh have been celebrated visually, not only in pictures, posters, and calendars but also in innumerable films. One may also add that the popular film

culture's investment in youth, beauty, romance and drama also likely made Bhagat Singh the

choice for cinematic rendition as against the more sombre 'official' national figures.

4. Rabindranath Tagore's profound understanding of this necessity is evident in his writing, par
the seminal *Gora* (Tagore 2002). Mapping the immense changes in social organisation, opinions
and practices on to the person of his eponymous hero, Gora, a white man raised in a Hindu
Tagore makes love the conduit to the transformation of the self in alignment with modernity's
challenges, not only on the national scale but those ushered by and requiring a commitment to a
internationalist humanism.

5. Among the many specimens of this genre, a collection of stories in Marathi stands out for its
engagement with a gendered urban modernity. *Kalyanche Nishwas* (*Blossom's Sighs*) written by
Shirurkar (pen name) in 1933 brought together tales of thwarted, unrequited love, all told in the first
by young college going or working girls. At a time when narratives with romantic love, often with
overtones were popularly read, this collection received much flak and criticism for what was seen
obscene articulation of women's feelings. The author, Shirurkar (2006), in a preface to a recent
insists that she was only capturing the changing reality of women's experience on the cusp of
I thank Madhuri Dixit for pointing out this collection.

6. That several explorations of individualism in novels were markedly gendered is evident from novels
eponymous heroines like, *Nalini* (1920), *Ragini* (1914), *Sushilecha Dev* (1953), *Indu Kale, Sarla Bhole*
and others.

7. According to Mody, the Act possibly retains concerns about parental guidance from earlier
of the law (ibid. 233).

8. In *The Transformation of Intimacy: Sexuality, Love and Eroticism Modern Societies* (1992), Anthony
offers a provocative reading of love as a transformative force implying the 'wholesale democratising
interpersonal domain, in a manner fully compatible with democracy in the public sphere' (3).

9. For example, urban experience, industrialisation, changing labour relations, migration, the expansion
women's work in mills, offices, cinema, etc., suggest the making and accessing of diverse and
modernities. The rise of working-class movements and its brand of agitational politics is, suggests
Hazareesingh in his book *The Colonial City and the Challenge of Modernity* (2007), the third
'radical modernism' contrasting with 'both colonial modernism and Gandhian traditionalism'
another context, the transformation of the home itself as a modernising project needs to be
Detailing the efforts of people like A.P. Pillay, in introducing scientific knowledge and 'sexual
Indian family, Sanjay Srivastava in his book, *Passionate Modernity*, avers that 'while in some
inner outer division of nationalism may hold, it is not a position that can be easily universalised
considerable evidence that the Indian family was also sought to be 'exposed' to modernity, to
'better form of organisation' (47).

10. Indeed, holding in its fold a multiplicity of positions and interests, nationalism was not one
a spectrum of opinion and practices from the radical left to the extreme right animated the
movement for political independence, as regards issues of caste and gender an influential
have been conservative.

11. Madhu Kishwar (1994) maintains that not all objections to the Bill came from regressive quarters
based on old-fashioned conservative beliefs. There were many arguing in favour of the preservation
diversity of practices as well as warning against the administrative difficulties of implementing a
law related to personal matters in remote areas. She further demonstrates that in respect to already
practices of divorce, succession, and even women's rights, there were in fact 'several existing
liberal principals which were decimated by the Hindu Code' (2147). However, one presumes
civil marriage allowed by the new Act had no precedent in Indian society before its nineteenth

legislation and its consolidation in 1954.

Thus, Mehboob Khan with his Mehboob Films, with its hammer and sickle logo, Raj Kapoor's R.K. Films, Bimal Roy's Bimal Roy Productions, Guru Dutt's Guru Dutt Films Pvt., Ltd., the Anand brothers' Navketan Films and B.R. Chopra's B.R. Films allowed these directors, a unique freedom and opportunity of exploring and investing in distinctive styles and genres. At the same time, earlier directors like K.A. Abbas, Sohrab Modi and A.R. Kardar continued to make film well into the fifties while towards the middle of the decade we see Raj Khosla and Hrishikesh Mukherji arriving on the scene.

Advertisement of *Nishat* (dir. S. Shamsuddin, 1949), *Filmindia*, January 1948, p. 64.

Advertisement of *Amar* (dir. Mehboob Khan, 1954), *Filmindia*, 1 October 1955, p. 2.

Advertisement of *Aaj Aur Kal* (dir. Khwaja Ahmad Abbas, 1947), *Filmindia*, May 1948, p. 5.

Advertisement for *Amardeep* (dir. T. Prakash Rao, 1958), *Filmindia*, July 1958, p. 1.

This was a Marathi magazine edited by V.V. Bapat from Pune. Rough translations for the quotations from its letters, editorials, headlines, article titles, etc. from all the vernacular magazines referred to here and in the rest of the book are by the author.

These are the remarks of Mr. R.P. Saksena, the Assistant Sessions Judge of Gorakhpur reproduced by *Filmindia* (June 1950, 10).

On different days, he could warn nationalist politicians for their puritanical and hypocritical attitude towards the film industry ('Burlesque of nationalism?' September 1947), and the film industry for breaking homes and destroying Hindu culture due to the extra-cinematic, inter-religious affairs amongst its personnel ('A warning to Don Juans,' October 1949).

Anokhi Ada (dir. Mehboob Khan, 1948) was asked to be re-censored because the entire sequence in the film ridiculed our well-nursed institutions of law and order (November 1948, 57-59), and the title of the review of *Taxi Driver* (dir. Chetan Anand, 1954) demanded 'Minister Keskar must see 'Taxi Driver' immediately! Unblushing picture of Crime and Sex' (May 1954, 81).

Titled 'Striping Women to make Money.'

Titled 'Pandit Indra Advocates Vulgarity.'

Motion Picture Magazine, November 1950, http://hindi-films-songs-com/books/Motion-Picture-Magazince-November-1950.pdf.

The sensational title of the article announces '*Jovan aur Javani Bhare Ye Geet Samaaj ki Maryada ko Mita Denge*' (*Rajatpat*, 15 December 1949, 11-16).

Quoted in Barnouw and Krishnaswamy (211).

Bombay Board of Film Censor: Suggestions Indicating Probable Objections to Films, Appendix viii, Section vi on sex, Number 12.

http://hindi-films-songs.com/books/Motion-Picture-Magazine-November-1950.pdf.

Throughout the 1960s, the kiss was intensely debated in magazines as demonstrated by Ranjani Mazumdar (2011). It is against this backdrop that the Khosla Committee, set up by the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting rendered its report in 1969. Stating that the prohibition against on-screen kissing was based on an 'unwritten rule,' the Khosla Committee Report, in fact, actually allowed the depiction of the kiss, if necessary (Mazumdar ibid.). Madhava Prasad opines that the informal ban on kissing could be related to a nationalist politics of culture' (1998, 88). However, Mazumdar reads the playful dalliance with the kiss in foreign-location films of the 1960s as 'working creatively to generate alternative maps for the articulation of desire' (ibid. 142).

One image that illustrates the comical fallout of censorship battle between Bombay cinema and the repressive state machinery is a photograph of two actresses Nishi and Nirupa Roy (in a male costume), kissing each other on the lips. Reproducing this production/publicity photograph from the film *Chal Baaz* (dir. Nanabhai

Bhatt, 1958), *Filmindia* commented 'Congress censors won't let a man and a woman kiss as doing so [illegible] the celibate pillar of our Gandhian State. Therefore, film producers decided to put female lips [illegible] so that a kiss may not disappear from our life completely' (April 1958, 71). Whether or not this [illegible] survived the censors' scissors, this attempt to circumvent the obdurate censors could have unwittingly [illegible] visibility to an even greater unacknowledged secret of an alternative sexual economy of modern [illegible]

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Shammi, David Abraham and Cuckoo. Neo Lite Films, 1958.

Deedar (*Sight*). Directed by Nitin Bose, performances by Ashok Kumar, Dilip Kumar, Nargis, Nimmi, Ma
Tabassum, Tun Tun, Surendra, Yakub, Motilal and Parikshit Sahni. Filmkar Productions Ltd., 1951.

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Walker, Krishan Dhawan, M.A. Latif and Sarita Devi. Navketan Films, 1954.

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Sultana, Nazir Hussain, Anwar Hussain, Minu Mumtaz, Tiwari, Murad, Indira, Helen, Cuckoo and Tun
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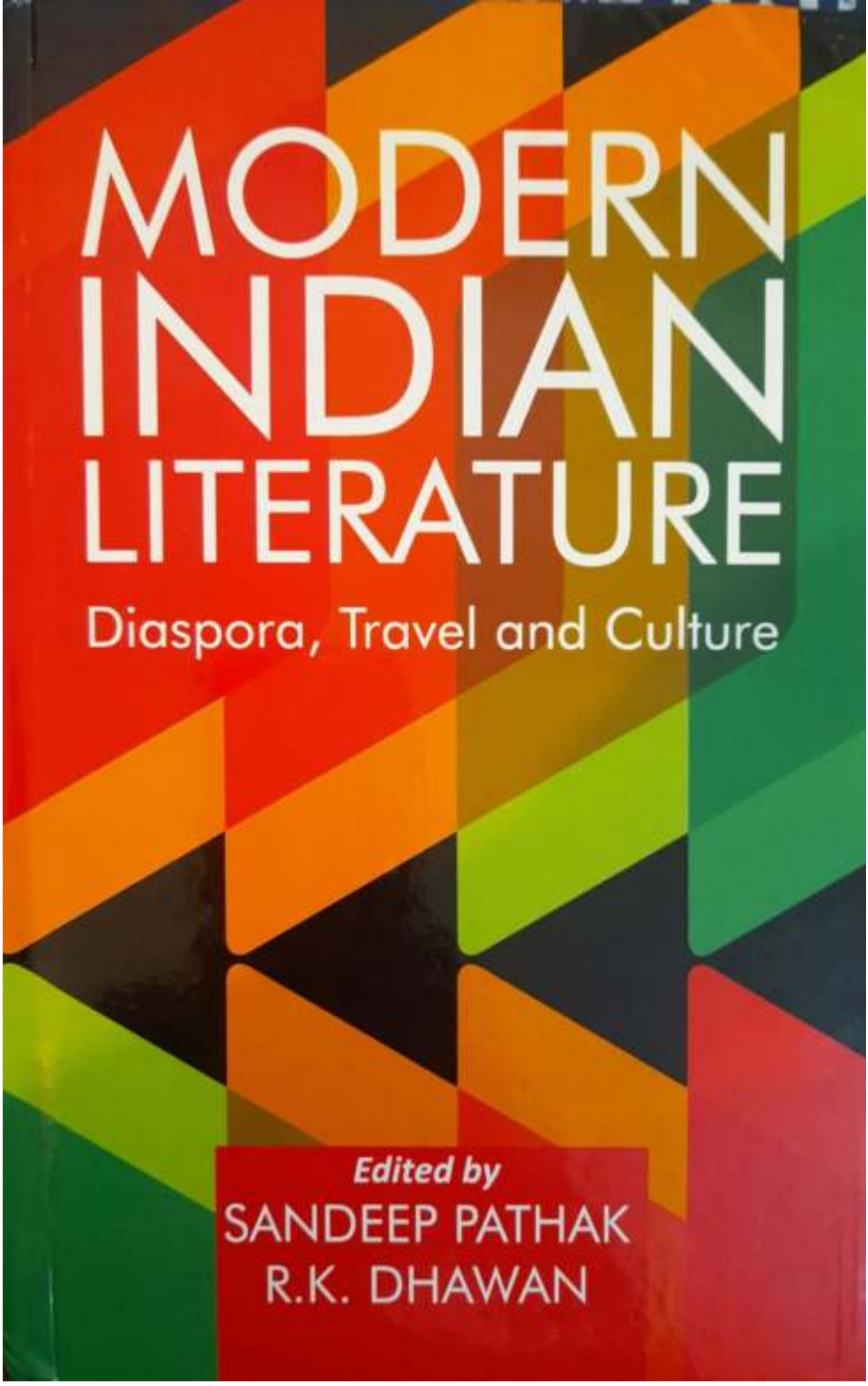
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Travel Writing

Indian Thought and Feeling

Travel Writing to Travel Literature: Journeys of Travel Narratives in Acquiring New Generic Identities

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Paul Fussell, an American cultural and literary historian and the writer of the award-winning book *The Great War and Modern Memory* (1975), in one of his other seminal works, *Abroad: British Literary Travelling Between the Wars* (1980), had observed that 'travel is now impossible and that tourism is all we have left.'[1] Fussell had made this comment as he was discussing British interwar travelling during the 1920s and 1930s, the decades he felt were crucial in bringing the change from 'exploration' to 'travel' to 'tourism.' In an age of globalization, there is really hardly any scope for 'travel' or 'exploration' in the old sense, what has taken its place is 'tourism' in the form of an organized industry. One may argue here that the homogenizing forces of globalization and the so-called cosmopolitan world we live in have killed the essence of 'travel' by eliminating the feeling of foreignness that a traveller would, in earlier times, experience during his or her travel. Therefore, in the context of all these cultural changes, writing about travel ought to be different as well. Travel stories about some heroic exploits or geographical explorations to an exotic locale have, of course, become things of the past. Travel writing, today, more than about the place or the locale is about the impact the journey has on the traveller/writer, written frequently in the form of a memoir or a personalized writing and often celebrated for its excessive interiority.

Although travel has been a common theme in literature, and that narratives of travel have been popular forms of writing and reading since many eras of the past, travel writing as a genre has not received serious academic attention until recently. Writing about travel, discourses on travellers's experiences abroad had remained a sub-genre until the resurgence of academic interest in travel writing around the last two decades of the twentieth century, when the genre began to receive a wide spectrum of critical attention from several humanist disciplines like Anthropology, Diaspora Studies, Cultural Studies, Postcolonial Studies and Gender Studies. Historically the time coincides with the years of the wars of liberation in many former European colonies, post the Second World War, which resulted in a huge flux of immigration and a consequent remapping of the world. As the twentieth century was rolling towards its mid-decades, not only volumes of travel increased, types of travel became greatly diversified. Now, the idea of 'travel,' more often than before, was replaced by the idea of 'displacement.' Notions like 'place' and 'destination' were redefined as 'space.' 'Home,' 'departure,' journey,' 'destination' lost their meaning and reference in this new world of diasporas and in the context of the new globalized world that ensued. The idea of travel in the current context began to be loaded with thick layers of meaning, which quite obviously necessitated the genre of travel writing to refashion itself and redirect its course. In the new trend of travel writing that thus emerged, 'places' have begun to be looked upon as 'imaginary spaces,' formed out of individual subjective realities. Travel texts have become complex representations of 'places' and the associated journeys, filtered through individual subjective consciousness. That travel writing is actually the representation of a place, or rather a space, whether as concrete or as imaginary construct is the new approach to study of travel writing today. Travel writing in the twentieth century acquired new generic identities, under the influence of the changing dynamics of a world slowly opening up to the processes of

globalization and modern and post-modern cultural politics. In the course of this generic redirection, travel writing of the interwar years, that is the decade of the thirties, was especially remarkable. During this time, from being mere travelogues or traveller's accounts, the genre transformed itself to travel literature, more subjective and individualistic in style, and one in which several complex issues of critical interest emerge. As decades rolled by, twentieth century travel writing continued to be more and more complex, it being a genre to come easily under the influence of the phenomenon of 'globalization' and the ensuing cultural politics. From a subgenre mainly comprising of a corpus of utilitarian writing, it transformed into a genre, whether fully literary or not, but offering scope for serious academic reading and critical understanding.

Travel writing is a fluid genre, the problem of generic demarcation being one of its characteristic attributes. To put it in a term used by Barbara Korte,[2] it is an 'androgynous' literary form—a genre that has cross-overs with fiction, poetry, tales of pilgrimage, missionary accounts, scientific explorative reports, journalistic pieces. Hybridity in form, thus, has always been inherent in the genre. For instance, the medieval times and the early modern age are full of examples, when travel took the form of pilgrimage. Talking about travel and pilgrimage, one may quite obviously remember Chaucer here. Chaucer's *The Canterbury Tales* stands as a representative pilgrimage text of the medieval times to have a travel story as the main narrative frame. Another common motif in the genre of travel writing is that of a 'quest.' In many travel narratives, the idea of 'quest' appears as the central thread. The 'quest' can be a physical one, involving a journey of exploration to an unknown geographical region. The 'quest' can also be a metaphorical one, where it is actually an inward journey for some kind of a spiritual discovery. John Bunyan's *The Pilgrim's Progress* (1678), for instance, is a travel with a quest theme, where the journey is both a physical experience and a psychological or a spiritual

exercise. However, neither *The Canterbury Tales* nor *The Pilgrim's Progress* can be called categorical travel works. Travel book's popularity as a genre started with travellers like Marco Polo travelling to Cathay (China) in the second half of the 13th century, Mandeville's *Travels*, Christopher Columbus's first voyage to America in 1492. Needless to say, these were the travel works of exploration and discovery, the narratives of 'quest' to some unknown geographical territory. This was the beginning of travel writing's own journey in search of a generic identity. It was also the point of beginning of Europe's construction of the cultural 'other.' The real problem for the travel writers of the time was the representational anxiety in constructing the 'New World' in the text for the readers back at home. It needed new expressions and startling language to depict this 'other.' Marco Polo in his *Travels*, portrays the mysterious east with sufficient amount of wonder and bizarre descriptions, which emphasizes the otherness of the natives by stressing the unfamiliarity of their appearance, their habits and their customs. I would quote a few lines from Marco Polo's *Travels*, where the traveller Marco Polo gives a detailed description of the inhabitants of Zanzibar: 'They are quite black and go about completely naked but for a loin-cloth. Their hair is so curly that they can only comb it when it is wet. They have wide mouths and turned-up noses. Their eyes and lips are so protuberant that they are a horrible sight. Anyone meeting them in another country would mistake them for devils.'[1]

A fundamental fictionality in representation is quite evident here and this underlines another important generic trait of travel writing, the mixing of objectivity and subjectivity in textual representation. Although generically all travel writing has to have a factual base and therefore claim to have accuracy of details and objectivity in presentation, writing we know can hardly be an objective medium of discourse. Moreover, in writing about travel, a space for the traveller-writer's perceptions, his individual and subjective responses to his travel experiences can hardly be denied or

ruled out. Travel writings, thus, are always curious blends of objective presentations of facts and details and their subjective representations.

Moving on to the early modern age travel writing, which was primarily utilitarian in purpose, works like Richard Hakluyt's collection, *Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffics, and Discoveries of the English Nation* (1589) were rather factual than fictional, as travel at this time was mostly of explorative or mercantile type. It now assumed the form of 'reportage.' A report meant a chronological narrative of the expedition undertaken, with geographical and ethnographical findings and observations. Reports were sometimes substantiated with detailed maps and more frequently with sets of instructions for future travellers.[4] Such form of 'reportage' found mostly in the travel works of the Renaissance and early modern age continued to be widely used even in the 19th century, when it became an all the more popular form for the colonialist imperialist travel projects undertaken by Europe.

So travel writing, till the 1900, was a genre with frequent overlaps with scientific reports or documentative kind of writing. Post 1900s, however, several factors started dominating, influencing and shaping travel writing. So coming now to the context of the twentieth century, the formative years which, I argue, shaped travel writing's course to the present day were the decades of the 1920s and 1930s, the time when many eminent literary figures of the time undertook to travel and wrote about their experiences. Among them were novelists like D.H. Lawrence, Wyndham Lewis, Graham Greene, George Orwell, Evelyn Waugh, Christopher Isherwood, Rebecca West and even poets like W.H. Auden, and Louis MacNeice, whom Paul Fussell in his book *Abroad: British Literary Travel Writing between the Wars*, refers to as the 'British Literary Diaspora of the 1920s and 1930s.'[5] Not only did they write about their journeys in their travel works, they also explored the significance of 'travel' or 'journeys' in their fiction and poetry. Naturally, in the hands of these novelists and poets, travel

writing was infused with literary qualities. Not being originally a literary genre itself, travel writing now opens up more and more to extensive use of metaphors, fragmented and disjunctive narratives and other stylistic devices of canonical modernist literature. This was the beginning of a new journey for the genre of travel writing—the process of its acquiring new generic identities and refashioning itself as travel literature. It was a time when, due to several reasons, socio-political or otherwise, all of a sudden, there was a common perception among the sensitive thinkers and intellectuals of the tome about 'reality' being disjointed, dissociated and fractured. This undoubtedly called forth the urgent necessity to device newer experimental techniques for representations of realities in modernist texts. Similar literary experiments were conducted in the genre of travel writing as well, which resulted in such travel books as Christopher Isherwood and W.H. Auden's *Journey to a War* (1939), Louis MacNeice's *I Crossed the Minch* (1939), MacNeice and Auden's *Letters from Iceland* (1937), Robert Byron's *The Road to Oxiana* (1937), Rebecca West's *Black Lamb and Grey Falcon: A Journey through Yugoslavia* (1944) and many more.

In the context of the twentieth century, there hardly was a time before this when non-literary phenomena were so conspicuous in influencing and producing the literature of the time. First, the time saw the beginning and the gradual ripening of what we may call the 'Petrol Age,' with great advancements in road and railway network, facilitating a boom time in travel. Some were mass-travel and some highly individualistic travel. Mass-travel was often motivated by political reasons (one must not forget here the political scenario of extremist Leftist and Rightist politics dominating the Continent at that time) and sometimes due to economic reasons, like unemployment. The political geography of Europe in the post First World War years was changing, resulting in migration and displacement, the outcome of which was a great upsurge of metropolitan diasporic population in all the important cities of

Western Europe. In the late thirties, a major percentage of displaced population comprised of immigrants who fled from Hitler's Germany. Besides all these, there was leisure travel, both over long and short distances. The ease of locomotion brought the advent of the tourism industry which popularized commercially organized group travels at minimized costs. However, travel at this time was more diversified than only this. People undertook to travel individually as well, sometimes for professional reasons, as it was in the case of the journalists, or simply for the sake of writing about travel. Paul Fussell, quite interestingly, observes three different forms of travel in the thirties. He distinguishes between 'explorer,' 'traveller' and 'tourist' by pointing out that the explorer 'seeks the undiscovered,' whereas the tourist seeks that which has been discovered by business. The traveller occupies a place in between these two, 'retaining all he can of the excitement of the unpredictable attaching to exploration, and fusing that with the pleasure of "knowing where one is" belonging to tourism.'[6]

So, not only in the business of tourism, twentieth century saw an increase in number of travellers pursuing individualistic travels, sometimes as journalistic ventures, sometimes on literary projects, sometimes even motivated by political preferences. For instance, Greene travelled to Liberia and then to Mexico. Orwell travelled to Spain during the Spanish Civil War. Evelyn Waugh travelled along the Mediterranean coast, and also, to Mexico and Africa. W.H. Auden with Christopher Isherwood went to China and with Louis MacNeice travelled to Iceland. It should be noted that most of these writers travelled under the impulse of their own ideological convictions and most of the time their choice of destinations for travel were based on their political preferences. It is not surprising, therefore, that we have Orwell travelling to Spain and Auden and MacNeice travelling to China. These politically motivated ideologically driven travels form a significant corpus of early twentieth century travel writing, something which Bernard Schweizer discusses at length in his book *Radicalson the Road.*[7]

Another significant influence on travel writing of the twentieth century was the emerging field of media technology. During the 1920s and 1930s, the first gift from the new media technology was the radio, and then the talking picture. These developments in mass media attracted even literary people towards it. For example, one style of cinema that particular attracted W.H. Auden was the documentary. The 1930s also initiated the age of photojournalism, what Samuel Hynes in his seminal study *The Auden Generation*[8] calls 'feature-journalism.' Print journalism became an attractive choice for employment and even notable figures of the time, like Evelyn Waugh and Graham Greene were closely associated with it. Alongside print journalism, there was also photojournalism, that is, use of photography for news coverage. As documentary films, photography and photo-journalism began to be used as new tools for reproduction of realities in art and they succeeded in attracting significant literary figures of the time like W.H. Auden to the newly emergent media technology, one can possibly say that the conservatism of 'high' art slowly was beginning to merge in with the popular culture and popular forms of communication. As travel became diversified now with the reasons for travel becoming more and more varied, travel writing also broadened its spectrum to share grounds with other emerging forms like journalistic writing, photojournalism, war-writing and documentaries. The experimental mood of the age, which was already so very evident in the mainstream literatures of the modernist writers of the time, was reiterated in these emerging forms—of them, travel writing being a significant one.

A reference to one of the most unconventional and path-breaking yet less known travel works of the time, the *Letters to Iceland* (1937) may help to establish the point in question. The book *Letters to Iceland* was W.H. Auden's collaborative travel piece with Louis MacNeice. About *Letters* Auden says, 'It is a collage that you are going to read,' and uses a form which is fragmented and discontinuous, the narrative comprising of a bunch of

letters, a few poems, and 'photographs,/Some out of focus, some with wrong exposures,/Press cuttings, gossip, maps, statistics, graphs.'[9] The disjunction in form that he achieves by the mixing of genres helps in dislocating perspectives, the result being a very innovative form of a travel book, something which Stan Smith describes as a book that 'plays deliberate games with the travelogue format.'[10] Neither do we find the traditional story telling of a travel book, nor the travel writer's promise of bringing to his readers some bizarre experiences he had during travel. Pointing out the fact that just before their Icelandic trip Auden had been involved in a six month's job with a documentary film, critic Marsha Bryant says (about *Letters to Iceland*), 'Auden's first-hand experience with film made him aware of the politics of visual representation, so that he experimented with camera framing and with collage form in order to blur the line between observer and observed in *Letters from Iceland*.'[11]

What Auden and MacNeice in the book mean to question is the fundamental claim made by conventional travel writing, that of authenticity of factual representation. Auden builds multi-perspectivism in the narrative, sometimes through jarring camera effects, sometimes by using strange focal points in the photographs and sometimes by diffusing the focus of the camera altogether. These techniques help in destabilizing perspectives even more than they destroy any authoritative gaze of the traveller using camera. The experimentations in formal techniques and the serio-comic mode of presentation attribute a kind of self-consciousness to the travel work about its mode of representation. By these, Auden raises questions about the so-called objectivism of all these genres like travel writing, documentary writing, photography, and photojournalism and thereby exposes their limits as well. Auden and MacNeice's *Letters from Iceland* was not the only example of such experimentation with forms. Many modernist travel writings experimented with forms, played with the shifting points of view technique, examined the relationship between observers and

observed and questioned the authority conventionally assumed by the traveller persona in a travel book.

The formal experimentations, which the modernist travel writing of the 1920s and 1930s started, continued to determine the course of the development of the genre for the rest of the twentieth century. Even for the later travel writers like Paul Theroux, Patrick Leigh Fermor and Eric Newby the genre has been one in which the writer may take the liberty to play with the ideas of self, of authority and of artistic representation. Again and again there is a kind of proclamation from the travel writers that the knowledge being shared through the travel work could be partial, incomplete and subject to the traveller's individual perception. In the author's note to *The Lawless Roads*, we find Greene saying, 'This is the personal impression of a small part of Mexico at a particular time, the spring of 1938.'[12] Auden and MacNeice do the same in *Letters from Iceland*. In the Preface to the book, Auden says, 'A travel book owes so little to the writers and so much to the people they meet, that a full and fair acknowledgment on the part of the former is impossible. We must beg those hundreds of anonymous Icelanders, farmers, fishermen, busmen, children, etc., who are the real authors of this book to accept collectively our gratitude.'[13]

There is a deliberate undercutting of the traveller's authority here as a person speaking about or representing a place. This characteristic unsettling of authority in travel writing, which started at this time, continued in later modern or post-modern Anglo-American travel writing as well. Paul Theroux's *The Great Railway Bazaar: By Train Through Asia* (1975) is often considered a classic in the genre. A journalistic, yet a very introspective style in travel writing, adopted by travel writers like Wilfred Thesiger, Norman Lewis, Peter Matthiesen and Bruce Chatwin brought in newer experiments in form. Works like Norman Lewis's *A Dragon Apparent: Travels in Indo-China* (1951), Matthiessen's *The Snow Leopard* (1978) and Bruce Chatwin's *In Patagonia* (1977) and *The Songlines* (1987) can be said to have completely reworked the

genre. They reverse the focus from the 'place' visited to the travelling persona of the author, bring in a space for subjectivity in the whole experience of travelling and writing and complicate the relationship of the observer and the observed.

Another noticeable fact in the case of European travel writing is that, since the time of the Renaissance, travel writing had engaged in the very traditional role of the western construction of the cultural 'other.' Till the end of the nineteenth century and even in the early twentieth century, European travel writing had consistently been imperialistic, the reason being its close association with colonialist explorative projects, especially in the continent of Africa or in the Far East. Travel writing therefore has always been looked upon as a discourse involving in the process of knowledge production about the 'other,' producing colonial stereotypes, travelogues being an essentially imperialist mode of representation. Early twentieth century travel writing, and especially that of the 1930s, was unique in the sense that more than involving in the construction of the cultural 'other,' the travel works of this time engaged in the construction of the 'self.' It is the foregrounding of the self in these writing that makes these travel works more introspective, inward-looking and more reflective. Written during the years of imperial dissolution and simultaneous political instability at home, they present sympathetic and complex subject positions, which become more complicated in relation to the external world. By the end of the first two decades of the twentieth century, Europe had reached the climax of territorial colonialism and it was the very process of colonialism which resulted in things like transculturation and miscegenation, migration and displacement. Travel writing took a generic redirection. It was increasingly becoming aware of these realities being produced all over beyond Europe through the processes of colonialism and the multiple effects of transculturation, migration and displacement. The travel books of the interwar years were thus the first to register this

consciousness of cultural heterogeneity and therefore, they present starkly different dynamics.

The travel texts of this time of imperial dissolution, in a way, also anticipated future re-workings in the genre, bringing in new generic diversifications like post-colonial travel writings, such as V.S. Naipaul's *The Middle Passage* (1962), which would be narratives of reverse travel by descendants of colonized subjects, or even women's travel writing, with some exceptional works by women travel writers like Isabella Bird, Rebecca West and Freya Stark. Travel writing is and has been a continually evolving genre. As on one hand, it has all the attributes to belong to the category of popular reading and popular culture, on the other hand, it is a genre of writing frequently considered for serious academic studies like studies in culture and cultural politics. In the context of twentieth century globalization and global geopolitics, travel and writing about travel, thus, continue to thrill us in terms of both popular readership and critical and theoretical scholarship.

NOTES

1. Paul Fussell, *Abroad. British Literary Traveling Between the Wars* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980) p.41.
2. Barbara Korte, *English Travel Writing: From Pilgrimages to Post-Colonial Explorations*, trans. Catherine Matthias (Great Britain: Macmillan Press Ltd., U.S.A.: St. Martin's Press, INC., 2000) p. 9.
3. Marco Polo, *The Travels of Marco Polo*, trans. Teresa Waugh (London: Sidgwick and Jackson, 1984) p. 175, as quoted in Casey Blanton, *Travel Writing. The Self and the World* (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1997) p. 7.
4. One reason why maps were rare was that the competing nations required keeping their trade routes secret. However, with the increasing popularity of travel books, hand sketches of maps, showing important cities and ports, even sometimes native costumes and regional flora and fauna began to appear.
5. Paul Fussell.

6. *Ibid*., p. 39.
7. Bernard Schweizer, *Radicals on the Road. The Politics of English Travel Writing in the 1930s* (Richmond: University Press of Virginia, 2001)
8. Samuel Hynes, *The Auden Generation: Literature and Politics in England in the 1930s* (Great Britain: Bodley Head, 1976)
9. W.H. Auden and Louis MacNeice, *Letters from Iceland*. 1937 (London: Faber & Faber, 1973) p. 21.
10. Stan Smith, 'Burbank with a Baedeker,' p. 6, qtd. Tim Young, *The Cambridge Introduction to Travel Writing* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013) p.72.
11. Marsha Bryant, *Auden and Documentary in the 1930s* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1997) p.77.
12. Graham Greene, *The Lawless Roads* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books 1947. London: William Heinemann Ltd., 1955) Author's Note.
13. Auden and MacNeice, *Letters from Iceland*. 1937, Preface.

Contents

Chapter 6
Sustainability in Indian Organizations

Alpana Vaidya

6.1 What Is Sustainability?

There is no universally agreed upon definition of sustainability. Etymologically, the word sustainability refers to something that can be sustained for a period of time. It refers also to something that can be supported, tolerated or confirmed over time and that can be stated with certainty. It concerns building on the present in such a way as not to put the future at risk (Di Fabio, 2017b).

Sustainability can be seen as the process by which something is kept at a certain level. Usually the word sustainability is used in connection with protection of natural resources thereby maintaining ecological balance. In short, sustainability is defined as the processes and actions through which humankind avoids the depletion of natural resources to keep an ecological balance so that society's quality of life doesn't decrease. This approach also takes into consideration meeting the needs of the present generation without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their needs (Di Fabio, 2017b; Di Fabio & Rosen, 2018).

From the traditional point of view, a product is sustainable if it uses increasingly smaller amounts of material; if it is based on renewable and non-polluting processes and materials; if it is not toxic; and if it is easy to maintain, process, dismantle, demolish, dispose of and recycle (Di Fabio, 2017b). In politics, technology, economy and ecology, sustainability is about balancing current aims with future aims without jeopardizing the latter (Di Fabio, 2017b; Di Fabio & Maree, 2016). According to Brundtland Report (1987) and Harris (2003), sustainable development was based on the three "Es", namely, economy, equity and ecology, highlighting the right of present as well as future generations to enjoy the environment and natural resources.

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There are three pillars of sustainability, namely, economic, environmental and social—also known informally as profits, planet and people (cited in Mitchell Grant, 2020). The definition of each one is given below.

The word economic sustainability refers to practices that support long-term economic growth without negatively impacting social, environmental and cultural aspects of the community. – University of Mary Washington, Economic Sustainability.

Environmental sustainability refers to the protection of the environment. For example, it is concerned with whether environmental resources will be protected and maintained for future generations (Tejvan Pettinger, 2018).

Social sustainability refers to "a process for creating sustainable successful places that promote wellbeing, by understanding what people need from the places they live and work. Social sustainability combines design of the physical realm with design of the social world – infrastructure to support social and cultural life, social amenities, systems for citizen engagement, and space for people and places to evolve (cited from https://www.esg.adec-innovations.com/about-us/faqs/what-is-social-sustainability/)". From a business perspective, social sustainability is about understanding the impacts of corporations on people and society. Decisions taken by organizations have to take into consideration their impact on environment, society and people. For example, instead of concentrating on short-term gains, they encourage business enterprise to consider diverse and long-term gains. For example, zero waste packaging, reduction in carbon emission, improving work conditions for workers, deciding on paying minimum wages to be paid, use of less toxic chemicals and the like.

Regarding psychological sustainability and sustainable development, it represents new field of research in psychology. It addresses the issues of sustainability and how psychologists can make contribution in this field. This innovative psychological perspective enlarges the concept of sustainability. It is not only limited to ecological and socioeconomic environment, but it also seeks to improve the quality of life of each human being with and in the environments (Di Fabio, 2017a, b; Di Fabio & Rosen, 2018). This definition of sustainability tries to go beyond traditional framework which is based on three "Es" (economy, equity, ecology) (Burtland Report, 1987; Harris, 2003), "avoiding" something in terms of exploitation, depletion and irreversible alteration.

Modern view of sustainability centres around promotion and enrichment of well-being of individual and society. It is based on a new framework which has focussed on regenerating resources and on a positive approach (Di Fabio, 2017a, b). This approach is based on new keywords such as promotion, enrichment, growth and flexible change (Di Fabio, 2017a, b). In short, according to modern view, any project is sustainable if it is accessible, is de-constructable and is aimed at promoting individual and organizational well-being (Di Fabio, 2016).

In order to promote psychological sustainability.:, organizations need to make efforts towards providing psychologically safe work place. For example, studies have shown that it is necessary for organizations to provide a psychologically safe

workplace to improve employee engagement (Kompaso & Sridevi, 2010). From a positive psychology point of view, the four factors in a healthy organization that need to be considered are the individual, the group, the organization and the inter-organizational processes (Henry 2005). Thus, psychological sustainability sees sustainability in terms of the development of well-being and satisfaction of the employees at work place.

6.2 Why Sustainability in Indian Organizations?

This section deals with why it is necessary to understand the sustainability in Indian organization. What is the situation with respect to environmental sustainability, public health and psychological sustainability in Indian organizations? What are the challenges that Indian companies and Indian government are facing with regard to environmental pollution, public health and psychological well-being of the employees? First let's try to understand why it is important to understand sustainability in Indian organizations.

India is one of the fastest growing economies in the world. Most of the Indian companies seem to be well aware of sustainable development as a multidimensional and multidisciplinary concept having a special relevance in the context of environment, allocation and utilization of natural or environmental resources in particular. But still there is lot of scope for improvement. The Indian Constitution 1950 is based on the principles of social and economic justice, and these principles of constitution are implemented by the states through many socially sensitive policies, including affirmative actions. In the 1970s, India also began to focus more sharply on safeguarding the environment. Several laws were put in place, and the Ministry of Environment and Forests came into being in 1985. In the seven decades since Indian independence, the country's large public sector enterprises, nationalized banks and state-owned insurance companies have consistently implemented initiatives directed towards economic growth and distributive justice. The country has also signed on to most major international conservation treaties related to habitat, species and environment (Deepika Krishan, 2019).

But sustainability efforts of India suffered as the Indian economy was liberalized in the 1990s. With liberalization, private corporations were allowed to set up businesses in India, and this leads to rapid GDP growth. This helped India to cut multidimensional poverty in half. But this development was at the cost of environment. For example, seven of the ten most polluted cities in the world are in India, and protected forest lands have been opened up for mining, road and rail construction, oil drilling and pipeline and canal construction. Despite economic progress, poverty remains a major challenge. According to the United Nations Development Programme's 2018 Multidimensional Poverty Index, a staggering 364 million Indians continue to experience acute deprivations in health, nutrition, schooling and sanitation. Inequality has worsened dramatically over time (Deepika Krishan, 2019).

Environmental Sustainability in Indian Organization

Indian companies are facing various challenges regarding environmental sustainability. There are a lot of polluting companies in India. For example, there has been 136% increase in the number of grossly polluting units of industry in India between 2011 and 2018. These include pulp and paper mills; distilleries; sugar mills; textile units; tanneries; thermal power plants; food, dairy, and beverage units; chemical units; and slaughterhouses (cited in Kiran Panday, 2019).

Another challenge towards sustainability is India's coal-run thermal energy plants. They are among the most inefficient in the world, and many don't meet the already relatively insufficient Indian standards for air pollution, water consumption or waste disposal.

Another problem area that the Indian government urgently needs to address is the Indian automobile industry, which currently contributes 7.1% of India's GDP. The government is moving towards stricter emission norms and is giving incentives towards the faster adoption and manufacturing of hybrid and electric vehicles. However, progress has been slow. Large-scale green public transport projects haven't taken off in India. As of May 2019, India had only 280,000 electric vehicles, which is far from the government's target of 15 million to 16 million by 2020. In the budget of 2019, the government has made allocations to support e-mobility (Deepika Krishan, 2019).

According to a survey of Indian executives by the Global Compact Network India—one of the country's largest corporate sustainability initiatives—Indian business leaders are focussed primarily on regulatory compliance, not on core sustainability (Deepika Krishnan, 2019). This is because 90% of CEOs surveyed reported that they face no pressure at all from investors to move the needle on sustainability. There is need for more pressure from all the sides for India to make rapid progress towards sustainable development.

The overall amount of green lending in India is still small compared to other types of lending. There is no pressure on banks to use environmental, social and governance criteria while financing polluting projects or projects such as large dams, which cause disruption (Deepika Krishnan (2019).

This shows that in a developing economy, it's impractical to stop new units from launching, and as a result, balancing growth with sustainability is a big challenge.

Public Health in India

When one looks at public health in India, it has been found that providing public healthcare facilities for all is a big challenge. The healthcare system in India suffers from inadequate funding. There are several structural problems too, like the lack of integration between disease control, family welfare programmes, non-communicable diseases control and other programmes in the social sectors. There has been poor

accountability and commitment towards universal healthcare (Suresh Kumar, 2019). A lot needs to be done in the area of public healthcare.

Psychological Sustainability in Indian Organizations

Regarding psychological sustainability in Indian organization, it has been found that it is a relatively new area for research and a lot needs to be done in this area. Even at the community level, community mental health and creating mental health awareness programmes are necessary. At organizational level too, attention needs to be paid to the mental health and well-being of the employees.

India has seen a significant rise in the number of organizations over the past years. Organizations play an important role in the development and enhancement of a society. The performance at an individual level can impact an organization's effectiveness. Studies have shown that most of the research on well-being has been from a Western framework (Agarwal et al., 2011; Joshanloo & Weijers, 2014).

Review of literature on well-being and sustainability in Indian organizations has shown that in India, which is the most overworked country in the world, work-related stress can have serious consequences. Portrayed as the "silent killer", stress has been reportedly termed as the root of depression and workplace anxiety in India (Business Insider India 25th September 2019 post). According to a recent LinkedIn report, the majority of the workforce in India is stressed due to the workload, fear of job loss and office politics (Business Insider India 25th September 2019 post).

A 2016 survey of 200, 000 professionals employed across 30 Indian firms found that 46% are reported suffering from extreme stress as a consequence of their work. Pressure related to their jobs had caused at-risk individuals to contemplate suicide (Richa & Kala Vijayraghavan, 2016).

A recent study by People Matters 2019 pointed out that on a scale of one to five, Indian organizations rated their satisfaction with current wellness initiatives at three, indicating the average results of wellness programmes. This shows that a high number of organizations do not offer personalized wellness activity resulting in less employee adoption and engagement. This could be attributed to lack of awareness in defining well-being programmes selecting the best tools for assessment and measuring the cost-effectiveness of these interventions (Sethi, 2019).

It has also been found that in India, only 10% of the 1.7 million registered companies run a formal mental health support programme (Sethi, 2019).

A report based on the views of 12,500 corporate employees from 150 companies across 18 broad sectors like media, telecom, KPO, etc. found that about 42.5% employees from private sectors suffer from depression or general anxiety disorder compared to government employees (ASSOCHAM study, 2015). It was also seen that 38.5% of corporate employees sleep less than 6 hours a day due to high levels of stress that arise due to tough targets set by employers. Around 48% of respondents said they felt fatigue on a regular basis due to general anxiety, and about 27%

of participants in the survey admitted to having regular headaches (ASSOCHAM study, 2015) (cited in Sethi, 2019).

A study on the workplace motivators and employee satisfaction found that front-line sales workers in India were less satisfied with the organization as the mean satisfaction score was 2.04 out of 4. A major reason for this was an incongruence between an employee's expectations and what they were getting. The study indicated that employee's satisfaction is significantly influenced by compensations along with working conditions and support from management (Mishra & Gupta, 2009). A study conducted by Gargi and Ghazi (2018) found that people look more from the work front than just subjective well-being and hedonic happiness point of view.

Limited budgets have been a major challenge for companies to drive workplace wellness initiatives (Hemant Sethi, 2019). Though there has been a spike in the investments in health and wellness programmes, there still is a lot more scope for corporate India. A high number of companies do not offer personalized wellness programmes/activities resulting in less employee adoption and engagement.

The liberalized Indian economy demands a more focussed and efficient workplace culture (Singh, 2011). The human values are the most important aspect that influences organization goals and policies (Pareek, 2002). Indian organizations need to create an attractive and motivating working environment (Agarwal et al., 2014).

In view of the challenges regarding sustainability (environmental, public health and psychological sustainability), efforts are being made in India at the government level, NGO level and corporate level to meet these challenges and to create societal awareness and consumer awareness. As a result of these efforts, the situation is slowly changing.

6.3 Efforts by NGOs, Corporate and Government Towards Sustainable Development

The following section highlights how efforts are being made by NGOs including the Indian companies and Indian government in attaining sustainability (environmental, public health and psychological sustainability).

Few years ago, the terms like climate change, environmental sustainability and circular economy were not very popular in India. Also, awareness about eco-friendly products and the sustainability of them was limited to only certain section of society. But now people and the organizations are increasingly becoming aware about the sustainability, environmental protection, social awareness and social inclusion. Consumers are also becoming aware about these things and are, accordingly, changing their lifestyle and trying to have a minimalistic living. In a recent study conducted in North America, Europe and Asia of 6000 consumers, it has been found that more than 80% of survey participants said they felt it was "important or

extremely important" for companies to design environmentally conscious products (Andrew Martinez, 2019).

There are many organizations including NGOs that are making essential contributions to the environment and society towards the sustainability of India. They are making efforts to facilitate the conditions under which humans and nature can co-exist while still satisfying the social, health and environmental needs of present and future generations.

Highlights of some Indian NGOs and social enterprise which are balancing their development with minimal or no impact on Mother Earth is given below.

There are a lot of organizations that are striving to reduce pollution or the other major negative impacts on our non-renewable resources and are working for improved standards of living with sustainable solutions, thereby making an effort towards green environment, for example, NavAlt Solar & Electric Boats Pvt. Ltd. based in Kochi, Avani, an NGO based in Kumaon region of the Uttarakhand. Avani is a community built on the principles of sustainability and local empowerment. They have various initiatives which help to protect the environment to providing employment opportunities to local people, thereby providing opportunity for rural development. Greenobazaar in Gujarat is an eco-friendly bazaar which provides organic food and eco-friendly products at door steps of the customers. Daily Dump is a design company in Karnataka established in 2006. It is based on PM of India Mr. Narendra Modi's Swachh Bharat, Clean India Mission. At this company they use design to help imagine alternative scenarios that can help change behaviour. The objective of this company is to reduce waste, improve material recovery and enable better livelihoods, and this is done through the voluntary collective action of urban citizens. Aadhan is a social enterprise located in NCR, Delhi, and is in the recycled infrastructure space, which recycles old shipping containers into an eco-friendly, mobile infrastructure. They design buildings which can be sent to any location in the country. These structures are made from shipping containers retired from their tenure at sea and other environmentally friendly materials, emphasizing a culture of sustainability. Aspartika Biotech company situated in Bengaluru uses locally generated waste and by-products of agro-industries and palm oil industries to develop value-added products like omega-3 fatty acids for human and animal application and feed additives for aqua, poultry cattle and swine. Oorja Energy Engineering is a clean-tech heating and cooling company in Hyderabad which has focussed on providing sustainable solutions for industrial and commercial heating and cooling. They provide solutions based on solar and energy efficiency that are economically viable for customers. Their products either eliminate or greatly reduce the need for fossil fuel consumption for these processes in industries and commercial establishments. Oizom is an environmental solution company based in Gujarat which started with a life-centric approach; Oizom builds data-driven solutions for natural resources like air, water, soil, energy, etc. Oizom Instruments aims to make the environment understandable and predictable. With a dense network of Oizom Instruments and machine learning data science, Oizom strives to create a sustainable living environment. S4S Technologies located in Mumbai is a food preservation company that invents new food processing machines. They sell these machines to farmers or use

these machines at their own facility to produce the best quality processed food. S4S Technologies work with a range of partner organizations to create a sustainable supply of processed food products. Their technology includes a Solar Conduction Dryer, Haldi Tech, SmartDry and Frost Dry.

Along with NGOs, various Indian companies are making significant contribution towards sustainability. For example, Hero MotoCorp which is the world's largest two-wheeler company believes in innovation at the core of its philosophy. It has been at the forefront of designing and developing technologically advanced motorcycles and scooters for customers around the world. With over 90 million satisfied customers across the globe, it continues to champion socioeconomic progress and empowerment through its range of products and services. Hero MotoCorp's manufacturing facilities are based on the core principle of sustainable development, as the company remains committed to maintaining the highest ecological standards. As a responsible corporate citizen, Hero MotoCorp has always gone beyond its business objectives to ensure a green, safe and happy environment for the society at large. Hero MotoCorp's corporate social responsibility (CSR) platform has an initiative—the "Happy Earth" programme for the environment. This programme aims to protect, conserve, restore and optimally use environmental resources through various initiatives including tree plantation drives, water conservation programmes and conservation of wildlife. Additionally, under its community care programme, Hero MotoCorp has been engaged in the socioeconomic development of more than 100 villages in several parts of India through various initiatives including skill development of the youth, promotion of sports, health camps and water harvesting projects. Thus, the company has carried out various activities right from environmental sustainability to water conservation and forest conservation.

Indian Oil Corporation Limited (IOCL), d/b/a IndianOil, is an Indian public sector oil and gas company headquartered in New Delhi. It is the largest commercial oil company in the country, with a net profit of ₹19,106 crore for the financial the year 2016–2017. Indian Oil Corporation under the flagship scheme of the government of India, i.e. Pradhan Mantri Ujjwala Yojana, has provided LPG connections to Below Poverty Line (BPL) families since its launch in May 2016. The objective of the scheme is to provide clean cooking fuel to the BPL families to eliminate use of biomass-like agricultural residue, wood, cow dung, etc. The clean fuel has helped in eliminating domestic pollutions, thus improving the health of women from BPL families. As per study by the World Health Organization, about one million people die every year in India, which can be attributable to diseases related to indoor air pollution. Pradhan Mantri Ujjwala Yojana (PMUY, 2019) aims to safeguard the health of women and children by providing them with cleaner cooking fuel, i.e. LPG. Under this scheme, Indian Oil contributes 20% of 2% of previous year's profit towards release of one-time grant to BPL families in rural areas for release of new LPG connections. During 2018–2019, under CSR, LPG connections were released to about 5.33 lakh families.

The foundation of Axis Bank has been built on its core values—customer centricity, ethics, transparency, teamwork and ownership—and by doing the right thing for its stakeholders.

Axis Bank is guided by a strategy that focusses on achieving sustainable and profitable growth for the organization while catalysing positive economic, social and environmental value creation for its stakeholders in the short and long term. Recognizing the increasing concern of global warming and its ill effects on the environment, the bank commenced undertaking green energy initiatives in its operations in order to reduce its carbon footprint. Towards this end, the bank has installed around 5 MW of rooftop solar plants in various branches and offices since inception of the project in the FY 2014–2015. This includes the largest installation of 1.27 MW at Axis House, Noida, at one single location. Further, the bank has set up a 2 MW solar plant by acquiring 8.59 acres of land at Sonalwadi Village, Sangola Taluka, Solapur, through open-access system which can generate 28 lakhs electricity units per annum, and aims to reduce 2296 tons of carbon emissions annually.

At Reliance, they believe in human capital and knowledge economy. Therefore, for the human capital and knowledge variable, awareness training in Six Sigma has been imparted to nearly 25% supervisory staff, and the company wants to achieve the target of nearabout 40% in the coming 3 years. Training is also imparted to the food handlers in the canteens to ensure food and water safety. The company is following a comprehensive community development programme which includes education, healthcare, disaster relief and skills training, and like in the community health centres, the company has created a society named the Dahej Health & Welfare Society (DHWS) to run a 50-bedded hospital for secondary-level healthcare facilities at Dahej in partnership with the government of Gujarat. All raw materials are transported in a secure manner in order to make sure the safety of customers, carriers, suppliers, distributors and contractors. The company ensures adherence to EUREACH regulations which aimed at ensuring that every chemical substance that is manufactured in or imported into Europe is safe to use. Dividend payment is made as per the shareholders aspirations, and company's policy to pay sustainable dividend is linked to long-term growth objectives of the company.

In order to have a better and in-depth understanding of environmental conservation and its importance, Apeejay Tea has started Nature Clubs, a sustainability programme for school children of our tea gardens in Assam. In the Q1 of 2015, Apeejay Tea announced its initiative towards reducing the impact of human elephant conflict in Assam with many first-of-a-kind ideas built in and implemented by the World Wide Fund for Nature (WWF). Along with the efforts at corporate level and government level, efforts must be made in creating awareness among consumers regarding sustainable development.

Wipro, an IT company through its project Readiness designed for the fresh graduates joining the company, prepares them to live in the real-life lab of operating project environment. For the safety of female employees, there is a campus safety training programme designed by the company. For the sales team, a training programme is available with the benefits covering IP, FCPA, antitrust, anti-competitive acts, discrimination and work place behaviour. Wipro Cares – a non-for-profit trust was formally established in 2002. This is an employee led initiative, through which unique opportunity is provided for Wipro employees to contribute to social causes and to community needs. For example, employees engage meaningfully with

disadvantaged communities who are proximate to Wipro locations. In addition to this, access to education, education for children with disabilities, community ecology program, community healthcare program, and the like programs are supported by Wipro Cares. Suppliers are also expected to follow sustainability standards. From the socioeconomic point of view of local material procurement, 50% of the construction material is procured from the local suppliers. Nearly the 80% suppliers are based in India (Wipro Sustainability Report, 2013). Dividends are paid to the shareholders every year, and the rate of payment is increasing year by year.

Tata Consultancy Services (TCS) invests in the training of science graduates to transform them into software professionals, and this training programme includes computing, core technology skills, TCS processes and tools, communication and team skills, business literacy and cultural awareness in addition to hands-on project experience. The company has a focus on the areas of education and skill building, health, environment and affirmative action, and it is involved in providing exemplary services with the assistance of Andhra Pradesh government to digitize their operations and to offer an end-to-end IT solution to fruitfully automate the NREGA scheme in the state of Andhra Pradesh. In the area of supply chain sustainability, TCS has initiated a network flow based "Optimized Empty Tank Container Repositioning System". This has resulted into rise in the revenue by 12%, margin rose by 10% for the next three years, and a considerable amount of carbon emissions was avoided (TCS Consultancy Report 2013). Dividends are paid every year with minimum payout ratio of 30%.

The government has taken some steps to force improvements by defining standards, imposing a coal tax on the industry and putting the Ministry of New and Renewable Energy to work on funding, promoting and researching cleaner energy. However, in 2018, India met only 6.3% of the country's target for the production of wind energy and 5.86% of the target for solar. Coal continues to pollute, and gas and hydropower are running far below capacity.

The government has also created eco-sensitive zones, and these zones tightened the benchmarks and efforts that are being made to monitor corporate environmental performance.

There are encouraging signs that financial markets are making moves to encourage sustainability. State Bank of India, the country's largest bank, has obtained lines of credit of more than $1 billion from the World Bank and Germany's KfW for projects in solar energy and affordable housing. And as of March 2019, the State Bank of India had disbursed (pdf) $4.3 billion towards 656 completed renewable energy projects and had an affordable housing portfolio of $37 billion. Similar examples exist among Indian private banks.

The government has also introduced highly publicized government awards for companies that implement sustainability programmes, thereby recognizing efforts of the corporate towards sustainability and encouraging them to sharpen their focus.

International trends in sustainable and green lending are helping drive the corporate sustainability agenda in India, but more can be done.

Also, green bonds in India have grown into more than $6 billion market. Green "masala bonds", issued outside India but in rupees, have been listed on international

exchanges since 2015. And in 2017, the Securities and Exchange Board of India finalized norms for the issuing and listing of these and other environmentally focussed bonds. Both public and private sector corporations in India are now using such bonds to raise finance, especially for renewable energy projects. For example, the Securities and Exchange Board of India took a step in the right direction by issuing a paper in 2012 asking the top 100 listed companies in India (based on market capitalization) to release annual business responsibility reports. In 2017, this was extended to the top 500 companies. The reporting format is influenced by the standards set by the Global Reporting Initiative and based on locally developed principles of sustainability. However, the progress in this direction is very slow, and there are no regulator audits of the reports and no accountability for projects listed in them.

Indian stock exchanges have been responding to the global trend towards sustainable business. The two major stock exchanges in India—the Bombay Stock Exchange and the National Stock Exchange—have launched sustainability-based indexes (the S&P BSE Carbonex, the S&P BSE Greenex and the NIFTY100 ESG). However, media and investors have not yet shown much interest. More corporations must embrace holistic sustainability.

As a result of government initiatives and efforts, many leading Indian businesses like Tata, Reliance, Mahindra and Birla, to name a few, have made great progress on sustainability, spearheaded by visionary CEOs and supported by capable senior teams. They've implemented major internal campaigns to reduce and recycle and to influence employee behaviour. Their efforts have also enabled the creation of green supply chains, expanding the idea of sustainability to many smaller companies. The idea of a "circular economy", in which waste becomes a resource, is also catching on. However, it's still limited to only the large, professionally managed companies. Regarding inequality in all aspects of the business, distribution of profits, pay to employees, manage supply chains, etc., these issues are rarely addressed.

India has a strong legacy of civil society movements. This shows how efforts are being made by Indian NGOs, social enterprise, companies and the government in making India a better place to live by their contribution towards environmental sustainability measures.

Regarding public health, efforts are being made by the Indian government by recently adopting the National Health Policy in March 2017 (NHP, 2017). This is in line with United Nations Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). Health is a core dimension of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs); the NHP 2017 aims to "attain the highest possible level of health and well-being for all at all ages through a preventive and promotive health care orientation in all developmental policies, and universal access to good quality health care services without anyone having to face financial hardship as a consequence". NHP has also highlighted seven priority areas, namely, air pollution, better solid waste management, water quality, occupational safety, road safety, housing, vector control and reduction of violence and urban stress.

Since the Sustainable Development Goals have to be implemented by 2030, the Indian government is taking efforts by formulating national policies and

regulations. The government is also roping in corporations and business to complement these actions.

Study has indicated that that 60% of the top 100 companies incorporate SDGs into their responsible business actions (Futurescape Newsletter rankings). All the top ten companies map their business goals with SDGs (Majumdar & Rana, 2020).

On an average, companies map 12 SDGs with a low of 1 to a maximum of 17. Of the companies that mapped their SDG goals, 88% were in the private sector and 68% were in the manufacturing companies. In terms of focus, the SDGs 8 (decent work), 6 (clean water and sanitation), 12 (responsible consumption and production), 13 (climate action), 3 (good health and well-being) and 4 (quality education) occupy the top position with over 82% companies reporting so. On the other hand, SDG 14 (life below water) was mapped by the least number of companies—32% (Futurescape Newsletter).

Mapping of top 100 companies identified that the prominent SDGs were SDG 8 (decent work and economic growth), SDG 9 (industry, innovation and infrastructure) and SDG 13 (climate action), with over 70% of the companies indicating it as an action item. Other important ones were SDGs 1 (no poverty), 6 (clean water and sanitation), 16 (peace, justice and strong institutions) and 4 (quality education). Both manufacturing and service companies focussed on SDGs 8, 13, 9 and 1—similar to the overall results. The pattern repeats itself across all industries. Efforts are being made in India to provide quality healthcare facilities to all by establishing primary healthcare centres, establishing medical colleges and also introducing various changes in National Health Policy.

Regarding psychological well-being, Indian companies assume that the concept of sustainable development is significantly correlated with employees' well-being. With innovation and changing technology, mergers and acquisitions and organizational restructuring, the resultant stresses and strains have become part of human life. They not only affect individual's life but also affect professional, social or personal activities. In order to save organizations from the negative performance, it is necessary to develop programmes that will promote complete well-being of employee. Various Indian companies are making efforts to develop wellness programmes for the employees. Some of the examples are given below.

Infosys Technologies which is a leading IT sector provider in India has adopted a wellness initiative named Health Assessment and Lifestyle Enrichment (HALE). The initiative primarily consists of a portal for online dissemination of information on the various stress-related issues and a hotline whereby employees can directly receive counselling. This initiative can help the HR track patterns and take suitable actions to deal with the prevalent issues in the organization. The company also has its in-house doctors for regular check-ups as well as professional counsellors offering psychological counselling to its employees.

Wipro is another leading IT and BPO sector that has created a supportive environment and culture focused on wellness. Its most successful initiative has been once called "MITR" (meaning "friend" in Hindi). In this program, 28 employees, all volunteers, were trained to counsel fellow employees to manage stress. "MITR" signifies to employees that they do have a friend in Wipro and they should be able

to confide and share their problems. "We at Mitr can help employees cope with their problems", says Wipro's head of compensation and benefits, Anil Jalali.

Indian start-up WeWork initiated a programme called "right to disconnect". The start-up floated policies which allowed employees to feel free and switch off on weekends and non-working hours from 9 pm to 7 am.

Other global giants like Hindustan Unilever and Pidilite Industries have been strongly opposing the late working policy to support employees.

A study showed that MNCs in Jamshedpur are making strategic moves in retaining their employees. Obtained results showed that the implementation of three R's-respect, recognition and rewards will increase employee retention. Similarly, conducting frequent reviews and not blaming the employees for policy errors also leads to employee retention (Nafisa Shahin, 2014).

With the outbreak of global pandemic COVID-19, life of people has changed. With the new norm of social distancing, use of online platforms has become common in everyday life. At Microsoft team's workplace, skype for online meetings has become commonplace.

According to a report by JLL, 66% of employees in India immediately shifted to working from home after the outbreak of the pandemic. While 30% of Indian working population has said that the lockdown has given them an enhanced opportunity to balance their work and life, as much as 41% of them are missing the professional environment (Sanjeev Sinha, 2020). Regarding physical health and well-being amidst the global pandemic COVID-19, efforts are being made by the Indian companies to promote health and well-being of the employees. Majority of the Indian companies view that setting up and designing activities to help reduce health risks and will enhance their ability to function. For example, in line with the current situation, Indian companies are rethinking their employee-wellness strategies and customizing programmes to accommodate the technological change in people's habits. In addition to these measures, the companies are advising employees to adopt to simple health measures, making employees understand how to deal with work from home and adapt to uncertain situations and the like. Companies like Vedanta are putting employee well-being ahead of productivity issues and offer psychological counselling helplines to its employees facing anxiety and stress-related problems along with meditation sessions and a series of engagement activities to keep them motivated and engaged.

In view of the diverse and changing environment of organizations, Indian companies are making efforts to attract and motivate employees at workplace. They are trying to create an effective organizational culture and develop a mechanism of collaboration, trust and reciprocal accountability by setting interactive associations with employees. All these efforts will promote psychological well-being and will help improve quality of life, thereby promoting psychological sustainability.

In order to meet the challenges of sustainability, the Indian government has taken various measures by adopting regulations, standards, subsidies, initiatives and public investment in green technologies. Some of the government initiatives are mentioned below.

NGOs have played a critical role in the enactment of many important legislative changes. Several NGOs provide consulting services to corporations and help

companies implement their CSR activities, and they have the necessary skills to create an independent green rating system for India. It won't be easy, but with support from the government, it can be done (Deepika Krishnan, 2019).

Governments in India have always been alerting to popular trends and have responded in the past with many pro-people policies. Awareness regarding sustainability must reach to common Indian. The Indian media also has to play a major role in creating a public opinion. Media should give coverage to companies that have taken major initiatives towards sustainability. Digital media company should make digital platforms available and tell stories of sustainability and sell sustainable products online. Currently it is reaching out to audience of 30 million per month. Still such efforts are not enough.

At school level right from primary school, social and environmental responsibility is part of the core curriculum. Engineering and design schools must increase their focus on sustainable design. And more than 3500 business schools in India should offer courses that teach students the practical aspects of building and running sustainable businesses.

India's sustainable future also requires efforts from research firms, innovation hubs, incubators, social scientists, auditors, lawyers, analysts and talent search companies. In this direction, consulting companies and industry associations have started efforts, for example, they have started offering training programmes, advisory services and green product certification. Such industry-led efforts need to be accelerated.

6.4 Conclusions

Despite government efforts, results have shown that corporate sustainability isn't yet a fully realized idea in India. Several leading companies consider social and environmental issues to be as important to their business as financial growth, but many other companies do not consider it as important and most aren't thinking of sustainability as a core strategic priority.

In Indian organizations, sustainability is understood mainly in terms of environmental sustainability such as reductions of waste, water, emissions, circular economy and commitment to renewable energy.

Corporate social responsibility (CSR) is contributing to charitable causes or taking up projects that have larger social implications. Indian consumers are ready to get connected to these causes or initiatives initially, but they want to ensure whether the real on-ground action is promoted by the brand over time.

For business to grow in India, it is necessary for the corporations to embrace sustainability as an essential part of the corporate agenda. Collaborative efforts must be made by the government, financial markets, CEOs, media and civil society in creating awareness and commitment towards the sustainable development and well-being.

The Indian government is making efforts to maintain balance between the two by making efforts to achieve the goal of sustainability and well-being in organization. In order to achieve this goal, various provisions and policy measures and incentives are given to the companies.

It is believed that progress of company depends upon the quality of its employees. If the employees are healthy and have mental well-being, then they will be able to make contribution towards the sustainable development of the company. In view of this, the companies have realized that well-being is not only a central dimension of sustainable development but also a key contributor to sustainability.

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