K. Gayithri · B. Hariharan ·
Suchorita Chattopadhyay *Editors*

Nation-Building, Education and Culture in India and Canada

Advances in Indo-Canadian Humanities and Social Sciences Research

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Foreword

The spirit of democracy, the rule of law and the celebration of diversities of all kinds and pluralism and multiculturalism are foundational to the relationship between India and Canada. The relationship between two vibrant democracies is not only restricted to the above-mentioned values but has got reflected in diplomatic interactions, economic engagement and ties between citizens of the two nations. The people of Indian origin constitute more than three per cent of the Canadian population and are well integrated into the economic and sociocultural spheres of Canada. The integration is visible from the fact that the people from Indian origin have found representation in the Canadian Parliament and Cabinet.

The international relations between the two countries have been further strengthened through the political engagements and conversations over the last few decades. The two countries have agreed to collaborate in the sectors like space research, railways, civil aviation, atomic energy intellectual property and sports. The trade between the two countries too has intensified in terms of goods as well as cross-border investments.

The political diplomacy between the two nations has been reaping good results for many years. The need of the hour is to strengthen the academic diplomacy between the countries so as to explore new areas of economic, social, ideological and academic collaboration and focus on the binational studies and research between the countries. Shastri Indo-Canadian Institute (SICI) is playing a pivotal role in bringing together researchers of the two countries. SICI is now in its golden jubilee year. It is a binational organization of two governments. The editors of this volume have served with distinction as the members of the Executive Committee of SICI.

The concerns of academic collaboration call for cutting across disciplines to recognize and identify possibilities of shared spaces of learning and research around education, culture and reimagination of nations with better ties between people in the light of challenges that may come across in the process. I am glad that this book is finally seeing the light of the day. The book has very well-researched and highly interesting research papers on various aspects of Indo-Canadian relations. The editors are scholars of great eminence in their own right and have put in a lot of efforts in bringing out this volume.

The two countries have a very different educational cultures, and therefore, strengthening the ties between the educational institutes may expose both the nations to the best practices of each other. The university exchange programs amongst the academic institutions will further strengthen the idea that the understanding of diplomacy should be taken much beyond the political relations between the countries.

The collaborations need to exist across disciplines ranging from humanities to social sciences and natural sciences. The pluri-lingual educational system can benefit the ties in several ways. Similarly, the ties in science and technology can lead to transfer to the best ideas and innovations between the nations.

Further, the debates on better accommodation of diverse cultures can also be addressed better through the academic involvement. The debates become all the more relevant in the light of the value of multiculturalism which both India and Canada intend to take to a new level. India at this juncture really needs to appreciate the importance of diversity. We need to learn that diversity strengthens a nation rather than weakening it.

The academic collaboration in addition to the existing sociocultural and political links can better serve and guide the path which India and Canada should take in future to continue and foster the mutually beneficial relations.

The book in hand will assist in furthering comparative analysis of the similar issues which both the countries face. It is a must-read for anyone interested in Indo-Canada relations. It can help the avoidance of the mistakes which may have been committed by one or the other country. We need not reinvent the wheel all over. We must learn from each other. The river linking in India and interbasin water transfer in Canada serves as a good example for the same.

Hyderabad, India

Faizan Mustafa
President, SICI, and Vice-Chancellor
NALSAR

Preface

Indo-Canadian relations have an academic face as well, and the Shastri Indo-Canadian Institute continues to discover new pathways facilitating the exchange of people and ideas. This book is one more milestone in the Shastri Institute's efforts at engaging India and Canada. It is appropriate that a book like this that shares stories of how academics and institutions contribute in cementing long-standing relationships comes out at a time when this unique institute celebrates fifty years of promoting and facilitating academic exchange. Rightly so, the book charts some landmarks and the many roads taken in collaborative ventures of researchers and scholars from the two nations. There is a lesson or two here on how investment in higher education contributes to the strengthening of the research priorities of the nation.

Such investment and its dividends must reach a wider audience and readership. And so, what was initially planted as an idea for a conference on global education grew shoots and leaves and it was carefully tended and nourished to speak of evolving priority areas, possibilities of collaboration between institutions and the positioning of disciplines in the knowledge spectrum. All these have helped in contextualizing Indo-Canadian binational engagement in knowledge sharing with a human face. A book like this is particularly relevant when the watchwords that govern the financial lifeblood of research, particularly in the social sciences and humanities, are 'tangible results', 'returns' and 'accountability'.

A collection of essays across diverse disciplines will pose challenges even when placed in thematic clusters. It speaks of the walls erected to discipline disciplines. And yet, at least some stories that result from academic research breach these walls and create different disciplinary systems and boundaries. The very process of putting together these stories reveals the importance of the critical investment made and flags Indo-Canadian advances in research in the humanities and social sciences.

A book of this kind is a small yet necessary step in recognizing the fruits of academic diplomacy. In the process, we discover how to put together ideas to understand new ways to build nations.

Bengaluru, India — K. Gayithri
Thiruvananthapuram, India — B. Hariharan
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Chapter 1
Introduction and Overview

K. Gayithri, B. Hariharan and Suchorita Chattopadhyay

1.1 Introduction

This book grew out of an experience in learning, sharing and recognition that has continued to happen between India and Canada for 50 years. Credit for this is to the dream of Lal Bahadur Shastri and the political will that actualized it in 1968 with the founding of the Shastri Indo-Canadian Institute. As an experience that plots a fascinating journey of how we learn to evolve bonds between these two nations, this experience of sharing also facilitated and firmed up many academic linkages. These linkages continue to bear fruit cutting across disciplinary boundaries and contribute to multiple dialogues across knowledge systems. This intangible value recognizes the cultural investment in such a system of networks. In the process, it has ensured access to much more than information with the right emphasis on the recognition and understanding of people. We learn and recognize another way of what it means to be nations.

In contemporary times, the value of such an engagement between India and Canada is noteworthy. Academic diplomacy on these lines results from a binational sharing of intellectual and material resources and requires fair recognition. This recognition of academic diplomacy is also an attempt to contextualize the strategic importance of the educational collaboration that India and Canada have and is the need of the hour. We continue to witness radical shifts in perception in government policies and in emerging priority areas for collaboration between institutions. The

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many brackets enabling these shifts are increasingly visible, particularly economic and ideological. In addition, the positioning of disciplines in the social sciences and humanities in the knowledge spectrum, the status of Canadian Studies in the scheme of binational collaboration, and the compositional character that makes up the research mandate and output of institutions and academicians lay bare the challenges at hand.

The need of the hour is to sustain the educational collaboration between India and Canada so that we will be able to extend the reach and potential of such research ventures that understand the human dimension of binational exchange. And so, this book hopes to contextualize the strategic importance of the educational collaboration that India and Canada have and the resultant research findings in the social sciences and humanities. The essays in this book are indicative of tangents and intersections that inform the particularities of research interests and contexts in Canada and India. The contributions of scholars from India and Canada discuss the output of research that they have undertaken and the impact it has on developing partnerships, linkages, learning methodologies and sociocultural narratives that empower interdisciplinary research.

This collection of essays shares stories about partnerships, and research outcomes. Broad research areas are included here because we recognize that the pathways of knowledge crisscross when people and disciplines come in contact. This book highlights the potential of educational collaboration between India and Canada so that it will be possible to extend the reach and prospects of such research ventures that understand the human dimension of binational exchange.

All the papers in the volume describe comparative positions and perspectives that touch on various concerns that continue to shape the two nations. The concerns addressed in these papers cut across disciplines; they speak across disciplinary borders to identify and respect shared spaces for learning and understanding knowledge productions and emergent modes of thought. The thematic clusters that map these multiple modes include three broad areas, namely **Education and the Nation**, **Challenges for the Nation** and **Culture and Nation**. More than theorizing or even imagining the nation, the task ahead is to recognize how people and communities learn to discover links that range from tenuous towell grounded. For this reason, it is appropriate to indicate signposts that grid the nation.

Rightly then, Brijender Singh Panwar has drawn attention to the experience of community colleges in India and Canada. Even as the paper acknowledges that it will not be possible to attempt a comparative study of community colleges in these two countries due to socio-economic, political, federal or even cultural reasons, it underlines the perception and practice of the concept. A discussion of the Indian and Canadian systems and their working highlights the challenge of sustainability of the system itself in the context of the fast-changing times and needs. The paper makes a strong case to have exchange programmes between the practitioners of community colleges in India and Canada as it concerns the internalizing of the best practices.

The concern to learn from the best practices opens up possibilities in the north-eastern states in India which is not much explored in Indo-Canadian academic engagement. Suwa Lal Jangu emphasizes the need to explore the possibilities for

collaboration in higher education between the two countries, drawing attention to the fact that diplomacy in the twenty-first century goes beyond interactions between government actors and emphasizes the need of enduring people-to-people ties. It is this premise that makes the roadmap suggested for India–Canada collaboration in education, especially for the north-east particularly interesting.

Preoccupation with the best practices emerge according to Papia Sengupta as well who is concerned about the objective of education in multicultural societies. She addresses it with recognition of the value of diversity. For this reason, she argues for providing school education in multiple languages. This can help to recognize the value of difference that helps orient young minds to be receptive to cultures and acknowledge the shades that variously give shape to diversity. And so, the study focuses on language-in-education policy and the way it can be utilized. The paper discusses the notion of plurilingual education and its benefits to India and Canada in nation-building.

Concerns with education and nation-building find another dimension in the work of Gordon McOuat who discusses education and research partnership in the field of science and technology studies between India and Canada. At least eight universities have collaborated in the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada (SSHRC) Partnership Development Project, resulting in the paper that underlines the results of a shift in focus to cosmopolitanism in research collaborations. The essay sets out with an elaboration of 'cosmopolitan science' and then outlines the origin, structure and the operational status of the collaborative partnership project between Canada, India and S. E. Asia. The roadmap of the journey of science in different contexts that shaped the partnership project shows how perspectives and institutions evolved and grew to yield results.

Change in perspectives is the focus of Debashree Dattaray's paper, which introduces the works of Native Canadian novelist, teacher, visual artist and activist Jeannette Armstrong, and the Karbi Youth Festival to discuss how the regional and the traditional practices can contribute in sharing the learning experience of communities. This, of course, involves a process of de-schooling to energize community links. Her essay foregrounds how indigenous youth interact with traditional cultures and shows how it might contribute to identity formation. It also seeks to emphasize how the youth may align themselves with, or distance themselves from, cultures of resistance. Learning experience of communities becomes an act of empowerment.

This theme informs the argument that Nandini Sinha Kapur puts forward as she develops the idea of eco-museum for sustainable development drawing on the experience of the Meenas of the Western India and the Métis of Western Canada. The paper explores ways in which the concept of a museum without walls will help in the retrieval of the heritage of these two communities. The paper indicates the possibility of learning to manage local resources that will help in generating employment and revenue. To claim a heritage requires competence in managing knowledge systems, and this in itself is at once discovering what it means to be a people as well as a learning process.

The section on challenges for the nations contains four well-researched papers, two of them addressing the trade issues and one each on mental health and climate change issues in the context of interlinking rivers.

The paper by Deepak Kumar Das addresses an important developmental challenge that nations face globally in matching the growing diverse demand for and supply of water. The typical challenges involve transfer of water from the water bodies like rivers that have excess water to the areas having dearth of water. The paper makes an attempt to draw lessons from the Canadian experience in inter-basin water transfer experience being one of the countries having implemented large number of inter-basin water transfer projects. India has given considerable importance to interlinking of river (ILR) programme and has assigned high priority to provide adequate water to areas that have poor access, such as drought-prone and rain-fed areas. The paper highlights the findings of the studies in Canadian context examining the impacts of inter-basin water transfer projects that tend to adversely affect the environment and human displacement, owing to which Canada's current approach has become cautious. The author, based on the Canadian experience, suggests that the Indian approach needs to be guarded to prevent all the likely perils associated with such major developmental pursuits.

The paper by Mansi on 'Foreign policy of Canada vis-à-vis India under Stephen Harper: From cold storage to warmth of billion-dollar trade' explores the evolution of bilateral relations between Canada and India that tended to be highly tumultuous. The opening up of Indian economy in 1991 marked a clear change in global outlook in India, and Canada was no exception. Economic engagement since then was pursued and marked by bilateral visits by political leaders, resulting in a significant trade expansion. The paper, in particular, examines the bilateral relations under Harper, under whose regime 2011 was marked as 'Year of India' and the shaping up of an upward movement in trade and investments. The author stresses on the need to sustain this in the long run and suggests further strengthening of bilateral ties in the fields of higher education, energy and mining, clean technology and tourism.

Ritu Gupta further highlights the importance of competitive clauses in sustaining healthy trade between India and Canada in her paper entitled 'Competition Clauses in Bilateral Trade Agreements between India and Canada: An analysis of the trends, issues and challenges'. With the launch of economic reforms in India in 1991, Canada identified India as the largest market in the region with enormous scope for commercial cooperation. The trade between the two countries continued to expand since then despite the recession of 2000s. India's major exports to Canada include ready-made garments, textiles, cotton yarn, carpets, gems, jewellery and precious stones, organic chemicals, coffee, spices, footwear and leather products, processed foods and marine products. India's major items of import from Canada include newsprint, wood pulp, potash, asbestos, iron scrap, copper, minerals and industrial chemicals. On the investment front also, there has been a rapid increase in FDI in Canada by Indian Companies and Canada also has a modest presence in India. The author cautions that the gains of such agreements are not annulled by anti-competitive practices of the dominant market players.

The paper by Anuradha Sovani discusses mental health and the stigma attached to it by societies. A major contribution by the paper is in the nature of suggesting possible routes of intervention in the form of Prakashdoot project conceptualized and executed in Maharashtra to create awareness of psychological conditions using mass community programmes to clear the effects of self-stigma and motivate them to adopt corrective measures. The second approach adopted is to felicitate by way of awarding annual recovery awards for the persons who have successfully recovered from the mental illness to mark their courage and the familial support. These are meant to motivate the other mentally ill persons in the community. This is akin to the Canadian 'Coming out proud' programme declared for people achieving wellness.

The paper by Gayithri addresses the issues of monitoring and evaluation of government programs in India and Canada and its importance in tracking the performance of government programs and the necessary midcourse corrections. The paper argues that in view of the large-scale and growing public spending on programs there is every need to monitor the implementation through the life cycle of the programs and put in place frameworks and institutional mechanisms to carry out either end evaluation or concurrent evaluation of the programs in order to understand if the desired end results are achieved. This provides room for evidence based public policy decisions to achieve the much desired allocative and technical efficiency in public spending. The paper provides a historical evolution of these practices in Canada and India and argues that while the timelines involved in introducing these frameworks in both the countries is similar, the former has made considerable strides in the monitoring and evaluation the latter needs to strengthen the system.

The final section of this anthology contains five diverse articles on 'Culture and Nation'. Culture and the entire nation-building exercise are extremely crucial in the contexts of both Canada and India. Particularly in the case of Canada, a country which is just 150 years old, the nation-building process is very much an ongoing one as the country tries to negotiate with the diversity that it is made up of. Culture understandably is an integral part of this process. It is specially relevant as Canada is officially practising multiculturalism and India is made up of an integration of multicultural components for a long time now. The five articles under this section address some relevant perspectives pertaining to Culture and Nation in the context of Canada and India.

Gitanjali Kolanad in her article on 'Paradigms of Practice: The Artist in the Community' extensively discusses the 'kalarippayat', a martial art form practised in Kerala. The space that is used to impart this training is known as the 'kalari'. In the course of her discussion, she also refers to how the practitioners of this form have created an artists' collective in the city of Toronto, thus creating a cultural bridge across the two countries. Kolanad focuses on the establishment of a tradition and also about the ways of its sustenance. This article attempts to show how such practice and training facilitates the creation of community spaces and encourages participation across diverse disciplines.

Hans Wolfgramm's article 'Feeling Well Kalaripayat: An Embodied Practice of Insight Problem Solving' draws heavily from his own experiences as a member of the Indian Martial and Performance Arts Collective of Toronto. He focuses on the

intricacies of this training in tune with the environment where it is being imparted. Wolfgramm also stresses on the need to maintain the structure of the traditional practice.

Professor John G. Reid in his article on 'Sport History as an Area of Comparative Study between Canada and India' begins with establishing the importance of the sport history of a country or a nation. His discussion and analysis take into account the sport histories of both Canada and India. Reid focuses on the history of both cricket and hockey in the two countries and traces the differences in the popularities of the two games in these countries. Reid has meticulously traced the evolution of these two sports in both Canada and India, but from a unique perspective. The comparison has been done on the basis of the social and cultural relevance of these sports with a strong focus on the human element.

Sitara Thobani's article on 'Training in the Homeland: Negotiating Artistic Travel in the Transnational Field of Indian Classical Dance' contains an analysis of a global network of artists and their contribution towards the development of meaningful cross-cultural interactions. This analysis has at its core the contemporary transnational practice of Indian classical dance. Thobani goes on to explain how the practice of traditional Indian dance contributes to the construction of a multicultural identity outside India.

Urmi Sengupta in her article 'Building Bridges across Canadian and Indian history: Interrogating the 'twin disasters' of Indo-Canadian migration through Literature and Films' problematizes the mainstream (official) conceptualization of history in Canada as a singular monolithic entity that primarily foregrounds the 'history' of the European 'founding nations', thereby highlighting the necessity to understand the Canadian nationhood in terms of the multiple histories that inform the lives of its racially diverse population. The Komagata Maru Incident of 1914 and the Air India Disaster of 1985 constitute certain chapters of history that the so-called neo-liberal, non-racist Euro-Canadian society would like to push under the carpet. The essay thus highlights the need to conceptualize a 'non-White settler national identity' for the Indo-Canadian diaspora in terms of transnational and transcultural histories that have built bridges across their 'homeland' and the newly embraced' land of promise'.

The sixteen essays put together in this volume while representing diverse thematic focus amply speak for the rich learning emanating from the bilateral academic engagement spanning over a five-decade period enriching the knowledge horizon. While we make a humble beginning by putting together a very small component of the Shastri Indo-Canadian Institute's (SICI) funded research in this volume, we hope this will lead to enhanced dissemination of the rich research findings. We earnestly hope this volume would be of some use to student and research community and motivate them to undertake cutting-edge research involving comparative studies helping in mutual learning by the two nations and furtherance of development. We greatly appreciate Springer in facilitating this publication.

Chapter 2
Community Colleges in India and Canada: A Comparative Analysis

Brijender Singh Panwar

2.1 Community Colleges in India: An Overview

India is a country of young people and will soon have the largest and youngest population in the world, yet less than 20% of 15- to 29-year-olds enroll in postsecondary education (Ministry of Human Resource Development [MHRD] 2014). Those who are able to enroll face challenges of quality and relevance in a highly political, largely privatized, and acutely rigid education system (Tilak 2013). Furthermore, for those who earn a credential, only 15% are considered employable (Singh 2012). In an attempt to reform the elite higher education system, policymakers and practitioners promote community colleges as an ideal solution to address the issues of access and equity plaguing India's postsecondary education (Agarwal 2009). Since 1995, community colleges have spread to every state in the country. Yet, leaders are struggling to establish a sustainable development model because of the effort req uired to challenge the status quo of an elite, theory-based higher education system.

To date, Indian community colleges (ICCs), framed as "education for employment," have developed in three overlapping phases: first, a nongovernmental organizational (NGO) model operating on the periphery of formal education; second, national expansion through the open education system; and third, incorporation in formal higher and technical education institutions. All share the professed goal of disrupting an inequitable educational system and conform to the globalized concept of a community college by offering flexible postsecondary education to underserved students in a local context (Raby and Valeau 2012). Yet, ICCs vary widely in form

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and function within and between phases. This chapter is intended to serve as an introduction to the complex landscape of ICCs and is based on interviews with Indian policymakers, practitioners, and ICC leaders conducted throughout 2015. Organized postsecondary education in India is the legacy of an elite exam-based system implemented during British rule now encompassing a rigid and hierarchical four-stream structure that includes higher, technical, vocational, and open/distance education. Only 12% of students in India complete 12 years of schooling, and there is a 50% attrition rate at each year of secondary education (MHRD 2014).

Students, parents, and employers often view any credential other than a degree, especially those earned in an industrial training institute or polytechnic, as "second class" in a society that generally views skilled trades as low-status employment (Singh 2012). Socially and economically marginalized students predominantly pursue these credentials, which critics regularly argue are outdated, low-quality education that rarely leads to sustainable employment (King 2012). In order to address these inequities, the central government recently began shifting education reform priorities from mere expansion to focus on quality, employability, and accountability (Carnoy and Dossani 2013; Tilak 2013). Guiding this work is a massive "skilling" campaign that pledges to "bridge the social, regional, gender, and economic divide" (Ministry of Finance 2013. This quote comes from a 2013 press release online that is less than one page retrieved).

2.2 History of Indian Community Colleges

The Community College model being envisaged in India today aligns with Gandhi's ideals to democratize education, promote self-sufficiency, and encourage lifelong learning. Fulfilling the promise of Nai-Taleem means that twenty-first-century Community Colleges must be flexible and responsive to meet the diverse social and economic challenges of India's multilingual, multicultural, and multifaceted landscape. The idea of developing a system of junior colleges in India dates back to the 1930s (Odgers 1933), but these were envisioned to serve as a bridge between lower secondary school and university in the years before compulsory secondary school. It was not until a delegate from the new College of Vocational Studies at the University of Delhi attended the Wingspread Conference on International Education and the Community College in 1978 that education reformers began considering the adaptation of the community college model in India (Yarrington 1978). It would be more than a decade before the idea began to flourish.

In 1995, Pondicherry University established the country's first community college (Singh 2012); and Madras Community College, the first NGO ICC, followed in 1996. Although existing institutions such as polytechnics and industrial training institutes also conform to the globalized concept of a community college (Raby and Valeau 2012), their terminal curricula and disconnection from the local context left stakeholders seeking an alternative approach (Anand and Polite 2010). Therefore,

early ICCs were actively promoted as being based on the North American model but "adjusted to meet India's unique needs and aspirations" (Alphonse 2013, p. 17).

By 1998, Dr. Xavier Alphonse, a Jesuit priest and university administrator, established the Indian Centre for Research and Development of Community Education (ICRDCE) in Tamil Nadu. Over the last 20 years, Alphonse has arguably been the single most influential actor in the growth of ICCs. Through workshops, teacher training programs, and consultations with policymakers, ICRDCE promotes ICCs as a solution to an ailing educational system that largely ignores marginalized students (Alphonse 2013). Under his leadership, ICRDCE developed hands-on and personal development-oriented curricula that diverged significantly from the heavily theory-based curricula of conventional education in India. With ICRDCE helping establish over 300 ICCs in 25 states and steering national ICC policy design (ICRDCE 2015), the concept gained traction at the state and national levels.

Encouraged by ICRDCE, in 2008, the Tamil Nadu state government adopted progressive policies to promote ICCs (Alphonse 2013). Subsequently, Tamil Nadu Open University recognized 204 community colleges, and many traditional colleges and universities began establishing NGO ICCs. NGO ICCs largely offer short-term certificate and diploma programs for students without provision to ability to transfer into degree programs, whereas Open University ICCs are designed to allow vertical mobility within Tamil Nadu Open University only.

Building on the momentum in South India, Alphonse led efforts to establish national recognition for ICCs—the second phase of development. In 2009, after years of advocacy, Indira Gandhi National Open University (IGNOU) established a community college initiative that allowed organizations "rooted in community-based activities" to register as an ICC (IGNOU 2011, p. 14). The IGNOU policy outlined a curriculum of stackable credentials with the possibility of transfer into an IGNOU degree program (IGNOU 2011). Within the first three years, IGNOU registered over 600 ICCs, many of which were already associated with ICRDCE. IGNOU's network model offered ICCs national recognition without being constrained by the conventional postsecondary education system; but quick expansion without the necessary infrastructure in place made the new program vulnerable.

Almost as quickly as IGNOU ICCs opened, the initiative was discontinued. Despite attempts to monitor the new ICCs, by spring 2012, IGNOU's board of management suspended the program due to a lack of oversight and quality assurance. Two subsequent review committees concluded that the ICCs should continue but would need more rigorous accountability measures. Despite these findings, the board of management, under the leadership of a new vice chancellor, unexpectedly issued a letter discontinuing all IGNOU ICCs as of July 2013.

Simultaneous to the rise and fall of the IGNOU scheme, the central government was planning to expand ICCs into higher and technical education. National planning documents began including the ICC concept as early as 2002, but it was not until the most recent strategic plan (2012–2017) that the Planning Commission (2011) explicitly called for the integration of existing ICCs and the expansion of a multifaceted system "based on the North American Model." Inaugurating the third phase of ICC development, the colleges were to "provide modular credit-based courses with entry

and exit flexibility that conforms to the National Skills Qualification Framework" (p. 101).

Hence, the Ministry of Human Resource Development initiated a parallel ICC initiative to be housed within traditional colleges, universities, and polytechnics. ICRDCE and a new prominent player, the Wadhwani Foundation—a Bangalore-based NGO—provided official support. The ministry began funding its new ICCs in late 2013, after years of deliberation, collaboration, and mobilization of policy-makers, industry partners, academics, and international collaborators. Seventy-two polytechnics and 64 traditional colleges and universities received funding that year. Rather than creating stand-alone institutions, new ICCs operate much like a small department within an institution, offering new skill-based vocational education credentials in high-growth industries (Suraksha 2015). With the central government's new prioritization of skill development and educational reform, national efforts to standardize and regulate ICCs began. The 10th Five-Year Plan recognized the concept of Community Colleges in its statement "There should be focus on convergence of schemes like the Sarva Shisksha Abhiyan, Adult Education and Vocational Education Programs at schools, ITIs, Polytechnics, Community Colleges, etc." (Tenth Five Year Plan, 2002–07, p. 51).

2.3 Development of Community Colleges in India

The Community College movement was duly recognized when it found place in the working paper of the MHRD and the University Grant Commission (UGC) submitted to the Planning Commission and was added as a scheme in the 11th Five-Year Plan, and additional budget for Community Colleges was provided in the plan (Source MHRD's website) To date, there is no centralized database to register ICCs from different founding contexts. This makes it impossible to pinpoint the exact number of ICCs given wide variance in definition and implementation; existence of independent ICCs with no affiliation to ICRDCE, IGNOU, or the central government, and overlap in ICCs between each phase of growth. This leaves most ICCs operating independently with little interorganizational awareness or communication and minimal oversight or accountability. As of January 2016, over 200 ICCs associate formally with ICRDCE, which helped establish and monitor many more (ICRDCE 2015). ICRDCE is encouraging curricular alignment with the *National Skills Qualification Framework*, while continuing to promote an NGO ICC model (X. Alphonse, personal communication).

In the third phase of ICCs initiated by the Ministry of Human Resource Development as of November 2015, the University Grants Commission (UGC) had conducted three selection processes and partially funded more than 200 ICCs in colleges and universities. In addition to the initial 72 ICCs funded at polytechnics, in 2014, the All India Council on Technical Education gave each of its 3500 institutions an unfunded mandate to train at least 100 students per year under the framework. As the council defines a community college as any technical institution offering at least one

course aligned with the framework (Mantha 2014), this policy effectively renders all of its institutions ICCs, in name if not in practice. As of November 2015, higher and technical education officials were hopeful about the future of ICCs, but funding and political support remain tenuous. Implementation of the framework, and its centralized oversight by the new Ministry of Skill Development and Entrepreneurship, provides a mechanism for potential convergence among different types of ICCs. Currently, the promise of educational mobility, although thoughtfully incorporated into policy design, is largely unrealized in practice. ICC norms and expectations are generally shared through one-way communications—workshops and the distribution of guidelines—from ICRDCE, IGNOU, and now central government agencies. Generally, there is no meaningful opportunity for feedback, sustained interorganizational activity, or ongoing oversight to ensure consistency or cohesion in implementation. Furthermore, future funding, and therefore the viability of ICCs, is in jeopardy. In light of these opportunities and challenges, ICCs are well positioned to serve as a catalyst for educational, economic, and social reform; but their ultimate form, function, and position within postsecondary education remain uncertain.

2.4 Future Role of Community Colleges in India

The role of the Community Colleges in India in implementing NSQF would be significant because it will follow a modular, credit-based system that keeps abreast of technological and other workforce changes. Proposed courses and programs would have strong practical skills and general education components linked with global industry standard and requirements. Given the high dropout rates and strong informal labor market, multiple entry and exit points, establishing systems for competency-based recognition of prior learning are essential in India. According to Indian policymakers and practitioners, aligning education to employment and implementing experiential pedagogies require a change in mindset and practice that cannot be achieved overnight. Transitioning from textbook-based exams to competency-based evaluations demands new learning methods that have been largely absent from postsecondary education. It cannot be overstated that the teachers, trainers, and industry partners being asked to implement new skills-based vocational education are themselves the products of the conventional education system. Therefore, increased attention to *how* teachers and trainers are prepared to accomplish this new work is imperative (Goel 2015).

Rather than top-down information dissemination, professional development designed to engage participants in collective knowledge sharing could provide valuable opportunities to identify common challenges and opportunities, share problem-solving techniques, and foster postmeeting interaction. Such activities could help develop support structures and create professional standards that reflect the experience of the grassroots level in order to buffer ICCs from an ever-changing parade of policymakers who often have little expertise in education. This conclusion reflects anecdotal evidence from ICC stakeholders and my experience witnessing the power

of (relatively rare) opportunities for interaction between ICC leaders. Without the reinforcement of local practitioners, the ICCs potentially transformative educational approach may wither.

Practitioners generally agree that the most successful implementation of skills courses in ICCs has been the result of dedicated educators putting the individual transformation of students at the core of their work. This means that more than providing employability skills, effective practitioners at the grassroots level are focusing on the holistic development of "responsible citizens" (former IGNOU Vice Chancellor Pillai quoted in Anand and Polite 2010, p. 15). In light of this success, prioritizing individual transformation over workforce transformation in future policy and practice could help ensure social justice outcomes rather than the reproduction of an elite system.

Complementary to prioritizing student development, viewing the framework as a baseline to be augmented and adapted in the local context will be imperative. In a country as diverse as India, only a local focus is likely to provide the necessary fit between employer expectations, student learning, and entrepreneurship opportunities. This will help ensure sustainable employment for students with the possibility of upward mobility while providing incentives to employers to hire trained individuals for higher initial wages. For skill development leaders these are primary concerns.

2.5 Canada's Community College System: An Overview

Canada's Community Colleges are relatively new institutions, the great majority having been established in the years between 1965 and 1973, in response to a greatly increased demand for postsecondary education during those years. As Dennison and Levin (1986, p. 4–6) point out, the colleges developed "from very different sociocultural roots in each province and were designed to provide educational services in concept with the particular needs of the community or the region, and the political and economic priorities of the time." They were largely the result of legislation by provincial governments which either funded them directly or enabled other groups, such as school boards or local governments, to establish them. Although their numbers and population have grown since then, they have done so at a much slower rate. They are now to be found in every province and territory, the last being Nova Scotia which developed its Community College system in 1988, though it was already well-endowed with specialized postsecondary institutions.

Before understanding Canada's Community College system, we have to first get to know about Canada which (as attributed to William L. Mackenzie, former Prime Minister of Canada) has "too much geography and not enough history" and its education system in general. It is the world's second largest land mass, but supports a population of about 30 million people, most of whom live within 200 miles of the United States and is concentrated for the most part in a narrow strip of land along the US boundary, with a few major conurbations, such as the "Golden Triangle" extending westward from Toronto along the shores of Lake Ontario, Montreal, and

Vancouver. The federal government and those of its 10 provinces of greatly differing sizes and populations share constitutionally established powers. Historically, each of this nation's provinces (and vast northern territories) has developed uniquely, with differences of culture, language, religion, resources, and geography all coming into play.

This diversity is reflected in all aspects of Canadian life, including the organization, structure, and operation of postsecondary education and, in particular, in the variations among its Community College systems. Under the Canadian Constitution, responsibility for education and training is clearly assigned to the provinces and, by delegation, the territories also have this responsibility. This arrangement continues to apply to all fields of education including the postsecondary sector. Thus, Canada has no federal office of education, no federal minister or secretary, no national goals, and no national standards.

Until 1960, postsecondary education was effectively limited to a university sector (Gregor 1994). Churches had originally played the primary role in establishing denominational degree-granting colleges, except in the western provinces where public universities were created by provincial governments. Plagued by financial uncertainties, virtually all denominational colleges and universities became public institutions by 1970 (Cameron and Heckman 1991). Public postsecondary technical and vocational training opportunities were very limited until the 1960s, as these forms of education were quickly encumbered with the stigma of low status and were viewed as a second-order choice for young people who could not aspire to attend a university (Anisef 1982; Young 1992). Both formal and informal adult education developed impressively but variably across the country, particularly in the years immediately preceding and following World War II (Selman and Dampier 1990).

In the early 1960s, a number of significant factors converged to prompt a dramatic change of public policy and practice with respect to the design and function of postsecondary education in all regions of Canada. The first was the influence of human capital theory, which persuaded governments that investment in people could be the key to economic growth (Denison 1962; Economic Council of Canada 1964; Schultz 1961). The second was a disturbing prediction by a number of social scientists (Sheffield 1962; Zsigmond and Wennas 1970) that an unprecedented wave of students would soon demand access to postsecondary education. The third factor was the popular acceptance of the view that Canada's prosperity would now increasingly depend on the technical skill of its work force.

By the late 1970s and into the 1980s, Canada like much of the rest of the world was hit hard by economic recession, resulting in major layoffs and shutdowns in large manufacturing establishments and mining companies alike, with the inevitable consequences of increased unemployment (Krahn 1991, p. 23), particularly by means of the Canadian Jobs Strategy (CJS), described by the federal government in rather glowing terms as "a unique and adaptable framework for skilled development and meaningful employment" (Employment and immigration Canada 1988a). Launched in September 1985, CJS offers resources to a variety of programs, including those concerned with retraining and those which attempt to relate training designed to train for higher skill levels. In addition, many CJS programs are targeted specifically

toward particular groups such as women, aboriginal peoples, persons with disabilities and minorities.

2.6 Evolution of Community College System in Canada

As a partner within the wide spectrum of postsecondary educational institutions in Canada, Community colleges have rapidly assumed a broadly accepted role as educational alternatives to both the traditional universities and to more narrowly focussed technical and vocational institutes. The development of college systems in all regions of Canada is, in itself, a notable phenomenon. Universities have shaped the mind and character of an elite; the inception of Community Colleges marks in Canadian society the beginning of a stage that regards universal access to post-school education as a paramount objective. The Canadian Colleges fall in three categories—Unitary, Binary, and Ternary. These categories help one to appreciate the variation in structure and function of Canadian College, discern the arrangements between colleges and universities, and to formulate precise statements about the purposes and distinctiveness of college systems (Gordon Cambell, Some Comments on Reports of Post-Secondary Commissions in Relation to Community Colleges in Canda, p. 55).

2.7 Binary System

The prototype of the Binary system is found in Ontario. This consists of two sectors, one comprising the universities and the other, the Colleges of Applied Arts and Technology (CAATs), each sector developing independently of the other. Ontario colleges did not evolve; on the contrary, the Ontario system was designed specifically, in 1965, to create a clear alternative to degree-granting institutions (Gordon Cambell, Some Comments on Reports of Post-Secondary Commissions in Relation to Community Colleges in Canda, pp. 55–56).

The Binary system exists also in each Atlantic province and in Manitoba. Prince Edward Island duplicates the Ontario model. New Brunswick has formalized a Binary system in which the non-university sector, consisting largely of existing institutes of technology, is governed by one provincial board of Governors. In Manitoba, a newly elected NDP government changed (1969) to 'Community Colleges" the name of the existing institutions. In the judgment of the Oliver Commission, they have fulfilled insufficiently their mandate to become a clear alternative to universities (Gordon Cambell, Some Comments on Reports of Post-Secondary Commissions in Relation to Community Colleges in Canda, pp. 55–56).

2.8 Ternary System

As noted, the Binary System presents a clear separation between theoretical and academic orientation of the universities and the specialized and vocationally oriented colleges. The Ternary systems includes three components: universities, community colleges operating under a "Colleges Act" and including a Board of Governors and a third category consisting of institutes of technology, and other specialized institutions and agencies managed directly by a government department.

Unlike Ontario, where colleges were created with astonishing speed, the Alberta system simply evolved. Curiously, the early days in Alberta resembled the current system in Ontario. The University of Alberta, founded in 1906, catered to degree-granting requirements and sponsored a flourishing provincial-wide extension operation. The Southern Alberta Institute of Technology, since its inception (1916), has been managed by the Department of Education. It provides vocationally oriented programs including outstanding opportunities in the cultural arts. A comparable range of technical studies is offered by the Northern Institutes, founded in 1961. The first Community College, established at Lethbridge in 1957, offered both university-level and vocational studies. As more colleges were added, a Colleges Commission was created in 1969 parallel to the existing Universities Commission.

In Saskatchewan, the community college unit of the Ternary system resembles none other in Canada. High priority is given, not to buildings and campuses but, rather, to extending through community organization the services of the universities, institutes of technology, the provincial library, and other government agencies. The Ternary system in British Columbia resembles that of Alberta, in relation to its evolving character and threefold division. British Columbia has been influenced, to a remarkable degree, by the American experience (Gordon Cambell, Some Comments on Reports of Post-Secondary Commissions in Relation to Community Colleges in Canda, p. 57).

2.9 Unitary System

The Unitary system is confined to Quebec. There, the community colleges are the third level in a four-tiered provincial system of education. Only in Quebec must students seeking to enter university enroll, first, in a college. This requirement separates Quebec from all other provinces although there are many distinguishing features of the college–university system. Quebec's colleges, unlike Ontario (but similar to Alberta's) prepare students either for transfer to university or for employment. A requirement that the first phase of university studies be undertaken within colleges binds the latter to universities to a degree unmatched in Canada. This fact, added to the high degree of central government control (as in Ontario), leaves Quebec colleges substantially less autonomous than those in Western Canada (Gordon Cambell, Some

Comments on Reports of Post-Secondary Commissions in Relation to Community Colleges in Canda, p. 58).

2.10 Major Characteristics of Canadian Community Colleges

In the community colleges, the 1980s have become years of retrenchment and restraint. The role of these institutions in contributing to economic growth has been emphasized, while activities aimed at personal and individual development of students have been funded less generously (Dennison 1988). Colleges have also been encouraged to embark upon various kinds of entrepreneurial activity, designed to garner funds from the private and international community, an exercise which has produced mixed benefits. Notwithstanding these three phases of college development in Canada, the interesting question remains as to whether the colleges have maintained those goals and functions which generated their establishment in the early years, or whether they have amended their original purposes, adopted new priorities as a result of increasing government intervention into their activities, or simply made minor adjustments to accommodate fluctuations in funding formulae or external demands for services.

The common characteristics may be expressed as follows:

1. The community college is designed to provide access to educational opportunity for societal groups previously denied such access through the imposition of academic, socioeconomic, geographic, and cultural barriers.
2. The community college will maintain a comprehensive curricular model which provides for both education and training within a broad range of both level and scope of program offerings.
3. Community colleges are designed to emphasize a student orientation through their priority upon quality instruction, faculty–student contact, and accessible and comprehensive counseling services.
4. Community colleges will maintain a community orientation through their governance and program advisory structures.
5. Community colleges will adapt to changes in external phenomena such as new student clienteles, demand for programs of training and education, technological change in program delivery and structure of the workplace (John D. Dennison and John S. Levin, Goals of Community Colleges in Canada, The Canadian Journal of Higher Education, Vol. XVIII-1 1988, p. 53).

2.11 Goals of Community Colleges in Canada

While recognizing both the problem of diversity and the existence of certain common principles which have guided the development of community colleges in Canada, the next task was to produce a set of statements which reflects the goals of community colleges in each region of the country. The goal statements are designed to address three essential roles of the community colleges as derived from the relevant literature:

1. The college as an educational institution.
2. The college as a training institution.
3. The college as educational and socio-cultural resources for the community.

The first role focuses upon the students and is designed to produce broad educational competencies such as communication skills, critical thinking, and general knowledge, which are generally to be found in academic program areas. The second role defines the college as a training institution which prepares individuals to enter the workforce with useable jobs. The third role is one in which the college provides socio-cultural and educational opportunities and environments for a wide range of individuals and groups in the community and, in consequence, becomes a contributor to the overall quality of life in the college region.

The goal statements which were finally selected refer to each of the three major roles for the college, but also include additional references to the "political" functions which appear in government documents, ministerial announcements, and economic and social planning reports. The final inventory contained the following statements:

1. To prepare citizens to cope with problems of society.
2. To encourage exploration and development of individual potential.
3. To provide instruction in basic, general education.
4. To provide broad, comprehensive curriculum for education and training.
5. To impart knowledge and skills in vocations and in specialized skills.
6. To train for employment.
7. To provide access to educational opportunities.
8. To serve educational interests and needs of the community or region.
9. To serve as a community resource.
10. To help attain economic priorities of government.
11. To help attain political priorities of government.
12. To help attain social priorities of government.

(John D. Dennison and John S. Levin, Goals of Community Colleges in Canada, The Canadian Journal of Higher Education, Vol. XVIII-1 1988, p. 54.)

2.12 Changing Phase of Community Colleges in Canada

A good example of some of the changes currently being contemplated by a provincial government is to be found in the case of Ontario. In the course of 1990s, two sig-

nificant and potentially important reports were issued: People and Skills in the New Global Economy, a review of education, training and labor adjustment issues facing the province and, more specifically, Vision 2000: Quality and Opportunity, a review of the mandate of Ontario's system of Colleges of Applied Arts and Technology (Premier's Council 1990; Ontario Ministry of Colleges and Universities 1990). One solution that is suggested is to develop selected community colleges into centers of specialization offering training in certain technological and technical subject areas.

Vision 2000 addresses these and other problems and asserts that Ontario's colleges are in need of "renewal" in order to enable them to adapt to the pressures of a time of unprecedented change in the social, political and economic environment in which they operate. The report is very concerned with upgrading the work and status of the community colleges and, by means of provincial-wide accreditation, ensuring comparable standards across the institutions. To these ends, it recommends the establishment of two bodies. The first is a College Standards Accreditation Council (CSAC), to be established by the colleges themselves with executive authority in the areas of system-wide programs standards, review, and accreditation.

The second, more radical proposal is for a provincial institute "without walls" for advanced training which would, among other things, facilitate the development of arrangements between colleges and universities for combined studies. The hope is that the institute will come to an arrangement with one or more Ontario universities which would award degrees to graduates of programs conducted under the institute's auspices.

We draw some conclusions. First, the shift from an industrial mentality to postindustrial, knowledge-based economies and rapid technological change means that many standard college instructional programs are as obsolete as many of our industrial practices. Second, the range of needs in every jurisdiction is now so great that colleges, and all other postsecondary institutions, will have to develop their own distinctive market niches. The day of the college trying to be all things to all students at all times has been over for some time. Third, a traditional but artificial distinction between public and private sectors of postsecondary education in Canada is no longer useful.

2.13 Comparative Analysis of Indian and Canadian Community Colleges

Although there is no comparison between the community colleges in India and Canada because both the countries have different socio-economic, political and cultural background, and educational systems, we would like to discuss some similarities and differences between the perception and practice of the concept. It is more so because in India, the concept of community colleges has a short history of only two decades, i.e., first community college was started in 1996, whereas in Canada the first community college was started in 1960. As far as the objectives of the Community

Colleges are concerned, the perception of the concept of Community Colleges as practiced is the same. In both the countries, community colleges were started to provide quality and affordable education to the underprivileged sections of the society and the intention is to bridge the gap between the affluent and deprived sections of the society.

In India, under the federal system of governance, education comes under the Centre and state subjects. The Ministry of Human Resource Development is the nodal agency at the national level which lay down the broad policies in education and provide grant to the state governments, but the various state governments are free to take care of the educational needs of its population and plan and execute as per their needs. However, in Canada, each province is free to execute its own system and there is lot of diversity in the functioning of community colleges. In Canada, the concept of community colleges is undergoing a lot of changes because the requirements of the citizens and industry are changing very fast. In India, as we discussed earlier, this concept faced rough weather at the initial stage of execution and it has to take roots.

India needs to learn a lot from the best practices and long experience of Canadian Community Colleges. We have no system of vertical mobility to universities, and there is no recognition of the certificates and diplomas earned through community colleges. We need to study how this concept was practiced in Canada, and how the community colleges are functioning. The most important challenge which we face in India is how to provide job-oriented good quality, affordable, and flexible education to varied learners and how to link it with employment. Another important issue is that of sustainability of the community colleges. Whereas Canadian community colleges have sustained themselves and are growing, the Government of India has recently decided to open community colleges in different states by providing one-time grant of Rs. 5 crores to each college. Most of these community colleges are being opened in the public sector. It remains to be seen how these colleges would sustain after utilizing the one-time grant.

We need to study the functioning of the community colleges in Canada to understand how they were started and how they sustained themselves. The scholars from both the countries need to study the ground realities and suggest ways and means to work out a model which could work in India. The need of the hour is to establish an exchange program between the practitioners of community colleges in both the countries.

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Chapter 3
A Roadmap for India–Canada Collaboration in the Higher Education in the North-East India

Suwa Lal Jangu

3.1 Introduction

Globalization is a positive-sum game for the emerging economies. The technological and educational advancements of the last two and a half decades brought the globe smaller in all conceivable ways. Technology makes way for quick, smart and conceivable exchange of idea, knowledge and money. We live in a world where the engine of growth is the human resource, producing knowledge, offering services and creating new economy on the power of technology and education. Research and development are more critical than ever to moving towards spaces of knowledge. Resourceful people will drive research, innovate, and build through collaboration. This changing world is our opportunity to help shape our futures, with education at the forefront to effect change.

This paper presents a roadmap for India–Canada collaboration in the development of higher education in India's north-east region (NER). The paper mainly discusses theoretical and analytical perspective of the subject taken for the study. The study in this paper is based on descriptive–analytical methods. Data and information are collected from various secondary sources as published literature and studies. Some views are also taken from select academicians and working people in higher education in the NER. Information and opinions were collected through interactions with the students from other states of north-east region in Mizoram University. Some perceptions and ground views are collected from various places across the region during the author's own visits for research and academic purposes in this region. The main objective of this study is to explore the possibilities of higher education cooperation between India and Canada in the NER. The study suggest some key points to the policy makers and stake holders of both the countries to explore the possibilities of cooperation in higher education in this region.

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This study in this paper is divided into six major sections. First section is a conceptual discussion on higher education and its importance in the globalized world. Second section analyses higher education in India with the context of changes and future. Third section presents the status of higher education and its challenge in the NER. Fourth section highlights Canada's international efforts for the development of education and its importance for India. Fifth section presents a roadmap of India—Canada higher educational collaboration in India's north-east region. And sixth and last section discusses some challenges and problems associated with the roadmap of India–Canada collaboration as well in the NER.

3.2 Higher Education: Global, India and India's North-East Region

The growth engines of the world economies are human minds building products, offering services, and creating whole new industries on the strength of an idea. Research and development are more critical than ever to push forward the frontiers of knowledge. We see talented, well-educated people drive research, create innovations and building collaborations throughout the world. Education, human resources and technology all together construct a new economy that is called as 'Knowledge-based Economy'. As Manuel discusses in his study, the phrase 'Knowledge is Power' might have originated in the sixteenth century by Francis Bacon or Thomas Hobbes but as a political strategy, it is as old as time. Religious societies institutionalized the boundaries around literacy, leveraging their inaccessibility for the governance of society (Manuel 2015: 4).

Rapid growth is affecting all aspects of developing countries' economies and societies, with change closely influenced by demographic trends such as large cohorts of young people and an expanding middle class. Young and middle-class population enveloped into young and middle economy. Brazil, India, African countries, China, Indonesia, etc. are examples of such transformed economy. Service, knowledge and technology-based new economic pockets have emerged in the developing countries. Demand for higher education in the emerging economies has risen steadily in response to these trends and to the labour market needs of today's knowledge intensive economy. The Indian higher education system has been remarkably transformed in the last three decades and will continue in the coming decade. This transformation is being driven by economic and demographic change. By 2020, India will be the third largest global economy, with a consistently fast growth in the size of its middle classes. Currently around 60 percent of India's population is under 25 years old. India will soon go over China as the country with largest tertiary-age population (British Council India 2014: 04)

Any economy's future, indeed the future of countries around the world, will be shaped, from within borders and outside of them, by changes brought by a growing population and highly trained, well-educated and ambitious global citizens. Most of

developed economies are shaped by human resources-based migration from developing countries. Many developing economies are also much benefitted from remittance of their people. Capital and technological investment by the developed economies in the developing economies is the most seen trend in this globalized world. Human resources-based migration of people from developing countries is a permanent Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) for the developed countries.

Emerging leaders in the global economy have placed a premium on investment in higher education and in building academic and research links around the globe. Unprecedented demand for higher education in India especially north-east region today offers a multitude of opportunities for developed countries. India's north-east region can be a perfect destination and market for the developed economies like Canada. Canada's entry in this region's market through institutional partnership and educational collaboration facilitate research and the recruitment of talented students and researchers of the NER. The cultural identity, history and orientation of people in the north-east region are more close to the South-East Asia rather than mainland India. The tribal and ethnic communities of this region have cultural values, tribal traditions, lifestyle-related proximities with Myanmar.

The intercultural knowledge, skills and networks that are built in higher education are essential for individuals and business to thrive in today's global economy. Diplomacy in the twenty-first century goes far beyond interactions between government actors. Higher educational institutions, private industry and civil society all make invaluable contributions to the development of enduring people to people ties. Education is regarded as a source of knowledge in this globalized world. In international relation, education can be used as soft power and diplomacy. The diplomacy of knowledge as explained by his excellency the right honourable David Johnston, Governor General of Canada, address to Fulbright Awards, Boston, May 2013 is illuminating in this regard:

> The process of uncovering, sharing and refining all kinds of knowledge across disciplinary boundaries and international borders is something is called 'the diplomacy of knowledge'. Civilization's greatest advances often came not wholly from within certain disciplines but at the intersections of different disciplines. While cross-disciplinary action can be conducted locally, regionally and nationally, it's most potent when we cross international borders and cultivate interactions among teachers, students and others in different countries (FATDC 2014: 15).

Since the end of Cold War, developed countries have been planting their feet in the international education market of developing countries. The US, the UK, Germany, France, Australia, etc. have strong brands and communicate them effectively in developing countries. These countries use education and knowledge diplomacy as an effective tool in achieving their international interests. No doubt future economies increasingly are shaped by global, quickly moving and interconnected economic forces. Canadian Prime Minister Justin Trudeau drew attention to global inequalities in education in his speech at the UN General Assembly's annual session on 22nd September 2017. Obviously, educational human resources-based youth force increasingly will play a key driver role in the global economy.

The Internet made education, knowledge, and technology globalized; talent comes from everywhere. The world's best human resources are to be concentrated in the developing countries to create, communicate and apply new knowledge to effect tangible, positive change in their economies. Of developed countries, the best human resources are globally engaged; they are mobile in the developing countries. Therefore, this changing world is an opportunity to both the developed and developing countries to help shape their futures, with education at the forefront to effect change.

With the rise of the middle class, an increasing number of people need to rely on the state to provide educational service. As a consequence, India has seen a dramatic shift towards private provision across the entire education spectrum, including higher education. Being a signatory of the GATS (General Agreement on Trade in Services) under WTO's measures, it is binding on India to open her higher education sector for the foreign players. This agreement favours the entry of India into the GATS rests on the need for foreign support in educating the youths and creating employment. In this way, the entry of foreign education providers will help in a big way (Desikan 2015). But such entry can be possible through the collaboration between India's private sector and foreigner investors. Higher education is vital not only for India's competiveness and economic growth, but also for social stability. The main objective of India's new education policy is to create opportunity and quality in higher education sector.

The north-east region's human and social development indices are higher than national average. Sound presence of social institutions and civil society, multilingual population, English language and communication skills, community development, etc. are human resources in this region. The region still relies on public investment, the Union government's financial assistance and migrant population and resources. The country's domestic private sector of education has no significant presence in the NER. Foreign players could not mark their entries in this region. But successive governments, both the Union and State governments, through their various policy interventions improved the region's economy. On the basis of the region's natural and human resources, it can be placed in the country's mainstream economy. India's higher education system is going through an unprecedented transformation. This transformation is being driven by economic and demographic change. The matter of enrolment in higher education is also quite a challenge for India. It is very low in comparison with the US and China. However, enrolment in higher educational institutions has increased in the last one decade but is still far away from the target.

3.3 Higher Education in North-East India: Status and Challenge

The north-east India is yet to emerge as a knowledge-based, service-driven economy zone that makes its human capital as its major strength and a potential engine for growth. This has put the spotlight on several inadequacies in region's infrastructure

for delivery of education, particularly higher and vocational education. The region's resource and educational dividends can become rewarding if the demand for technical and professional investments from foreign investors could reach here. Educational status of India's North-East region (NER) has two distinguishing features: literacy and school education are high, but not higher education.

The education system in India's NER at all levels faces issues of quality, access and equity. At the same time, there is huge gap in the health of public education between the NER and the rest of India. Change in education system is happening much faster in the NER states than others. However, the region is lagging behind in higher educational quality, access and equity. While there is a wide gap at all levels of higher educational development and performance between this region and the rest of India, there are not enough places in public schools, colleges or universities to cope with the enormous and increasing demand in the region. The Union government and public aided educational institutions are able to take only three per cent of total higher education seekers.

The above problems are particularly acute in the north-east states (north-east region) that form the focus of this study. The NER is considerably far below the national averages in the higher education sector. The school education and literacy rate in the NER are higher than national average. But the state of higher education in all aspects is poor and as a result of this, migration of persons from north-eastern states for education and employment to the rest of India is becoming a matter of great concern. In terms of literacy, many north-eastern states have achieved notable success over the years.

According to the 2011 Indian census, the literacy rate in north-east India is 68.5%, with female literacy at 61.5%. The national average stands at 64.8 and 53%, respectively, for males and females. The gap between male and female literacy and employment in the NER is so high as it is in the rest of India. Missionary-led school education in remote areas, government's policy of free elementary education and higher enrollment of females in schools are some of the contributing factors to this achievement.

The dropout rate in school education in the rest of India is higher than the NER. But the same dropout rate in higher education is higher in this region. This is because of two reasons: one is location of higher educational institutions, and second is lack of opportunity for employment after obtaining a degree education. A lack of professional educational institutions, start-up difficulties for self-employment by educated youths and adverse socio-political atmosphere in some parts of the region are the ground realities of higher education in the NER.

The gross enrolment ratio (GER) in higher education in India has improved to 25% in 2016–2017 from 21.5% in 2012–2013. The enrolment rate in higher education in the rest of India at aggregate level was about 23.6% in 2014–2015 at overall level while the NER's enrolment rate was 18.4% in the same period. The Government of India wants to achieve the targeted GER of 30% by 2020. This varied significantly across the states and districts in this region (Seth 2015).

The state of higher education in the north-east region of India (NER) is intricately woven into the environment available in the political landscapes of different states. It is a fact that while every year a large number of students from India are going abroad

for higher education, the students of the NER have to go to the mainland to pursue higher education. According to the University Grant Commission (UGC) data, over 0.5 million students from eight states of the NER venture outside the region every year due to the lack of proper higher education facilities (Patnaik 2018: 04). However, in case of higher education, the north-east states face serious limitations. There has been a growing trend of students from north-east region migrating to other Indian cities for higher education. Better facilities in the NER are still largely concentrated in the urban areas and situated mostly in and around the state capitals. This has made the higher educational opportunities to be more urban centric in this region. Therefore, the rural people from remote areas find it difficult to continue higher studies. Besides this, the technical and professional courses offered by private institutions are generally very expensive and so the poor people are unable to afford them.

For higher studies and professional jobs, 4,15,000 youths migrated from the NER in the mainland between 2004 and 2010. As Sanjoy Hazarika in a talk show programme of Rajya Sabha TV said, the huge migration of students from the NESs is the result of long negligence of the region's higher education development by both the Union and State governments (Hazarika 2016). As reported similarly by the University Grant Commission (UGC) data of 2013–2014, over five lakh students from the NER migrated outside the region due to the lack of proper higher education facilities.

A trend analysis of reason for this migration evidenced that one of the major reasons for student migration from the NER is to pursue higher education. This kind of trend is not only for research studies but also for graduation courses. It seems like a demographic movement of youths for higher education in this region. This educational migration is now becoming a concern in the political circles and for government authorities. Many studies reveal that most of students of the NER do not come back to their home states after completion of their graduation from the mainland India.

Barring Guwahati, state capital of Assam in the NER rarely finds mention in the higher education map of India. There are several challenges though in higher education to change things on the ground as well as the perception of the region. For instance, in this region, brain drain is a major problem as most students opt for metro cities to get education and employment as well. The lack of industrial development across the NER has ensured that employment opportunities are less. Industry interactions for the educational institutes are also limited.

Already existing government institutions could not have expanded in terms of both campus and capacity as most of them are located in the state capitals. Private capital investment just began to come in this region mostly from the last decade, but this is very less to make a difference. Since India's independence, the ethnic insurgencies and conflicts also adversely began that adversely affected the higher educational development in the NER.

The university data about this region also reveal the poor state of higher education in both education and employment generation. After 40 years of the independence, many states did not have any university especially Nagaland, Arunachal Pradesh, Mizoram and Sikkim until 1980s. By 2000s, there was only one university but over a period of 20 years only 5 government universities were opened in this region. In

higher education map of India 2015, we find that except Assam, no other state has set up state universities. Arunachal has a number of private universities that have been set up over the last decade but they yet to reach out to the people (Mahanta 2015).

Five out of 44 central universities, 10 out of 329 state universities and 19 out of 202 private universities, and 01 out of 130 deemed universities are opened in the NER in the last 30 years (Manuel 2015: 16). However, since 2007, a dozen private universities were opened in this region but most of them are located in Arunachal and Assam. Only Sikkim Manipal University seems to have succeeded as professional course-offering full-campus-based university run by the private sector in this region.

The number of research institutions available in the region are almost not reachable to all students of the region but located in state's capitals. Students from the NER are not only increasing in professional study courses but also entering in urban job sectors in metro cities. A large number of students from the NESs get absorbed in the hotel and hospitality industry all over the country. There is a lack of opportunity to study the same in their own states, which is the primary driver of migration to metros in the rest of India. The status of higher education in the NER can be presented in five 'A's, namely, awareness, accessibility, affordability, attraction and availability.

Therefore, the politico-economic and ecological-ethnic backgrounds of the NER too attribute to the backwardness of this region in higher education. Particularly the hill areas of the NER are increasingly becoming indebted and are mortgaging homes, jhums lands and crops in order to attend to health emergencies or children's education, or to pay agents for securing jobs in urban centres across India and abroad (de Maaker et al. 2016: 6–7).

Despite significant progress in the development of higher education over the last one and a half decades, the north-east region's higher education sector faces five broad challenges:

1. The supply–demand gap is higher in the NER than the national average.
2. The low quality of teaching and learning, especially accessibility of higher education and vocational and technical education.
3. Constraints on research capacity and innovation, especially educational mobility within the region due to insufficient connectivity and lack of state's capital investment.
4. Uneven growth and access to opportunity, especially most of job creation avenues and educational institutions are located only in capital cities of the states.
5. Geographical constraints and ethical conflicts, inter-state border disputes, demands of autonomy and inner line permit, and frequently multifaceted natural disasters.

The region's economic backwardness also contributes in its educational backwardness. The level of higher education, especially technological and professional, is lower in this region. A similar scenario prevails in knowledge-based employment. The population of educated youth is increasing year by year in the NER but employment opportunities are not on the same growth level. A lot of financial capital is required to generate modern human resources. In a knowledge based economy,

human resources can be generated only through professional and technical education. The NER is facing an acute crisis to generate both financial capital and human resources to meet its needs. Opening up the NER boundaries for transportation, connectivity and cooperation will boost infrastructure development, trade, commerce, and renewable of old cultural ties with neighbours (Miri 2016: 7).

Yet, the economy of north-east India has to gather sufficient energy to give it a sense of autonomy and confidence. There is a good reason why in spite of the great diversity of the region, and political divisions within it, this region should be regarded as a sort of unit that must be economically integrated and strengthened. For one thing, the entire region is almost cripplingly economically dependent on the rest of the country. And combined with the sense of historical autonomy that the region, as a whole, enjoys, this absence of economic self-reliance is a powerful impetus for profound dissatisfaction and anxiety among the people; and, this, though negative, is a very strong binding force for the people of the region.

3.4 India–Canada Higher Educational Collaboration in North East India

Canadian youths are the most educated, the most connected, the most socially organized and the most diverse generation. In an international survey conducted recently that asked 27,000 people about security, public policy, efficacy of government and other attributes of 50 different countries, Canada came out at the very top in the reputation ranking, edging out Sweden.

Canadian education sector is complex and multifaceted. Education is a provincial subject in Canada, and Federal government has not much role to play. However, Canada has an effective domestic and foreign education strategy and the Federal and Provincial governments implemented this with less conflict but with more cooperation. In India, education is the concurrent subject where both the Union and States have equal power to act on this matter. Only 4% of the country's total educational enrolments come under the Union government's educational institutions (New Education Policy 12th June 2016).

The education sector is an exciting area for Canada–India collaboration. India is rapidly becoming Canada's top source of educational investment. Canada offers an educational experience that is of excellent quality, affordable and provided in a safe and welcoming environment. The Shastri Indo-Canadian Institute (SICI) has been playing since 1970s a significant and pioneering role in the development of academic and educational linkages between the two countries'. The SICI helped in the establishment of institutional partnership and collaboration between the two countries and their higher educational institutions. It provides institutional platform and mechanism for collaboration and activity exchange between the two countries' higher educational institutes.

In 2014, Canada identified India as a top targeted market for international education. Trilokekar et al. highlight the importance of bilateral exchange of researchers and student mobility through numerous initiatives between the two countries in their report published in Canadian Bureau of International Education (Trilokekar et al. 2015: 3–4).

A report titled 'Make-in-India: Encouraging Canadian companies to set up plants in India' published in *the Financial Express* by Jordan Reeves elaborated the emerging atmosphere of cooperation, collaboration, partnership-based engagements between India and Canada. In April 2015, during Prime Minister of India Narendra Modi's visit to Canada, education and skill development were two among other identified priority areas for bilateral engagements. 13 MoUs (Memorandum of Understanding) were signed between Indian Skill Development Council (ISDC) and Canadian colleges and universities to formalize skills collaboration in various sectors in India.

Already many educational and institutional programmes such as MITACS, IC-IMPACTS have been working in the area of higher education between the two countries. The Shastri Indo-Canadian Institute (SICI) is a peer educational body of the two countries' educational institutions that helps foster academic and research ties between the two countries. There are over 400 MoUs signed between the two countries' educational institutions covering academic collaborations, student and faculty exchange and mobility agreements (Reeves 2016). Unfortunately, no one MoU is signed between India's north-eastern region's higher educational institutions and Canadian institutions. Still not a single higher educational programme of Indo-Canadian collaboration is working in the north-east region (NER).

The NER is still excluded in the two countries' higher educational collaboration. This region has yet to make a place in India–Canada higher educational collaboration programmes. A couple of higher educational institutes such as Mizoram University, NEHU, TISS-Guwahati, IIT-Guwahati Tejpur University are emerging in the map of India's higher education. A few MoUs in the area of higher education between the NER's and the USA or European institutes are working. There are only nine medical colleges in this region—four in Assam and one in each state.

According to the University Grant Commission (UGC) as on 31 March 2017, there were 10 central universities, 13 state universities, 31 private universities, three deemed universities and 924 colleges in the region (www.ugc.ac.in). However, two more central universities—one Agriculture University in Tripura and one National Sports University in Manipur and two national institutes such as the Institute of Fashion and Design in Meghalaya, and the Institute of Art, Culture and Theatre in Arunachal state are sanctioned in the Union Government's financial budget.

The Northeast Regional Institute of Science and Technology (NERIST), located in Itanagar, Arunachal state, was established in 1986. This premier regional institute is expected to generate skilled manpower in the field of engineering and technology as well as in field of applied sciences for the development of this region. But still this institute has not signed any international collaboration or MoU-based programme. The region has the potential to generate human resources in the fields of science and technology, management and sports. But this region does not figure on tables and

papers of the decision-makers of national and foreign institutes of higher educational institutes.

Canada and India share strong linkages and a history of collaboration in various fields including education. Canada is one of the most favoured destinations for Indian students and scholars. In response to strong interest among academic communities in both countries, a proposed roadmap for collaboration between India and Canada in the higher educational sector in the north-east region of India may be as follows:

The north-eastern regional states have tremendous potential for the establishment of Canada and India higher educational collaboration. Hydrocarbon, hydropower, forest resources, and ethnic, rural and eco-tourism management are the key areas yet to be developed in the north-east region, and if both countries come together in this region for fruitful collaboration, then English, skill and technical expertise would be required. These are soft powers of this region and Indo-Canadian collaborative initiatives can make difference in this region.

The framework for development of the region can be broadly based upon four vital components. The first component of this development plan should be social empowerment. It needs to empower rural communities and create sustainable institutions so that they manage common activities around microfinance, livelihoods and natural resource management. The second component needs to be economic empowerment. The objective of this component should ideally be to develop the capacity of rural communities to plan and manage funds for various economic initiatives and common activities for the public. The third component will be partnership development. The objective of this component should be to partner with various service providers, resources, institutions and public and private sector organization to bring resources such as finance, technology and marketing into the project so that the community groups are able to improve their livelihoods. The fourth and final component will be project management. This will facilitate various governance, implementation, coordination, learning and quality enhancement efforts in the project.

Key areas of higher educational collaboration between India and Canada may include the following:

1. **Forest and Forest Products**—Large tracts of virgin forest resources are found in the north-east region of India. There is a need for the study and research on forests. The region has immense potential for educational collaboration between India and Canada for the study and research in forest sciences, social forestry, community forest management and sustainable forest management in this region.
2. **Hydrocarbon Resources Exploration: Oil and Gas**—There is scope for vocational, professional and technical education and training to generate technical human resources for the exploration of hydrocarbon resources in India's north-east region. Canada has expertise in the field of oil and gas exploration, and India can utilize the Canadian technical expertise and research.
3. **Tea, Bamboo, Timber and Paper Resources**—The qualitative and sustainable production of tea, bamboo, timber and paper require more study and research-based educational institution. Plantation and post-harvesting of tea, rubber, tim-

ber and bamboo require more technical human resources. These resources create jobs and earnings but depend upon technical and skill education and training. Canadian technology of qualitative production and sustainable management of timber and paper resources can be exploited in this region.

4. **Horticulture, Medicinal and Aromatic Plant Resources**—Horticulture, medicinal spices and aromatic properties-based plants are found in this region. These are natural and organic products. More production of these plants is required to meet the growing demand for organic and herbal products. The scientific and sustainable farming of these plants create jobs and earnings also. The growing demand for organic and herbal products both in India and in Canada can be met from this region.
5. **Tourism and Hospitality Services, Human Resource Management and Sports Development**—India's north-east region is one of world's mega biodiversity hotspots. Varieties of flora and fauna—terrestrial and mountain—and favourable climate and physical infrastructure, large and dense tracts of virgin forest resources, etc. attract tourists. Both countries' tourism and hospitality service industry can establish hotels and travelling facilities and education, training and management institutes for promotion of tourism in this region. Sports development, education and training present an opportunity for India–Canada educational collaboration in the NER.
6. **Ethnic, tribal and Community Cultural Practices and Products**—Tribal arts, crafts and designs, ethnic cultural and traditional practices, music and drama, fashion design, community policing, social services, etc. are subjects of learning and management. There is scope for joint study and research on sharing and exchange of experiences and knowledge on tribals and ethnic communities. India's north-east tribals and Canada's indigenous tribes offer such opportunities for India–Canada collaborative programmes of study and research.
7. **Hydel power, Water Resources and Renewable Energy**—Scantily populated areas allow for new projects like hydropower projects on high-sloped areas and river valleys for they come up without major displacement and related Relief and Rehabilitation. This region is suitable for production of solar power and biofuel. Canada is one of the leading countries in terms of advanced technology and has expertise in hydel and solar power production. But for the production of renewable power, there is a need to generate technical human resources, training and research skills. India's north-east region has a big repository of technical human resources. Vocational, professional and engineering education and knowledge-based research and educational institutions in this region can be established through partnership of India and Canada. India's International Solar Alliance initiative offers opportunities for India–Canada collaboration in the research and development of solar power in this region.
8. **Agricultural and Animal Product and Food Processing, Packaging, Storage and Marketing**—Suboptimally utilized agricultural resources-based production and products, animal husbandry knowledge and processes, food processing, packaging and storage, marketing, etc. require vocational and professional educated, trained and skilled human resources. There is a need for study and research

on the development of horticultural products, fisheries and riverine products. Indian and Canadian human resource institutes and educational investors can establish joint venture based plants in this region.

9. **Political and Administrative Learning and Training Courses and Schools**—Canadian institutions and schools of governance, democracy and federal relations can collaborate with their Indian counterparts in establishing a couple of such centres in the NER. Myanmar has been going through democratic reforms and transition since 2010. Its parliamentary and state assemblies' representatives need learning, training and research in governance and administration, federalism and autonomy, and local governance for adopting democratic and constitutional changes. The north-east Indian universities can be a neighbouring school of learning and training for Myanmar's peoples. The universities and education institutes of the region can offer short-term courses for democratic representatives, administrators and academicians of Myanmar. The Shastri Indo-Canadian Institute (SICI) can facilitate such courses under India—Canada Higher Educational Collaboration programmes in the north-east Indian universities and research institutes. Both India and Canada are known for their institutional and functional experience and expertise on the democracy, Federal governance and relation, autonomy and local governance. India–Canada joint partnership-based schools and centres can be opened in the NER.
10. **Environment and Peace, IT and Human Resource and Border Trade Studies**—It is well recognized that India's north-east region is rich and ahead in human and educational resources in terms of soft power, communication and information-based call centres and BPO, outsourcing power hub and so on. The NER has advantages of its young population, smart management skills, smart communicators, English language, East Asian cultural proximity, shared rivers, forests, hill tracts, cultural history and orientation between India's north-eastern ethnic communities and Myanmar. These shared social and ethical values and practices, culture and history, geographical and ecological resources and border proximity invite international community, investors and visitors for investment in education, development and can help tap natural and human resources available in this region. There is scope for more studies and research to promote peace and cooperation between India's north-eastern region and Myanmar. India–Canada collaboration is most required in the establishment of Centre of Excellence on Civil society and Peace, Migration and Border Trade, and Environment and Ethnic Conflicts in the NER.

The following two programmes implemented as part of India's collaboration with the US, UK, German, France and Japan in the higher education sector may be taken as examples for India–Canada higher educational collaboration in the NER.

1. In line with Indo-US Community College programme, the NER is the most ideal location for Indo-Canadian Community College programme as the culture of community organization and community service centres are well established in this region.

2. The India-Support for Teacher Education Programme (In-STEP) can establish a joint-partnership-based programme with Canadian Agency for International Development in line with USAID (United States Agency for International Development) and the MHRD to build the capacity of teacher education in the NER. There is a strong need of such programmes in this region.

This region has immense potential for emerging as a 'Special Education Hubs or Knowledge Corridors' based on its natural resources, culture and human resources. This region is also a connecting bridge with South-East Asian Countries (Indo-Chin region) in India's Act East Policy. Therefore, the educational aspirants from neighbouring countries are looking at the NER's higher educational institutes and universities because of English language and similar cultural and geographical nature of this region.

India–Myanmar and India–ASEAN study and research institutes work for the promotion of peace, cooperation, trade and people contact in the NER and ASEAN regions. Myanmar is looking at India for the learning, training and research on these as the country is going through a process of the democratic reforms and transformation.

Being a signatory of the GATS (General Agreement on Trade in Services) under WTO's measures, India is bound to open her higher education sector for the foreign players. Considering the NER, it requires a lot of capital and resource investment for the development of professionalism and skill education. After entry into the WTO-GATS agreement, India rests on the need for foreign support in educating, training and improving the skills of the youths and creating employment.

In this way, the entry of foreign education providers will help the NER in a big way. With the aims of promotion and development of higher education especially professional and technical education in the country, the Union government took four big initiatives. Interesting thing about these three big programmes is that these are opened for the entry of foreign education promoters and providers. Canadian education providers and players can collaborate with their Indian counterparts in this sector. The NER would be most suitable for the Canadian education providers on three accounts: cultural identity, natural resources, and good communication and language skills.

Education is one of the major destinations of FDI in India. It is one of the largest emerging markets and service sectors that attract international investors. The following big initiatives of the Union government of India were launched in the recent years to promote and develop the higher education sector. These plans seek investment and partnership of foreign educational players in India's higher education sector.

1. The National Knowledge Network (NKN) has a plan of $20 billion investment in broadband information-based infrastructure to connect educational institutions and research centres, with the goal of democratization as Stephen Toope discusses in his study published in Policy Option (Toope 2012: 1–11). The NKN would boost the infrastructural needs of higher education in the country. Many developed economies are also involved in it and many more want to be part of this plan.

2. The 'Make-in-India' programme is one of the key initiatives of the Union government, which is focused on improving the efficiency of the country's manufacturing sector. This is the most ambitious goal to turn India into a global manufacturing hub, and it is attempting to bring this to fruition through a series of interrelated and complementary initiatives. Make-in-India would bring many opportunities for job seekers especially in professional and vocational education and services. While the leading economies see the Make-in-India programme as an opportunity of investment and economic benefits, the UK, the US, Germany, Japan and Canada are potential key partners in this most popular programme of attracting investment for a long term.
3. Global Initiative of Academic Network (GIAN): India is concerned with meeting the demand for higher education and training of the youth population. Therefore, the Union Ministry of Human Resource and Development launched 'the Global Initiative of Academic Network (GIAN)' programme that is focused on attracting eminent scholars and scientists from abroad to teach in India. The success of this programme would bring significant changes in the higher education sector owing to human resource building and knowledge and material benefits to each other country.
4. '*Skill India*' is one of the big programmes of the government, and this programme can meet the needs of skilled and youth population in the NER. Vocational education, technical knowledge and entrepreneurship skills are key components in India's 'Skill India' mission. Canadian investors can become partners in India's Skill India programme.

The budgetary provisions during Financial Years 2015–2016 and 2016–2017 of the Union government also indicate the commitment of the government to promote higher educational infrastructure in the NER. The Union government also committed for opening up new IITs, IIMs, NITs and couple of central universities in backward regions and states. One agriculture university in Tripura, three NITs, one AIIMS, IIM and IIT in the NER were announced in the Union Budgets of 2015–2016 and 2016–2017. One new National Sports University in Manipur and Institute of Cinema and Arts in Arunachal was announced in the Union Budget of 2016–2017.

Forest, mines and management-based Canadian research and development centres and institutes are leading the way into key markets of the developing countries. With Indian partners, Canada can build its brands and reputation in the business and management education. The business and management schools of both countries can open their joint campuses in India's north-east region. Canada can come forward to make opportunities in this region and help in return to its educational development. The positive economic impact of knowledge and education exports become particularly clear when compared to more traditional export goods.

Rapid growth in the NER's higher education sector also creates many new opportunities for developed countries to export knowledge and expertise in education. The region offers immense opportunities for Canadian educational investors and Indian private sector for the development and promotion of educational skill, vocational training and entrepreneurship for skilled jobs. Still this region is not on the radar

of India and international partner country's higher educational collaboration. India strives to expand and sustain her higher education sector particularly in the NER as it is yet to reach the level of national average.

India's collaboration with the developed countries in the education sector is most needed for the NER. The level of higher education especially technical and professional education is lower in this region compared to the rest of India. The population of educated youth is increasing year by year in north-east region but employment opportunities are not on the same growth level.

In the risk benefit analysis for India's north-east region as a potential investment destination, efficiency and lack of education outweighed cost-effectiveness of the labour pool. Canadian higher education sector is well positioned to collaborate in various areas of education and professionalism with India. The NER is a destination of returns if Canada could export and exchange its educational knowledge and expertise to this region in India.

3.5 Challenge in the Implementation of Roadmap of India–Canada Higher Educational Collaboration

North-east region is considered as a sensitive and security-strategic zone in the circles of defence establishments. It is an important territory in the country's geopolitical and security—strategic interests. Till April 2013, this region was closed for foreign tourists and visitors with some exceptions but still it is closed for its neighbours. The region is put in the list of 'dark zone' for drugs and arms smuggling and illegal trafficking because of its geographical proximity with neighbours. There are around 20 anti-state and separatist organizations operating their activities from either underground or cross-border. As less or more parts of Manipur, Nagaland, Assam, Meghalaya, Mizoram and Tripura are still in news for autonomy movements, demand of inner line pass, insurgency and anti-state activities exists. The region's geographical location and borders with neighbours are both a curse and blessing.

Of course, these challenges are not widely concentrated in the entire NER. Some parts of the region continue to encounter these challenges. Of late, the Union government has taken several steps to overcome these infrastructural bottlenecks and to induce sustainable development in the region. The strong focus on transportation, connectivity and hydropower developments are some of the key steps in his direction. To create employment and higher educational opportunities is a daunting task in this region because of its poor connectivity and economic backwardness.

Indo-Canadian educational partnership can make a difference in the NER. Education and employment brings a lot of changes in this region, especially among uneducated and unemployed youths. Education is a soft power that may weaken hard powers such as insurgency, separatist violence and other ethnic violence in this region. In situations of depression and dissatisfaction because of unavailability of education and employment, the youth choose to be anti-state and society to fulfill

short gains and needs. Through education and employment, the NER can come out from the clinches of anti-state campuses and become part of the mainstream. Through collaborations, Canada and India can demonstrate how to create tomorrow's sustainable economy through innovation today. Both countries should lead in building true research partnerships between our great educational institutions. We should connect our businesses to lever our respective strengths for greater growth. And we should show the world our capacity to connect minds and cultures, not just market and money.

Apart from the obstacles and challenges from the NER, there are some obstacles between India and Canada as well. There is a lack of political willingness on both sides regarding giving most favoured status to each other country. There is also a lack of concrete efforts from the both sides to project the NER is a sustainable and sound destination for India–Canada's higher educational collaboration. One key area where progress has stalled, however, is the bilateral (CEPA) which has gone through many rounds of protracted negotiations since the talks were launched in 2010. Another key area where progress could not be made is the way for ratification of WTO's trade facilitation agreement (TFA), which is another potential irritant in the India–Canada relations.

3.6 Suggestions and Conclusion

The opening of the NER's eastern borders will facilitate opportunities to foreign investors in this region. Indian and Canadian educational institutions can enter in the NER in forms of join-partnership, shared responsibility and bilateral agreements in the area of education and human resource. Canada's agenda of international education and innovation can be implemented by supports of its Indian partner universities and research institutes. Collaborative efforts of both the countries' educational institutions in the creation of education and employment opportunities could be successful.

The Canadian government should capitalize on all available unique opportunities that India's NER offers. A rapidly growing India will need technology, energy and expertise to build its manufacturing base and power its growth. Canada has these and there is no reason why it should not benefit from India's rise. Now it is the time for Canada to consolidate on this unique opportunity. Canadian policy makers and investors should use the visit to jumpstart a relationship long mired in misunderstanding and staleness through creation of opportunities for Canadian institutions and educational investors to get a piece of the action in what is now the world's fastest growing economy. The new thrust would track the gains and losses of the NER's natural capital including estimates for the values embedded in fresh water quality, forest biomass carbon storage and carbon sequestration, biodiversity, bio prosperity, eco-tourism, timber and fuel and non-timber forest products. The new thrust also would track the gains and losses in our human capital including the values of education at all levels and future liability and health impacts of pollution. Canada's universities are often at the forefront of engagement with developing countries. Thus,

they are an asset that both government and the private sector can work to advance the NER in human resource and educational development. However, Indian educational institutions are looking globally for partners and other countries and their institutions are perceived to be more responsive in areas such as inward mobility to India. While Canada is still positioned strongly to be a key partner in India's growth, it will need to increase its engagement if it is to play a significant part.

Canada can expand its opportunities in the South-East Asian countries through use of India's NER as a connecting bridge. India should open her NER for international collaboration and investment that is in the interest of this region and foreign partner countries. Canada is a known 'soft power' and model country in e-governance, end-use technology and smart management practices in the world. India needs foreign partners in the implementation of her Act East policy and connecting the NER with South-East Asian countries and the rest of country. Sustainable technology, expertise and research, and human resource and capital are the key requirements in the development of the NER and its multi-connectivity with the rest of India and neighbours. Canada can meet the first two requirements; Government of India and State governments have to meet the third requirement in the form of capital. As for the fourth requirement, namely human resources this region has no shortage. The Canadian government should capitalize India's north-east region's unique advantage. A rapidly growing region will need capital resources, technological knowledge and expertise to build its economy and shape its future. Canada has these, and there is no reason why it should not benefit from India's north-east region. Educational ties between the two countries will help in meeting the NER's educational needs and bilateral trade and investment as well. It will set the course of movement of significant capital and human resources, and promote both bilateral and global partnership.

India's collaboration with Canada in the higher education sector is the need of the hour in the north-east region. It has a global reputation in the international market of advanced education, e-governance and renewable energy development. Canada is committed to promote global peace and diversity through education. It has commitments for leveraging its efforts towards sustainable development through education and technological sources. Canada's Federal government is committed to work with international community for removing inequality in education. Canadian educational promoters and investors can extend their special efforts for the development of higher education in India's NER. This region may emerge as a new market for Canadian international interest of educational knowledge and technological investment and export.

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Chapter 4
Plurilingual Education: Step Towards Multicultural Citizenry in India and Canada

Papia Sengupta

4.1 Introduction

The inextricability of language to education policy, though acknowledged by scholars of social sciences, remained mainly an area of interest for linguists and educationists. This can be seen from the meagre number of publications by social scientists on language in education and the intrinsic role language plays towards strong citizenship in post-globalization phase of world economy. The political happenings around the world are a testimony that national identity, right-wing politics and economic ethnocentrism have posed a successful challenge to the erstwhile accepted view of global and cosmopolitan citizenship. Culture, especially language and religious affinities are critical in the lives of individuals shaping their identity as citizens and members of groups. Though there are multiple factors through which humans are embedded in culture, education remains fundamental in constructing and nurturing human identity. When we talk of education, it is a subject matter within the jurisdiction of the national state, which is responsible for formulation and implementation of education policies. In most states, the objective of education from primary to high school is to nourish children, develop their overall personality and enable them to earn a living, but the prime objective remains to transform young minds into good citizens. The national anthem, songs, national history of war heroes and martyrs are incorporated through school curricula introducing young children to the history of their nation and to learn to celebrate it. Education needs language, a medium of instruction, mainly the national official language(s) of the political state, through which education is imparted. Hence, language is intrinsic to education and must be seriously thought out which necessitates rigorous research and academic intervention in language in education policy.

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Language shapes our thinking, understanding, communicating and perceiving abilities. It is through language that we identify ourselves and others. As Hans Georg Gadamer pointed out "languages act as means of self-analysis as well as better self-understanding and is critical to human development because the human self is not only social but one constructed upon language" (Gadamar 1989, 404). Not only is language responsible for individual identity construction, but it is also a core component of belonging to a community and as Herder argued, language is the collective expression of the historical, social, political experiences of the group (Berlin 1976, 169). Language is not merely a medium of expression for humans, but an "essential part of natural process of the growth of consciousness of human solidarity…to be fully human is to think and to think is to communicate" (Berlin 1976, 168). It is through language that we define and assign identity to ourselves and others. Thus, "language is a repository of culture". Given the criticality of language to human identity, understanding and belonging, it is pertinent to focus on language in any discussion on citizenship, as citizenship connotes belongingness to a nation.

4.2 Journeying with Diversity: Canada–India

India and Canada are highly diverse countries. This is in no way to compare the diversity of the two states because the number of languages, religions, communities and ethnic groups inhabiting India and Canada are distinct. India is one of the oldest civilizations but a new country and Canada a newly built nation established by the Treaty of 1867, under the British North American Act which later became the Dominion of Canada. But both India and Canada share a number of similarities, and they believe and respect diversity and cultural pluralism.

Canada: One of the most important commissions which brought a fundamental change in Canadian political and social rubric is the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism (B&B Commission) formed in 1963. The Commission was formed as a response to the growing unrest in Quebec over the protection of the French language and culture and its role in economic and political decision-making in Canada (Canadian Encyclopedia). The B&B Commission had three main objectives: bilingualism in federal government; role of private and public organizations in promoting better cultural relations and the opportunities for Canadians to become bilingual (Canadian Encyclopedia). This established language as a paramount issue in modern Canadian politics and society. The Commission reported the marginal and under-representation of French Canadians in decision-making, politics and economy and reiterated that outside Quebec, educational opportunities were not equal for French Canadians. The Commission recommended the formation of bilingual districts in Canada, declaration of French and English as official languages of the federation, the rights of parents to send their children to schools in the language of their choice and rights of linguistic minorities, i.e. French in English majority areas and vice versa to be respected.

Recommendations of the B&B were accepted following which New Brunswick declared itself bilingual and became the first province to do so. This example was followed by many other provinces, and eventually, Canada declared bilingualism as a national policy through the Official Languages Act 1988 which was entrenched in the 1982 Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms. The 1988 Act established equal status for English and French languages throughout federal administration (OCOL, "Understanding your language rights"). Establishing Canada as a bilingual country did take care of the immediate friction between English and French Canadians and bilingualism became a core component of Canadian identity.

Furthermore, Canada declared itself as a multicultural state by implementing the Multicultural Act in 1971 and this affirmed the value and dignity of all Canadian citizens regardless of their racial or ethnic origins, language or religious affiliation. The 1971 Multiculturalism Policy of Canada also confirmed the rights of aboriginal peoples and the status of Canada's two official languages (Govt. of Canada 1971). Language rights became inherent to Canada's multicultural policy. Official bilingualism introduced in the 1982 Constitution and elaborated by the Official Languages Act (OLA) 1988 was an extension of the Official Languages Act of 1969. One of the major distinctions between the OLA 1969 and OLA 1988 was that the 1988 Act provided judicial remedy in case of violation of rights of the linguistic minorities (Hudson 2016, 3). The OLA was a significant jurisdiction which has been debated time and again through federal parliament as well as federal courts. In 2005, Part VII of the OLA was amended enhancing federal government's positive role and commitment towards (1) (a) enhancing the vitality of the English and French linguistic minority communities in Canada and supporting and assisting their development; and (b) fostering the full recognition and use of both English and French in Canadian society. (2) Every federal institution has the duty to ensure that positive measures are taken for the implementation of the commitments under subsection (1). For greater certainty, this implementation shall be carried out while respecting the jurisdiction and powers of the provinces. (3) The Governor in Council may make regulations in respect of federal institutions, other than the Senate, House of Commons, Library of Parliament, office of the Senate Ethics Officer or office of the Ethics Commissioner, prescribing the manner, in which any duties of those institutions under this Part are to be carried out (Government of Canada, Canadian Heritage, Bill S-3). This amendment made federal institutions accountable to a fuller reinforcement of official bilingualism, thereby stressing the importance of bilingualism to the Canadian society and polity. Language has a special place in Canada because it was the most significant area of discord between the two major Canadian communities, i.e. the Anglophones and Francophones. But Canada's adoption of bilingualism as a national policy greatly reduced the contestation between the two communities.

India: India became independent in 1947 after two hundred years of British colonial rule. In India, language was a significant player in the national movement with demand for development of vernacular languages and there were calls for the freedom of press that echoed in the last decades of the nineteenth century. Nationalist awareness was spread through pamphlets, newspapers and publications in Indian languages which critiqued British rule as inhuman and unjust. Patriotic poetry by Iqbal, Tagore,

Nazrul Islam and the like supported the national cause. English became the *lingua franca* among the Indians speakers of various languages, but the role of vernacular languages and national language became fundamental in the national movement of India. The policy of divide and rule followed by the British was successful in sowing the deep-seated hatred between the Hindus and Muslims in India, which led to the identification of languages with religion. Urdu came to be referred as the language of the Muslims and Hindi and Sanskrit as languages of the Hindu community, thereby fracturing the already vulnerable relation between the two main religious communities in India.

Even before independence, the issue of language was strongly debated in the sessions of the Indian National Congress with Gandhi supporting Hindustani in Devanagari and Persian scripts as the national language of independent India opposed by a group of leaders supporting Hindi. With this polarization came in the backlash of the Muslim League's demand for a separate Islamic state of Pakistan. Language became interlinked to nation and religion, thereby becoming the most debated issue in the Constituent Assembly of India, established to frame independent India's future constitution. The contest could not be resolved, and eventually, a decision was reached by voting a second time in the Constituent Assembly on the question of the national language. Hindi won the battle with a mere margin of one vote, i.e. 78 votes as against 77 votes in support of Hindustani (Ambedkar 1954, 14). This proves how the opinion of the Parliamentarians on one national language was equally divided.

India passed the Official Languages Act in 1963, recognized Hindi in Devanagari script as the official language of Indian Union and the continuance of English language for the purpose of official communication between the Union and the states (Government of India 1963). The Eighth Schedule of the Indian Constitution grants recognition to some of the major languages of India, and the listed number of languages stands to 23 (including English) in 2003 when it was last amended to include Nepali, Bodo and Manipuri. There are still as many as 38 pending demands from linguistic groups to be included in the Eighth Schedule (Government of India 2014). The Indian government constituted the Sitakant Mohapatra Committee to look into these demands in 2003 with the objective "to evolve a set of objective criteria for inclusion of more languages in the Eighth Schedule to the Constitution of India" (Parliament of India (2011) *Lok Sabha Debates*). Since there is still no consensus on the criteria for inclusion in the Eighth Schedule, an Internal Inter-Ministerial Committee was constituted by the Ministry of Home Affairs, to make an inquiry in the matter (Lok Sabha Starred question no. 356, 18th February 2014).

Language and State Reorganization in India: The language issue in India was not confined to discord on official and national language but spurred the demand for reorganization of Indian territories on language basis. This was a demand which was certainly not recent as the Indian National Congress (INC) was organized on linguistic lines and linguistic redrawing of India's boundaries was promised by INC in 1945–46 when it declared the redrawing of provinces on linguistic and cultural basis (GOI 1955, 44–45). Before this also the INC had supported the linguistic reorganization of Indian provinces as an explicit political objective in the Nagpur session in 1920 (Sengupta et al. 2008, 8). The linguistic redrawing of Indian boundaries was

a political act meant to ensure support of all regional-linguistic communities for the national cause and to keep the spirit of national integration intact during a time of challenging the colonial administration. After independence, language became the most contested issue in India, especially with Hindi becoming the national language which was viewed with suspicion by the southern states (Constituent Assembly Debates Vol. VII, 234–235). This led to violent outbreaks in Madras in the early 1950s, and the then Prime Minister of India, Mr. Nehru, had to constitute a commission to deal with the language reorganization of Indian territories as a strategy to keep violence at bay. He announced the formation of the separate Telugu-speaking state of Andhra on 19 December 1952 due to riots following the death of Potti Sriramulu, a Gandhian who went on fast unto death for a separate Andhra state (Andhra Pradesh State Portal website 2016) http://www.ap.gov.in/about-ap/history/struggle-for-andhra-state/). Reorganization of states in 1956 led to fresh demands from various sectors for the formation of new states. The first major issue to come up was about the division of Bombay State into the Marathi-speaking Maharashtra and Gujarati-speaking Gujarat

Table 4.1 States before linguistic reorganization of India in 1956

Number	Names of states	Number	Name of states
1	Ajmer	15	Madhya Pradesh
2	Andaman & Nicobar Islands	16	Madras
3	Andhra	17	Manipur
4	Assam	18	Mysore
5	Bhopal	19	Orissa
6	Bihar	20	PEPSU[a]
7	Bombay	21	Punjab
8	Coorg	22	Rajasthan
9	Delhi	23	Saurashtra
10	Himachal Pradesh	24	Travancore-Cochin
11	Hyderabad	25	Tripura
12	Jammu & Kashmir	26	Uttar Pradesh
13	Kutch	27	Vindhya Pradesh
14	Madhya Bharat	28	West Bengal
		29	Sikkim

Source Constructed by the Author
[a]PEPSU is Patiala & East Punjab States Union

Table 4.2 States and the major languages after reorganization of India 1956

State	Major language
Andhra Pradesh	Telugu
Assam	Assamese
Bihar	Hindi and Maithili
Bombay	Marathi
Jammu & Kashmir	Urdu/Dogri
Kerala	Malayalam
Madhya Pradesh	Hindi
Madras	Tamil
Mysore	Kannada
Orissa	Oriya
Punjab	Punjabi
Rajasthan	Hindi
Uttar Pradesh	Hindi
West Bengal	Bangla

Source Constructed by the author

in 1960. In 1966, division of erstwhile Punjab state took place, and the new state of Haryana with majority speakers of Hindi was created out of Punjab. In 1962, the Konkani-speaking regions of Goa, Daman and Diu were given the status of Union Territory. Goa finally attained statehood in 1987. Nagaland was formed in 1962 comprising of the different tribal groups speaking different dialects. The 1970s saw a second round of state reorganization in India. The region of Himachal Pradesh which was a chief commissioner's province attained full statehood in 1971 comprising of the hill people. Meghalaya was formed in 1971 comprising of the Garo and Khasi tribal groups' concentrated areas of Assam state. The same year Tripura and Manipur were also formed as separate states. The tribal state of Mizoram was formed in 1987 after demands made by the Mizo National Front. Linguistic reorganization of Indian states was a long drawn process and went on till mid-1980s. Three new states of India, i.e. Uttarakhand, Jharkhand and Chhattisgarh, formed in the year 2000 were not essentially on language grounds but economic under development. Tables 4.1 and 4.2 show the states in India before and after the linguistic reorganization of India.

4.3 Language in Education Policy in India and Canada

India: The next significant step towards language learning and discriminations based on languages came in the form of the States Reorganization Commission (SRC) appointed by Jawaharlal Nehru to examine "objectively and dispassionately" the question of reorganization of the states of the Indian Union in 1953 (Government

of India 1955, p. v). Nehru was compelled to appoint this commission following violent outbreaks in Madras demanding a separate state of Andhra. The SRC received 152,250 memoranda from public organizations, associations, educational, linguistic and cultural bodies as well as individuals. Though the issue of linguistic minorities and language-based discrimination was not in the direct terms of reference of the SRC, it considered this an issue of utmost importance and not to be ignored in any discussion on the reorganization of the states of India. The SRC devoted a full chapter on safeguards for linguistic groups in its report. The SRC reiterated the complaints of linguistic groups that the "safeguards provided for minorities embodied in the Constitution have proved inadequate and ineffective" (Government of India 1955, 207). The SRC recommended that "constitutional recognition be given for the right of minorities to have education in mother tongue in the primary stage and the central government should acquire power to issue directives for the enforcement of this right on the lines of the provisions in Article 347 of the Constitution" (Government of India 1955, 210). With regard to the medium of instruction in the secondary stage, the SRC proposed that a clear policy should be formulated by the Government of India in consultation with the state governments. The SRC suggested that rather than a Central Ministry of Minority Affairs, there should be an agency to enforce safeguards provided for linguistic minorities. The Government of India responded to the recommendations of the SRC by amending the constitution in 1956 wherein not only India was reorganized on language basis but also Articles 350, 350(a) and (b) were also inserted.[1] Article 350(b) provided for appointment of a Special Officer for Linguistic Minorities which was designated as the Commissioner for Linguistic Minorities in India established in 1957.

The reorganization of India on linguistic basis led to a series of conflicts in various parts of India demanding separate states on grounds of difference in language. Sensing the primacy of the language use in education policy and its potential for erupting conflicts and violent movements, the Chief Ministers Conference (CMC) was held from 10 to 12 August 1961. It is interesting to note that the objective of the conference was not to design an educational policy for Indian states but to "consider the question of national integration" (Government of India 1975). Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru opened the session of the CMC meeting and emphasized that the question of language be discussed from various aspects. He referred to the Memorandum of safeguards for linguistic minorities 1956 prepared by the central government in consultation with the state governments as an all India code of agreed minimum safeguards to linguistic minorities. The conference emphasized the desirability to develop Hindi as an all India language for interstate communication but stressed the importance of English as language for international communication.

The politics of language laid its shadow on the education policy of India, but academicians, politicians and bureaucrats successfully reached a compromise which was known as the three-language formula, regarding the medium of instruction in schools

[1] Article 350 provides for the right to submit grievance representation to any government authority in any of the languages used in the states and the Union. Article 350(a) provides for facilities for instruction through mother tongue at primary stage of education.

and universities (refer http://www.teindia.nic.in/mhrd/50yrsedu/u/47/3X/473X0I01.htm for three-language formula). Though the three-language formula recommended the use of mother tongue as language of instruction in pre-primary and primary schooling, regional languages as the second language and finally Hindi for non-Hindi speakers and regional language for Hindi speakers, was accepted by the Chief Ministers Conference in 1961 and amended henceforth by the Kothari Commission in 1964. It is noteworthy that though most states in India follow the three-language formula, there are exceptions to it like Tamil Nadu. There have been many commissions since the Kothari Commission elaborating the role of language, but the national policy of education of 1968 spelt out comprehensively the issue of language development in India. The 1968 policy taken from the Kothari Commission's three-language formula modified and stated that (a) The first language to be studied must be the mother tongue or the regional language. (b) The second language—in Hindi-speaking states, the second language will be some other modern Indian language or English, and in non-Hindi-speaking states, the second language will be Hindi or English. (c) The third language—in Hindi-speaking states, the third language will be English or a modern Indian language not studied as the second language, and in non-Hindi-speaking states, the third language will be English or a modern Indian language not studied as the second language (Agnihotri 2006, 13). This policy outline was reiterated in the National Policy on Education 1986 as well as in the newly drafted National Education Policy (NEP) 2016.

The objective of the NEP 2016 as stated is to "clearly articulate the meaning and goal of education in the Indian context as well as what kind of citizens should emerge as an end product of the education system? What attributes should an educated citizen possess in order to be able to function as an informed and enlightened member of the society?" (NEP 2016, 11).

4.3.1 Canada

Canada has declared itself to be officially bilingual in terms of language policy. The CMEC does encourage First Nations' education, but it is not a national policy as education for the First Nations mainly remains under the jurisdictions of the First Nations Associations. English and French are the two officially recognized languages of Canada, and the federal administration is duty-bound to promote these two languages, especially in public institutions, administrations and courts. According to the 2011 census, French speakers constituted around 23.2% and English speakers comprised 75% of the total Canadian population (Linguistic Characteristics of Canadians, Language Census 2011, 11).

Education in Canada is decentralized with the provinces responsible for "organizing, developing and assessing educational system" (Education Outlook, OECD, Canada 2015, 4). The Council of Ministers of Education, Canada (CMEC) is an intergovernmental body formed in 1967, as a forum to discuss policy issues; mechanism through which to undertake activities, projects and initiatives in areas of mutual

interest; means by which to consult and cooperate with national education organizations and the federal government; and an instrument to represent the education interests of the provinces and territories internationally (About CMEC).

The CMEC is governed by an Agreed Memorandum approved by all members. A Chair is elected every two years based on rotation among the provinces, and all the 13 provinces and territories are its members. The CMEC provides leadership at pan-Canadian and international levels. One of the high priority areas of CMEC is aboriginal education. This is crucial as the First Nations, their narratives and stories, knowledge system and languages are integral to Canadian identity. The CMEC has recently taken a major step forward by agreeing to make the report of CMEC aboriginal educators' symposium public. This report discusses "how best to encourage more First Nations, Métis, and Inuit peoples to pursue a teaching career and to ensure that Indigenous educators remain active and flourish in the profession" (CMEC Press Release 8th July 2016). What makes this report and the steps taken by CMEC significant is that by encouraging the First Nations to join the teaching profession will help bring in their history, narratives, languages and cultures in the realm of education which in turn will make the First Nations get a sense of belonging to the societal whole and bridge the gaps between the Anglophones, Francophones and the First Nations building better avenues for communication, understanding and mutual respect.

4.4 Plurilingualism as Extension of Pluralism–Multiculturalism for India and Canada

The Multiculturalism Act remains crucial for understanding Canada's future policies and development trajectory as multiculturalism not only recognized the potential of all Canadians (old and new) making them equal before law irrespective of origin. It was seen not merely as a policy but as a vision for Canada which recognized the diverse races, cultures, religions, ethnicity of all Canadians. These freedoms and rights were incorporated and guaranteed by the Canadian Constitution (Multicultural Citizenship: Inclusive, Govt. of Canada). Multiculturalism in recent times is being questioned in Europe and USA, but the Canadians remained supportive of multicultural policies, and it has been claimed as "better than melting pot" (Jedwab 2016). Even in 2002, 74% of Canadians showed support for the multicultural policy which was significant as this was during the aftermath of the September 2001 US attacks (Dasko 2003, 3). Multiculturalism has its own problems, but in Canada, it "has transformed Canadian politics" making it more open to diversity and accommodative (Choi 2016, Huffpost). Samer Majzoub, a prominent human rights advocate, terms multiculturalism as "the right answer for the nation of Canada to create its unique, cohesive and inclusive society guaranteeing freedom, equality and fairness to all its citizens" (Majzoub 2016, 3rd July).

Pluralism in India is not a result of immigration in modern times, i.e. the last two centuries, but India has remained a society which has witnessed people coming from all regions throughout history. Be it the Aryans in ancient times, the Islamic rulers and Mughals in the medieval era and the European during modern times, sometimes as colonizers but also as settlers who ruled India but at the same time made India their home. These people brought with them their culture, language, cuisines, religion and art, and today, what we call India is a conglomeration of these various communities which have contributed significantly in the making of modern India. This plurality of languages and cultures is integral to what constitutes India in the twenty-first century. Recognizing that diversity is intrinsic to India, the Indian Constitution emphasized pluralism as the basis of Indian state and society, thereby declaring "unity in diversity" as the core mantra of the Indian state. The Constitution not only guaranteed fundamental rights to all Indian citizens but also gave special recognition to minorities' cultures and languages within the chapter on fundamental rights guaranteeing them the right to establish educational institutions for promoting minority cultures and languages (Constitution of India, Articles 29–30).

4.5 Plurilingual Policies as Steps Towards Humane Citizenry

Plurilingual competence refers to the ability to use languages for the purposes of communication and to take part in intercultural interaction, where a person, viewed as a social actor, has proficiency, of varying degrees, in several languages and experience of several cultures. This is not seen as the superposition or juxtaposition of distinct competences, but rather as the existence of a complex or even composite competence on which the social actor may draw (Coste 2001; Moore 2006; Zarate 2003). The very first step towards linguistic plurality is its acceptance as no society is monolingual, and even within the same languages, there can be multiple speech varieties. Hence, one needs to take cognizance that "every society is multilingual" (Cavali et al. 2009; Coste et al., Council of Europe 2009, 4). Plurilingualism as a concept was developed and comprehensively studied under scholarships of European Council which resulted in its deeper understanding. The Common European Framework Reference defined plurilingual competences as complex and composite competences allowing individuals to participate as social agents in intercultural communications (Alves and Mendes 2016, 212).

Beacco Jean-Claude Byram Michael, following the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages, defines plurilingual and pluricultural competence as "the ability to use languages for the purposes of communication and to take part in intercultural action, where a person, viewed as a social agent, has proficiency, of varying degrees, in several languages and experience of several cultures". It is not seen as a juxtaposition of distinct competences, but as a single competence, even though it is complex. This leads to "the distinction between plurilingualism as a

speaker's competence (being able to use more than one language) and multilingualism as the presence of languages in a given territory: there is a shift, therefore, from a perspective focusing on languages (a state may be referred to as monolingual or multilingual) to one that focuses on speakers" (Beacco and Byram 2003, 8). One of the major features of plurilingualism is that it does not connote the addition of "monolingual competencies and permits combinations and alterations of different kinds thereby enabling individuals to construct their linguistic and cultural identity by incorporating in it a diversified experience of otherness—to develop their ability to learn through this same diversified experience as a result of relating to several languages and cultures" (Coste et al. 2009, 12). Plurilingualism allows code-switching, i.e. switching between two or more languages by the same speaker depending on her audience, unlike multilingualism which connotes the existence of multiple languages side by side at times without any interaction. Multilingual societies can be conglomerations of many monolingual communities, whereas plurilingualism emerging from pluriculturalism is an enriching approach to understand the "self" and the "other" as beings with multilayered identities emanating out of cultural experiences. Plurilingualism allows individuals to develop communicative ability in more than one language, according to one's needs (Language in Education, Council of Europe 2009, 4).

Now the question comes up as to how plurilingualism can benefit the Indian and Canadian societies? India and Canada are countries with diverse cultures and languages following the policy of bilingualism and multilingualism, respectively. But these two policies do not essentially imply interaction between two or more linguistic communities. Language groups can coexist side by side without in-depth interaction leading to mutual misunderstanding and miscommunications. In the case of plurilingualism, language communities learn different languages with varied degree of competence and this leads to a greater understanding of the other cultures and social relations, thereby fostering communication channels between and among various language communities with due respect, toleration and goodwill. Such a policy can pave the path for more humane citizenry in both India and Canada, especially at a time when the world is fighting violence and unprecedented terror attacks. The need of the present time is open communication without preconceived notions of otherness. An open interaction can be generated through plurilingual policies for a peaceful and tolerant world.

India and Canada can take advantage of plurilingualism as an opportunity to generate more jobs. With the world becoming more globalized and with large-scale migrations, language translations and transliterations are a major field of employability. Most multinational companies seek people with multiple language competencies (ELAN-CILT 2006, 7).

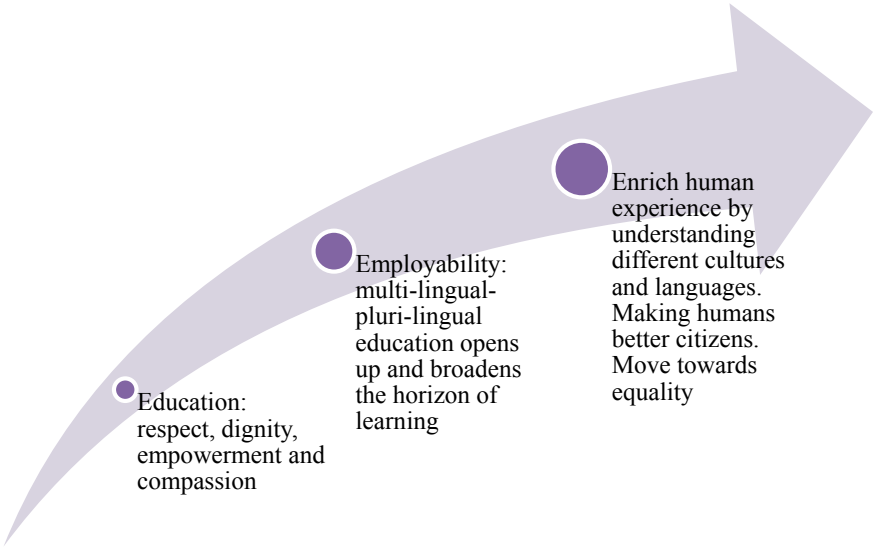

Fig. 4.1 3Es benefit of implementing a plurilingual language policy

4.6 Plurilinguality—3Es

I conclude that plurilingual language policy will benefit India and Canada in at least three ways, which I call 3Es (Fig. 4.1). First, plurilingual education improves cultural relationship infusing in children from a tender age the need for values such as respect, dignity and compassion. Second, plurilingual policy will enable the production of a workforce with linguistic repertoires required by the market-driven economy of the twenty-first century and the future. Third, such a programme will enhance greater empathy, appreciation and sensitive approach towards different cultural "others".

The policy of plurilingual education when developed along with multiculturalism and pluralism in Canada and India has the ability to yield positive results forcefully establishing democratic values and broaden people's outlook towards one another.

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Chapter 5
Examining the Cosmopolitan and the Local in Science and Nature: Building a Canadian/Indian Research and Education Partnership

Gordon McOuat

5.1 The Necessity for the Humanities and Social Sciences Study of Science and Nature, in Canada, in India and Globally

Our world is increasingly shaped locally and internationally by science and technology. This fact is a source of both social hope and anxiety. To understand the implications, challenges and opportunities arising from the new technoscientific world order calls for experts not only from within the natural, formal and applied science communities, but also from the humanities and social sciences who study the practice, the historical and conceptual development, and philosophical/cultural/political meaning of the sciences. Most importantly, as science goes global, these experts must be prepared to cross borders—both disciplinary and national—reaching out to other scholars in the humanities and social sciences involved in complementary research and engagement with science within diverse regions and diverse contexts. It is especially imperative that we look globally, especially to those societies facing the full force of a developing scientific modernity, such as India, S.E. Asia and China.

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Within the last few years, Canada has come to be recognized internationally as a leader and innovator in the humanist and social studies of science (collectively known as "Science and Technology Studies" and "History and Philosophy of Science"—henceforth "STS/HPS"). The acknowledged success of the eight-year national SSHRC-funded Strategic Knowledge Cluster in STS/HPS, "Situating Science" (2007–2015) (www.SituSci.ca), has revealed what can be done by networking scholars and partners across Canada, in collaboration with public and private institutions, using a variety of means for engaging scholars, institutions and various publics. "Situating Science" has led to innovative new understandings of science in its contexts and has produced new methods of reaching out past academia and into the various public spaces where science has a real impact. The Canadian "Situating Science" project has also led to productive forays into international cooperation and exchange.[1]

We are building on those successes, bringing leading Canadian STS/HPS scholars and institutions into deep collaboration and exchange with scholars and institutions in India and South-East Asia, thereby laying the grounds for a robust and sustainable International Partnership that will advance the scholarship and outreach in the humanities and social studies of science and will build critical capacity in our participating nations. The offspring of the "Situating Science" project, the SSHRC-Funded Partnership Development project "Cosmopolitanism and the Local in Nature and Science, East and West" (commenced Autumn 2014), is now linking leading Canadian "nodes" of recognized STS/HPS institutional strength in the humanities and social studies of science (namely University of Alberta, York University, McGill, University of Toronto, University of British Columbia and Dalhousie University/University of King's College) to their counterparts in key universities and organizations in India, Singapore and South-East Asia (i.e. Manipal University, Jawaharlal Nehru University in Delhi and the National University of Singapore, etc.). We are drawing on the individual and collective strengths of these institutions, regions and scholars in order to explore the mutually important and very timely research theme focused on the relationship between "cosmopolitanism", global knowledge and science and its counterparts in local and regional knowledge, especially the related political concept of "Cosmopolitics" (Stengers 2009, 2011; Cheah and Robbins 1998), that is, the study of the meaning and methods of science *in circulation*—historically, philosophically and politically.

In this paper, we will explore what we mean by the study of "cosmopolitan science", and then, we will give a general outline of the origins, structure, present success and future plans of our burgeoning collaborative partnership project between Canada, India and S.E. Asia. We will give some idea of the projects underway in this collaborative network and its shape for the future. We will also identify the potential and actual difficulties and limitations in building such an international project. We begin with a new vision of science and its conditions of development.

[1]The "Situating Science" was selected as one of the three national projects for a prestigious National SSHRC "Impact Award" in 2015.

5.2 "Cosmopolitanism" in Science and Nature

Science and its associated technologies, we are repeatedly assured, are by their very nature "universal" and, as such, trans-local (e.g. Pyenson 1993; Nagel 1989). Yet, we are often reminded, modern science traces its origins to Europe during the period of European ascendancy and expansion as an intellectual and imperial global force and the subsequent global domination by Western economies and cultures. As such, arising in the "West", science retains signs and birthmarks of supposed "Western" values and culture gone "global". And, thus situated, science also claims associated birthrights (Basalla 1967; Nandy 1988; Huntington 1996; Goonatilake 1984). Thus, science is at once "parochial". Here lies a tension.

It is notable that both critics (Nandy) and supporters (Huntington) of science and "modernity" share this same dual-faced perception of science, a perception which grounds many of the major conflicts and grinding issues of modernity and "globalization". On the one side, we notice a universalized idea of "progress" associated with the gradual acceptance of transcendent "scientific method" displacing local knowledge (Weinberg 2015). Resistance is, then, attributed to a "clash of civilizations", the old vs. the new. On the other side, *critics* of "globalization" have long noted the inequity of power relationships in the movement and transference of knowledge and science: pointing to an overarching "centre" as dominating and eclipsing a marginalized periphery, i.e. the so-called subaltern (Spivak 1999; Nandy 1988; Goonatilake 1984; cf. Mukerji 1989; Harrison and Johnson 2009; Anderson 2002; McNeil 2005; Alvares 2011). However, it should be noted that these latter critiques are merely rehearsals of the standard "received" view of a European origin of science that "disseminates" knowledge, especially natural knowledge, unidirectionally from the centre to the periphery. In this story, we worry that much is left out.

Recently, this particular idea of a unilinear centre/periphery model of cultural and political engagement has been radically challenged within various fields in the humanities and social sciences: in sociology, political theory, history and literature, even "development studies", rescuing the voices and agents involved in the *local* renegotiations of culture and power. The centre is getting radically shifted, and Europe, in a sense, is being "provincialized". The unilinear is being replaced by a more nuanced idea of continuous cultural "exchange" and "contact", at least within the areas of culture and politics (see Rose 1999; Rajan 2006; Reardon 2011; Hayden 2011; Hoppers 2011; Ghosh 2001; Chakrabarty 2000; Sen 2005). The same needs to be done for science, that very hard core of the centre/periphery model around which so much turns and so much development and modernity gets done.

5.3 From Centre/Periphery Models to Circulating Knowledge

Contemporary research and scholarly sentiments within the field of "Science and Technology Studies" and "History and Philosophy of Science" (STS/HPS) have prepared the way for a complete re-evaluation of this received imperial view of science—on the one hand, by rescuing the crucial importance of the so-called periphery's own achievements in knowledge and science (Bala 2010; Needham 1954–2005; Arnold 2000; Chattopadhyaya and Kumar, eds 1985–2010), and on the other hand, by envisioning science in its structural growth and proliferation as a much more multifaceted, multicultural network of exchange and negotiation between locals, regions, cultures and practices (e.g. Raj 2006; Gunergun and Raina 2011).

Recently, these two hands have come together by resuscitating the importance of the local and "local knowledge" within multiple knowledge exchanges. It is these kinds of knowledge exchanges that are especially crucial to non-European engagements with science. They are also important for re-evaluating the so-called Western engagement with the non-European. The landscape of these exchanges plus an openness to the "unfamiliar" form the basis of what we have called a "cosmopolitan" view of science, a view that mitigates both our prima facie received notions of univocal universalism plus our deeply held epistemological and sociopolitical models of centre/periphery dissemination and hegemony. From this perspective, science and technology are not merely an imposition or dissemination of a universal world view replacing all others but are a product of *long exchanges*, *translations* and *circulations*, locally and globally (Raina 2011a). Simply, science has always been "cosmopolitan" and worldly, even while deeply linked to the local (Schaffer et al. 2009) and lacking one absolute centre or god's eye "View from Nowhere" (Rouse 2002; Golinsky 2005; c.f. Nagel 1989). The study of the history and the trajectories of science is thus going global in remarkable and rather interestingly "circular" ways: by following this knowledge movement, along circuitous routes, to and fro, from the contacts in the ancient world to the modern colonial and post-colonial world over long periods of time [e.g. Nappi 2013, special "Focus" section on "global history of science, ISIS (March 2013)].

Scholarship in STS/HPS is now focusing on what has been called the "circulation of scientific knowledge"—that is, the movement of knowledge between multiple engaged locales or centres (Secord 2004). In the transits of "circulation", the accumulation of knowledge occurs through continued exchange and translation with local knowledge, as opposed to supplanting, dissemination and supplication. Science and knowledge can be seen to move along both intellectual and actual trade routes, meeting and collaborating in what has been called "trading zones": irreducible meeting places, irreducible because the exchanges are never merely one-sided or of one-way reductions (Galison 1997), all the while fostering multiple engagements with multiple enterprises. Every one of these encounters, it has to be noted, is a kind of "translation" (Sarukkai 2013) within a "cosmopolitical" landscape.

5.4 Cosmopolitics and Spaces of Science

The term cosmopolitanism and "cosmopolitics" are borrowed from Immanuel Kant's hopeful modernist notion of perpetual peace and modern civil society (Kant 1784), imagining shared political, moral and economic spaces within which trade, politics and reason get conducted, even as it is fostered in uneven landscapes of language, power and colonialism (Beck 2006; cf. Himmelfarb 2002; Latour 2004). Social theorists and especially STS/HPS scholars have recently refashioned the term "cosmopolitics" to introduce the possibility of a science and knowledge that, like *cultural* cosmopolitanism, transcends borders, avoids reductions and the supposed untranslatability of meanings [the latter produced what we used to call insurmountable problems of "incommensurability" (Kuhn 1996)] and certainly disrupts old centre/periphery dichotomies. It imagines entangled non-hierarchical modes of coexistence (Stengers 2009, 2011), albeit situated within landscapes of uneven power wherein knowledge gets reworked and refashioned. It also illuminates the various "go betweens" and labourers (machines and techniques) that go into the making of knowledge—voices and actions that tend to get written out of the final products of science presented as transcendently objective. This has significant implications for the way we understand science, both its methodologies and its social place. It opens up explorations on how the "local" ways of knowledge and being are participatory, rather than merely being "erased", in the creation and disseminating of knowledge: each trans-local claim on universal knowledge should be seen as at once a local translation and hybrid with multiple agents. The "universality" is replaced by its mobility and the ability to enrol many agents (see Latour 1988).

Significantly, while Canadian scholars have fast become world leaders in investigating this notion of the "circulation of knowledge", Asian and Indian scholars working in the study of science have themselves led the examination of different trajectories and sites for the meaning and origins of science, exploring philosophies of science that do not exclusively depend on Greek and European philosophies, while showing, for example, the relevance of Indian philosophy to modern philosophy of science, or the central importance of science to Islamic societies (Sarukkai 2005). While recognizing the dangers of an overly "nationalist" conception of knowledge (as witnessed in, say, some of the more *Hindutva* reconstructions of the supposedly exclusive "Eastern" origins of scientific knowledge and technologies), they note that even if the contested European origin of modern science were true, claiming that such origins imply that science can only be understood by way of European philosophy commits a kind of geographical fallacy (Sarukkai 2005).

"Western" scholars, in turn, are realizing that, epistemologically, the justification of scientific knowledge can only happen when scientific models are tested by a true multiplicity of visions, which include non-Western, local (Longino 2002). Science, then, calls out for *cosmopolitanism*, both as a conceptual tool for understanding its origins and growths and as a normative rule for how we can proceed in developing globalized knowledge. We now have the ways and means to forge an international alliance to study the origin, trajectories and meaning of "cosmopolitanism" in science

and nature, and to situate it in the histories and structures of globalized exchange by drawing on the different scholarly strengths in each our communities and bringing them into dialogue in a sustainable partnership of growth and exchange. Happily, this project is at once *about* cosmopolitanism and is at once cosmopolitan in its very nature.

5.5 Bringing and Sharing Strengths—Why a Partnership?

India now can boast of a group of leading international and national scholars working in history, philosophy and social studies of science and technology, scattered across its intellectual landscape (see Raina et al. 2009; Raina and Irfan Habib 2008a–c). Their work on the deep and ancient traditions of Indian science (e.g. Kerala mathematics, Indian logic, cosmology and natural history) and the relationship between Indian and Western science force us to revise our understanding of science's long history and present context. Moreover, India and South-East Asia have faced the full brunt of science and technology in the new globalized landscape, born in the colonial project but fully manifested in the recent phenomenal growth in their regional science/technology-based economies. Ironically and lamentably, the post-Nehruvian political, educational, cultural and constitutional emphasis on science-based growth and modernity (Prakash 1999) has left the academic and cultural landscape with little space for the humanities in general and the humanist study of science in particular (Raina et al. 2009; Varghese 2011). The same goes for other South-East Asian regions. Attempts have been made to bring the humanist study of science into general education, especially at the science and technology colleges, and this has witnessed some marked local successes. But, altogether the field remains disunited and marginalized, and there are no national efforts (the Society for the Promotion of Science and Technology Studies at JNU is now defunct). This project is a step towards fostering a viable HPS/STS network in India by partnering it with a successful model in Canada.

Canada is fortunate to be the home of some of the leading scholars in this particular way of studying science: that is, its meaning, localization, circulation and the movement of knowledge (Hacking, Gingras, Cormack, Lightman, McOuat, Meynell, Dew, etc.), and Canada punches well above its weight in worldwide achievements in the humanist and social studies of science. It was in Halifax, NS, the site of the crucial and formative quadrennial international conference of the British Society for the History of Science, the Canadian Society for the History and Philosophy of Science and the (International) History of Science Society in 2004, where the notion of "circulating knowledge" was first discussed and shown to be crucial to understanding of the construction of knowledge in general (Secord 2004). Lately, these Canadian scholars and institutions have gathered strength under the umbrella of the 8-year SSHRC Strategic Knowledge Cluster project, "Situating Science", by creating a model network for the creation and circulation of knowledge in Canada (www.SituSci.ca).

With the support of the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada and a large number of partnering organizations in the public and private sphere, we have now built the institutional support and public momentum behind this form of research. Commenced in 2007, the influential "Situating Science" Strategic Knowledge Cluster was built around the collaboration of six leading research institutions across the country each with significant strength in the social studies and humanities research in science (UBC, UAlberta, U. Saskatoon, York University, University of Toronto, McGill, UQAM, Dalhousie/King's College). These institutions were enrolled as organizational bases for local and regional outreach and cross-institutional and cross-disciplinary collaboration with a goal of creating capacity for STS/HPS scholarship and public discourse. The research and outreach activities of the network were clustered around four "themes" identified as having strong research capacity in Canada:

1. ***Historical Epistemology and Ontology*** (the long-term historical examination of the fundamentals of a scientific worldview, the principles of justification, the evolution of hypothesis testing, the place and meaning of evidence and the study of Scientific Methodology in context) (Hacking 1983; Gingras 2010).
2. ***Material Culture and Scientific/Technological Practices*** (which focuses on instruments, experiments, observation, methods of interventions, the creation of new entities from new materials to artificial organisms, and ways of constituting these new objects, the interaction of embodied practices, skills (which include scientific personnel beyond the researcher), concepts and theories and machines/technology) (Golinsky 2005).
3. ***Science Communication and Its Publics*** (which explores how scientists communicate with one another, with their objects and with the wider world) (Saner 2014).
4. ***Geography and Sites of Knowing*** (which explores how these abstractions and technologies engage both the idea and the substance of localities, places and environments) (Livingstone 2003; Jones-Imhotep 2004).

The four "themes" rolled through the "nodes", each in an overlapping communication with activities, researchers and publics in those regions and across the country.

In its eight years, the "Situating Science" Cluster leveraged almost $6 million in support and mustered over 200 partnerships and collaborations with national and local institutions and individuals. Its annual national lecture series on topics ranging from "Trust in Science" to "Science and its Publics" and "The Lives of Evidence" partnered with burgeoning and well-established national institutions such as the "Canadian Centre for Ethics and Public Affairs", the "Canada Science and Media Centre", the "Munk School of Government Affairs", and put the discussion of the genealogy, place and methods of science into the public eye. For students and emerging scholars, it organized several "summer schools" and teaching seminars, at King's College, the Canada Science and Technology Museum and Queen's Environmental Education Centre. Each year the Cluster organized at least two (often three) focused scholarly workshops on topic ranging from the nature and ethics of human experimentation, the art, culture and science of empathy, women and science, the nature of scientific

evidence, the spaces of science, etc. And the Cluster organized four large international conferences on "Objectivity", "Objects and Materials of Science", "Putting Region in its Place" and "La Grande Rencontre: "dialogue science et société". Committed to the fostering of the next generation of scholars, each region was assigned a series of postdoctoral fellows to support the activities of the Cluster and reach out to the wider landscape of scholars and the various publics.

The main success of this project turned on the openness of collaboration, the strategic use of funds to leverage successful and cross-disciplinary and cross-institutional collaborations into being, and its ability to cross borders, including close work with practising scientists.

Yet, for all of that success, Canadian studies, teaching and mobilization in the humanities and social studies of science remain markedly Eurocentric and, strikingly, Anglocentric, reflecting the tenacity of the received view of perceiving science. As the project developed, it was clear that we had to reach beyond our borders, not just to the European and American communities but also to places where science and knowledge have a long history and a long sense of different encounters. It is recognized that India and South-East Asia are ideal grounds for collaboration, not only because of the explosive growth of science-based economies, but most importantly because of the regions' long traditions in natural philosophy and science arising in distinction to, and dialogue with, the so-called West. And so, in the third year of the Situating Science project, hearing of our success, we were approached by scholars in India with the hope of collaborating and sharing of knowledge between our regions and building on the success of the organization of Science and Technology Studies in Canada. In 2010, collaborators in India and Canada formed the three-day workshop in Halifax, Nova Scotia, supported by the Shastri Institute for Indo-Canadian Studies, on the topic of "Circulating Knowledge, East and West", bringing scholars from India, S.E. Asia and Canada together to explore the meaning of knowledge exchange in the early modern and modern world. The workshop took place in conjunction with the opening of the "Dinwiddie Papers" collection at Dalhousie University Archives, one of the most important collections documenting the birth of modern knowledge exchange between India, China and the West (https://libraries.dal.ca/collection/digital_collections/digital_duasc.html), and resulted in a collection of papers on the meaning of circulation of knowledge between East and West (Lightman et al. 2013). This publication focused on the historical actualities of knowledge circulation in and between East and West, beginning with the creation of peripatetic Newtonian practitioners in Europe and their involvement with the first diplomatic encounters with China (1792) and India (late eighteenth century) and following this circulation and movement of knowledge right through the constructions of compound knowledge systems in China, India and Europe right up to the present period. The work follows very closely this co-production and encounter of knowledge in its material conditions of existence, moving through the colonial periods and nineteenth- and twentieth-century developments, culminating in a study of the post-colonial creation of a scientific culture in modern India, China and the West. The book culminates in a special philosophical exploration of the problems of "translation" in knowledge and science.

This encounter of scholars from Canada, India and S.E. Asia was so successful that it was immediately decided to follow up with a corresponding workshop/symposium in India, hosted at the new Manipal Centre for Philosophy and Humanities, Manipal University, in 2012. The workshop, "Narratives of Nature and Science, East and West", with support from partnering institutions including the Shastri Institute for Indo-Canadian Studies, focused on the topic of the comparison of different "styles" of scientific reasonings in the ancient and modern world, between East and West (McOuat et al. 2015). The strategy was to match corresponding scholars from Canada and India/S.E. Asia in a comparative engagement with different methodologies of approaching knowledge and science, with a notion towards their mutual dialogue and communication. The result was a pioneering comparative study and dialogue between different ways of doing studying science.

On the last day of that symposium, we were issued a challenge from the key organizer, the Director of the Manipal Centre, Dr. Sundar Sarukkai: "now that we have had this encounter and exchange, how would we re-examine our research and teaching about the origins and trajectories of science". It was a significant challenge and severely tested our commitment to the opening up to diverse ways of seeing science. We are now in an effort to meet that challenge. Our sights were set for a deeper and productive collaboration between our matching institutions.

5.6 Sharing

While Canada, India and Singapore are in many respects very different societies, their political, industrial and economic histories are interwoven through a shared national birth out of British imperialism. Importantly, this lends us a shared language, but it also has left us with other shared political, industrial and cultural resonances, plus a shared distrust of univocal colonial narratives. Moreover, though a product of our differences as much as our similarities, India, Singapore and Canada are fundamentally multicultural societies: a fact that has different interpretations and implications in each nation. Nonetheless, the differences between us are profound and the alternative metaphysical, epistemological, pragmatic and post-colonial perspectives on science and technology promise to invigorate the study of science in each nation. This is particularly urgent in Canada where although this specific discipline is highly developed, it currently lacks an appropriate international perspective. Our partnership endeavour will also contribute to the urgent public discourses on science in the larger Asian and other developing world contexts. Many, if not all, of these countries have embraced the "scientific ideal" with serious consequences to development, education, tradition and politics. India, for instance, is now one of the largest producers of scientists and technologists in the world today, and scholarly and public discourses on science and technology are urgently needed if "fundamentalism"—for or against science—is to be avoided. The newly dreaded "clash of civilizations" is not going to happen around religious beliefs or cultural practices, but around the effect of science. Already in India and North America, there are growing political worries,

and not unrelated religiosities, catalysed by a growing discomfort in the shape of the new technological society. This has led to a spontaneous reaction against science as the agent responsible for these technological changes. Often the reaction against science stems from a limited understanding of the processes of science. Research in STS/HPS is the only way by which a richer narrative of scientific and technological practices can be made available to society. In Canada, we have faced similar issues, with opacities associated with emphasis on the "knowledge economy", the inexorable thrust towards "innovation", and, most recently, the debate over the role of "evidence" in government decisions and the role of a publicly funded scientist (Turner 2013).

Our collaboration will now draw on the recognized local strengths of our diverse regions and unite them towards a more robust international discussion regarding the meaning and place of science and the way we understand it. In short, this collaboration will (a) expose a hitherto largely Eurocentric scholarly community (Canada) to widening international perspectives and methods, (b) build on past successes at border crossings and exchanges between the participants, (c) facilitate a much needed nationwide organization and exchange amongst Indian and South-East Asian scholars, in concert with their Canadian counterparts, by integrating into an international network, (d) open up new perspectives on the genesis and place of globalized science and thereby (e) offer alternative ways to conceptualize and engage globalization itself, especially the globalization of knowledge and science. By developing a blended form of research, dissemination and mobilization, this partnership development will follow the lead of its mentor, the SSHRC Cluster "Situating Science", and promote online networking, real-time exchange of papers, research and presentations, and the dissemination of the research into a wider educational and cultural form, all around the issue of cosmopolitanism and exchange. We will now discuss the means by which we are establishing a stable, profitable and growing partnership.

5.7 Models of Governance and Structure

The structure and governance of the "Cosmopolitanism and the Local in Science and Nature, East and West" Partnership is modelled on the highly successful SSHRC Strategic Knowledge Cluster, "Situating Science", arising directly from initiatives fostered by that project while manifesting certain lessons learned during the six years of that engagement. The original Situating Science Cluster was built on a "hub and spoke" model of governance and administration, with a centre and six regional "nodes" distributed across the country, each of which is responsible for organizing, reaching out and partnership construction within that region. The centre (hub) has the responsibility of coordinating communication between the "nodes" and general planning and outreach (including cross-regional partnerships) for the entire network (spokes). This structural model for a regionally large network has worked, allowing an effective amount of coordination and joint initiatives plus a reasonable and creative amount of flexibility in regional efforts and outreach.

For this particular partnership plan between Canada, India and S.E. Asia, we are taking the lessons of this successful Canadian venture and reaching beyond our borders, going "international". This will present us with wider flexibility, greater opportunity and some important constraints. Obviously, creating such a model for international collaborations is a much more complicated affair and requires a looser structure with more autonomy, yet a strong centre for facilitating international cooperation.

5.8 Establishing Project Centres of Circulation

The first stage of the Indo-Canadian Partnership involves establishing an administrative and organizational structure for decision-making amongst the international partners, built upon an organizational centre and regional "nodes". The centre for the Partnership has been established in Halifax, at the University of King's College/Dalhousie University, and is responsible for coordinating between partners and regions, organizing national meetings, day-to-day contact with SSHRC and between the international partners, outreach and knowledge mobilization.

In their capacities as regional "nodes", we envisage the partnering institutions as both regional organizational nodes and sites of specific expertise. They will be responsible for coordinating research, outreach and mobilization at these regions, plus taking up the responsibility for workshop symposia and training in their specific strength. The regional nodes are divided as such:

Atlantic Canada: University of King's College/Dalhousie University,
Central Canada: York University/University of Toronto,
Western Canada: University of Alberta/University of British Columbia,
Northern India: Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi,
Southern India: Manipal Centre for Philosophy and Humanities, Manipal University,
S.E. Asia: Singapore National University.

Since this is a *development* project, the goal is to nurture and solidify the links between partners and the strength given to the partners *through their interaction*, plus the facilitation of further outreach and the fostering of new partners, plus the leveraging of supporting funds. We have a strategic plan for scholars exchange and the possibilities for the construction of joint graduate offerings and coordinated pedagogy, including the providing of blended syllabi for undergraduate teachings and the possibility for study abroad.

5.9 Collaborative Workshops, Lecture Series, Summer Schools and Visiting Scholars

1. Our first step in the creation of a sustainable partnership and collaboration was the creation of an international workshop on the general themes of the project "**Globalizing History and Philosophy of Science: Problems and Prospects**" which took place at the Institute of Asian Studies, National University of Singapore, 21–23 August 2014 (https://cosmolocal.org/workshops/workshops/globalizing-history-and-philosophy-of-science-problems-and-prospects/). This conference was jointly organized by Asia Research Institute, National University of Singapore, Centre for Dialogue, La Trobe University, Australia, and Situating Science Strategic Knowledge Cluster. Although it is generally acknowledged that Asian philosophies can make important contributions to the philosophy of religion, moral philosophy, aesthetic theory and other areas of philosophy in the humanities and cultural studies, there have been few attempts to study their past and potential contributions to natural philosophy and the philosophy of science. One major reason for this neglect must be the general perception that Asian traditions of science made no significant historical contributions to modern science. This makes it seem reasonable to assume that the philosophies that underpin Asian traditions of science can have no relevance for understanding modern science, or enriching the future growth of scientific knowledge.
   However, ever since the pioneering studies by Joseph Needham of the contributions made by Chinese science and technology to modern science (Needham 1954–2008), an expanding body of the literature has emerged to document the influence of not only Chinese but also other Asian traditions of science—especially the Indian and the Islamic-Arabic (Bala 2010). This opens the door even wider to investigate what role, if any, philosophical insights from Asian traditions played in forging the identity of modern science, and what contributions they can make to advance future philosophy of science.
   The emergence of environmental studies has also opened the door to drawing on marginalized reservoirs of ecological knowledge of traditional cultures—both the cultures of the advanced pre-modern Asian civilizations and Asian indigenous cultures—to forge an eco-sensitive body of knowledge about the natural world. Emergent systems theory and complexity theory highlight the significance of contextual knowledge of local ecologies embodied in pre-modern traditions of natural philosophy. Thus, both the recognition of the historical contributions of Asian traditions of natural philosophy and science to modern science and their potential contributions to future science require us to take seriously both Asian traditions of science and the natural philosophies and epistemologies associated with them.
   Attempts to engage in such an exercise may be seen as problematic because different cultural traditions of science are often seen as enclosed within incommensurable world perspectives shaped by their distinctive networks of beliefs, semantics, perceptions and values. Nevertheless, both the record of successful

historical exchanges of scientific knowledge across civilizations and the possibility of transmissions of traditional environmental knowledge from one culture to another suggest that the notion of incommensurability may have to be examined more carefully. Does it make sense to see distinct cultures and civilizations as necessarily either commensurable or incommensurable? How can the recognition of historical exchanges and resistances to such exchanges be explained by such dichotomous binaries? Or should aspects of cultures and civilizations be identified as commensurable and incommensurable through the process of their hermeneutic encounters? Can such identification be used to explain both what gets historically transmitted and what can be accommodated in future across cultural boundaries? Should we re-examine these questions in order to both globalize the history of science and make possible future global contributions to science? What does this imply for a global history, philosophy and sociology of science? This workshop brought together leading scholars to examine how and why globalizing the history of science generates intellectual and conceptual tensions that require us to revisit, and possibly rethink, the leading notions that have hitherto informed the history, philosophy and sociology of science.

This international workshop provided the first face-to-face meeting of representatives from the management team and leveraged further collaborations between supporting institutions (Bala 2016).

2. The preliminary workshop on globalizing science was followed by an international lecture series: "**Centuries of Dialogue, Asia and the West**" held at the University of King's College/Dalhousie University, in the fall term of 2014–2015 https://cosmolocal.org/centuries-of-dialogue-east-and-west/. This international lecture series, co-sponsored by King's College and Dalhousie and coordinated by collaborator, Dr. Doug Berger (Dal/King's Visiting Scholar, 2014–15), brought partners, collaborators and leading international scholars to examine aspects of the nature of philosophical and cultural exchange in the making of modern philosophy, culture and science. Far from being isolated civilizations that historically had little or no contact with one another until only recently, the cultural complexes of Europe, South and East Asia have undergone major periods of commerce, political conflict and dialogue for at least the last 2,500 years. This lecture series explored some of the most important philosophical engagements of Western thinkers from the eighteenth to the twentieth centuries. Included are Leibniz, Montesquieu, Schopenhauer and Dewey and their attempts to appropriate various aspects of South and East Asian thought, as they understood them, and incorporate the "metaphysical", "logical", "scientific" and "ethical" dimensions of these traditions into their own world views and agendas. The series also explored the aspects of South and East Asian thought that have intrigued modern to contemporary Western thinkers, such as classical Indian scholastic argumentation, Chinese yin-yang theory and ethics in their own intellectual and cultural context, and examined how Western values and projects look in their lights. The lecture series is part of the solid commitment of King's College and Dalhousie to create an academic programme for East/West dialogue in philosophy and culture

as part of the institutions' "strategic plans". The lecture series was open to the public and local academic community, was webcast internationally and, rather uniquely, was also offered as a 2014–2015 "credit" class for undergraduate and graduate students at King's and Dalhousie.

3. **Scholars Exchange**. During the "Centuries of Dialogue" lecture series, Dr. Dhruv Raina from the Jawaharlal Nehru University was installed at King's as a short-term visiting scholar, participating in the lecture series, meeting with colleagues and students and exploring the development of East/West contacts. In turn, Dr. Gordon McOuat (King's College/Dalhousie) was installed as a "Visiting Research Scholar" at the Jawaharlal Nehru Institute for Advanced Studies at JNU in the fall term of 2015, working closely with Dr. Raina, colleagues and students, on issues in a cosmopolitan version of the meaning of science. In the fall of 2017, Dr. Sundar Sarukkai (National Institute for Advanced Studies) was installed as Visiting Scholar in the Department of International Development Studies, Philosophy, and History of Science and Technology at Dalhousie University/University of King's College.
4. In the summer of 2015, A **Summer School/Institute** on the topic of "**Scientific Objects and Digital Cosmopolitanism**" was organized at the Manipal Centre for Philosophy and Humanities, Manipal University, in July 2015. This unique summer school was modelled on previous East/West exchanges and summer schools organized by the "Situating Science" Knowledge Cluster and invited students from across Canada and India to meet with leading Canadian and Indian STS/HPS instructors to discuss the meaning of new scientific objects in a globalized world. The paradigm of scientific objects has undergone a major transformation in recent times. Today, scientific objects are not limited to microscopic or major astronomical objects. A new category of objects involves ontological modes of data, grids, simulation, visualization, etc. Such modes of objects are not merely peripheral props or outcomes of scientific endeavour. They actively constitute scientific theorizing, experimentation and instrumentation and catalyse notions of cosmopolitanism in the digital world. Cosmopolitanism in this context is defined as a model of cultural and political engagement based on multidirectional exchange and contact across borders. A cosmopolitan approach treats science as a contingent, multifaceted and multicultural network of exchange. The summer school will engage with philosophical themes around the nature of new scientific objects and digital cosmopolitanism.
   The summer school was instrumental in forging a network of Indian students devoted to the humanist and social studies of science, which continued on in a series of national seminars on the recent issues in the philosophy of science, culminating in the national conference on "The 2nd Biannual Meeting of the Philosophy of Science Group in India", Mumbai, 14–21 December 2015 (https://psgi2015.wordpress.com/). Plans are underway to create a regular joint Canada/India online seminar series to begin in the fall of 2016.

5. The project organized a special international workshop on the "**Concept of Cosmopolitanism in Science**" which took place at the Indian Institute for Advanced

Studies, Shimla, in August of 2016, supported by the Jawaharlal Nehru University. This workshop, hosted by our partnering institution, invited co-apps, collaborators and international scholars to Delhi to explore the nature of writing a new cosmopolitan collaboration in the world history of science. The workshop commenced with a categorical distinction between the "trans"—cultural or—national, or whatever metanarrative one adopts to engage with our historical concerns, and the *cosmopolitanism* of objects, things, actors, texts, etc.—that we confront in our investigations; something which perhaps may not be in the reckoning of the historical actors concerned. The workshop recognized the importance of understanding how the politics of knowledge plays itself out in the contact zones between the little and high traditions. Playing fields are hardly ever level. Beyond the debate on what cosmopolitanism means or when was cosmopolitanism, the frame of "cosmopolitan science" enables an engagement with the diversity of agents, objects and things constituting more than the material culture of science, transgressing the boundaries of national and civilizational history. In branding or labelling a tradition or school or practice as cosmopolitan, the gesture is always towards an essential diversity of a multitude of genealogies, objects and flows. The politics of cosmopolitan science urges further explorations of authority, privilege and cultural capital to be possessed by the practitioners of a cosmopolitan science. This exploratory meeting reoriented towards a dialogue that will then flag a set of important issues for further research and problematize cosmopolitan science, rather than celebrate "nous sommes toujours cosmopolite" (http://iias.ac.in/event/cosmopolitanism-history-science).

6. Bringing our conceptual tools to the examination of contemporary issues in knowledge circulation and development, the next **International Workshop "Found in Translation: Cosmopolitics and the Value of Biotech"** took place at York University in November 2016. Drawing on the considerable strength in contemporary Science and Technology Studies at York University, this workshop engaged a team of international scholars in exploring "biotechnology" and "biopolitics" as a cosmopolitan science. The event leveraged support from potential partners, including the University of Toronto, Genome Canada and the Shastri Institute, inviting international scholars (including Sheila Jasanoff from Harvard Kennedy School of Government, Kaushik Sunder Rajan from the University of Chicago, Fazila Seker, Director MaRS Innovation, Deboleena Roy from Emery, Erik Aarden, University of Vienna, Erik Aarden, University of Vienna, Sundar Sarukkai from the National Institute for Advanced Studies, Bangalore), to examine how the transformed conditions of commercial, and now internationally mandated, life sciences affect multiple actors, the market and scientific and other governing structures including the emergence of novel scientific initiatives (http://symposium-pols.blog.yorku.ca/found_in_translation/). An increasing number of STS scholars are engaging with emerging economies. Bio-economies scholars have looked at the "circulation of scientific knowledge"—the movement of knowledge between multiple engaged centres (Secord 2004) calling for distinctions between commodity markets and assets (i.e. patents, business models, technology, land, forest, skills and experience, CV, bodily functions, personal

popularity, pollution emissions, building, infrastructure, life form, molecules) in order to understand the emerging relationship of capitalism and technoscience.
Accumulation of resources and knowledge happens through continued exchange and translation (i.e. the moving research discoveries from the bench to the bedside), and CIHR/IRCS's definition has gone so far to state that translation is a "dynamic and iterative process" (2004). Involving various actors, institutions, funds and discourses, translation constitutes burgeoning fields in new translational research programmes across multiple countries, involving both a systematic transfer and outsourcing of investment risk onto other countries and nonprofit universities. Translational science co-constitutes itself as and with finance and global order.
Science and capital move along both intellectual and actual trade routes, meeting and collaborating in what has been called "trading zones" (Galison 1997), and fostering multiple engagements with multiple enterprises. Every encounter is, significantly, an emergence and a "translation" (Sarukkai 2013) of a cosmopolitanist order. What this literature brings to the fore is the translation, however with not much insight into the emergences and implications of it (i.e. socially and asymmetrically ordering and marginalizing) for ongoing social relationships in the form of capital and science projects.
In the recent STS literature, two key questions emerge: How does the very notion of cosmopolitanism and cosmopolitan science (i.e. specifically genomics and biomedical technologies) open a direction to explore how post-colonial sites strategically calibrate sociopolitical and biological taxonomies, package as well as unify and differentiate a diverse body politic? How does the very notion of cosmopolitanism and cosmopolitan science make possible scientific and commercial autonomy and assemblages of global knowledge networks and foreign capital? What these questions require us to do is tease apart the (techno-economic) cosmopolitan configurations of science and its commercialization; that is, both how countries imagine, frame and make their investments and the epistemic knowledge that enable things to be turned into such cosmopolitan projects or not.
In this workshop, our collaborators spoke of two kinds of translation: first, the kind that is related to the biocapital literature and revolves around making value out of biomedical research; the other kind of translation is geographical and links to the cosmopolitan argument: What happens when science travels between different contexts? In many cases, these two translations go together—consider the biotechnology development in, e.g., East Asia and India—but have not necessarily been treated as such in STS. The workshop brought cosmopolitan and biocapital perspectives on translation together to explore how value and values, epistemology and institutions transform as science travels between laboratory and market as well as around the world. Through what reconfigurations and what routes?

7. Our next step in formalizing a scholarly partnership on cosmopolitanism in science will involve building **summer schools on "Cosmopolitanism"** and scientific collaboration at the University of King's College/Dalhousie University,

at JNU in Delhi, at the National Institute for Advanced Studies in Bangalore and others across Canada. This will follow on a symposium on Cosmopolitanism and Science organized at the 25th International Congress for the History of Science and Technology, which took place in Brazil, in July 2017. Plans are ongoing for an international workshop on "Conceptually Situating Cosmopolitanism and the Local, East and West" to take place at the University of Alberta as the project hopes to move from a "development project" into a full-fledged partnership. Drawing on the specific strengths of Alberta and the Western "node" of the partnership, and the lessons learned from the previous engagements, this workshop will invite leading scholars plus new partners (e.g. Shastri Indo-Canadian Institute, University of Calgary, UBC) to explore the wider methodological/philosophical problems of cosmopolitanism in general and the issues of the local and indigenous in our understanding of science. The proceedings will be submitted to Brill Academic Publishers (Amsterdam). Most importantly, this future event will be used to coordinate the final draft of a new, wider formal Partnership of STS/HPS scholarship and institutions in Canada, India and Asia to be submitted to the SSHRC Partnership Programme.

8. As we move into the last stage and transition to a more formal partnership, we originally had plans for a final workshop to be held at the National University of Singapore, 2017–18, but contingencies at the NUS Asia Research Unit have postponed this engagement until further notice. For each of these events, we have deeply involved postdoctoral fellows and graduate (and where applicable, undergraduate) students in the discussions, planning, dissemination and outreach. It is to these future generations of scholars that we owe the development of these connections.
9. Our systems and content of teaching are in dire need of reform in order to meet these new challenges and new approaches to the understanding of a globalized science. The cosmopolitan project hopes to meet that challenge by developing joint curricula and possibly joint degree programmes in the study of science. The model and catalyst are our summer schools and scholars exchange. Having Canadian scholars teach in Indian institutions and Indian scholars teach in Canadian institutions is a step in the right direction. But we also envisage the movement of students, and the creation of "study abroad" programmes and the possibility for joint degrees. We hope to draw on the established "Study India Programs" at Canadian universities, including the Ontario-India Student Exchange Programme, and similar programmes in Quebec, the Maritimes and British Columbia. The institution of postdoctoral fellows is a step in that direction, but we must work to engage more students at the M.A. and doctoral stages, and even at an undergraduate level. This faces an uphill battle, since the nature of postgraduate education, although derived from the English model, is different in our regions. The financial disparity is also an obstacle, but may be overcome with tuition deferral and the increase in government and other support. At the undergraduate level, we envisage a re-evaluation of the stories that we tell the next generation. This will involve an exchange in curricula and syllabi, and the possibility of new textbooks. All of this will have to wait until the project evolves.

A step in the right direction is the creation of joint international electronic seminars, conducted by leading scholars with full participation from students in both regions.

5.10 Challenges and Strengths

A successful East/West, Canada/India/S.E. Asia Partnership faces challenges. This is the first time such a Partnership has been attempted in the field of Science and Technology Studies and between these regions. We are toiling on new ground opened up by the Strategic Knowledge Cluster's international outreach. This Partnership is *about* both "cosmopolitanism and the local" and *is* cosmopolitan and local. We face the challenges of bringing together different cultures of scholarship in general and STS/HPS scholarship in particular meeting for common purpose, exchange, translation and growth.

One side of the Partnership has deep experience creating such a network out of diverse and potentially centrifugal elements and keeping them together over seven years while expanding to a remarkable degree. Yet on its side, it faces an entrenched curriculum and deep scholarly roots committed to something called the "Western Tradition". It has much to learn regarding respect and diversity, especially from the other region. The other side brings an enormous potential and wealth of opportunity—a burgeoning society, overarched by phenomenal growth and millennial-old traditions bursting the limits of modernity, and scholarship that is truly exemplary.

Both of our regions have witnessed an inexorable rush to neoliberal models of research and institutions of higher learning, where the emphasis on the instrumentalization of knowledge aimed almost exclusively on innovation and profit has eclipsed the humanities and, to a lesser extent, the social sciences and also diminished commitment to "curiosity-based" research, thereby jeopardizing the role of pure research (Thapar et al. 2015). The implications of this turn have yet to be fully assessed, but without the participation of humanities and social studies, especially the humanities and social sciences study of science, we risk a headlong and unidirectional rush into the unknown. The India/Canada/S.E. Asia project, "Cosmopolitanism and the Local", aims to engage this rush, to examine its trajectories, its genealogy and its meaning and context. "Cosmopolitanism and the Local, East and West" proceeds along specifically planned stages over three to five years aiming towards bringing the regions together and constructing a stable and sustainable exchange between our partnering institutions. Organized at specific local "nodal" institutions and drawing on their particular strengths, these events reach out to the other regions to bring them and their specific expertise to participate. The events focus on work shopping research, mobilization and the training of young scholars and students. Each event has a three-part strategy to (a) bring the issue of "cosmopolitanism and the local" into greater focus, (b) solidify the existing contacts and engage potential partners and (c) bring the managerial team together for joint discussion, research exchange,

leveraging and planning—all in the aid of laying the grounds of a sustainable partnership.

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Chapter 6
Youth and Education: Interrogating Indigenous Knowledge Systems in Canada and India

Debashree Dattaray

6.1 Section I

Language, community and land are the leitmotif in the philosophy and writings of Okanagan novelist, teacher, visual artist and activist, Jeannette Christine Armstrong (b. 1948–). As an accomplished writer and an impassioned Indigenous rights activist, she has been concerned with land rights, democratic rights and improving the Aboriginal education system, especially in the context of the Okanagan Valley. The expansive Okanagan Valley located in British Columbia in Canada is diverse: snowy slopes to the north, arid desert and antelope brush to the south. The southern valley is home to a diverse variety of unique flora and fauna. The Okanagan people have historically relied on the southern valley for cottonwood trees for canoes and plants for medicine. The valley and the life it supports represent the connection between the Okanagan people and the land that has sustained them for centuries. The Okanagan Valley, therefore, deserves respect and care from its people for the services rendered over the years. It involves sensitivity towards the ecosystem and towards a particular way of life which involves the intermingling of "N'silxchn, the land language, first language, Earth Mother language" (Armstrong "Land Speaking" 1998b, p. 180). The titles of Armstrong's many essays reflect her concerns as an Okanagan woman writer in the twenty-first century. The titles of her essays include: "Writing from a Native Woman's Perspective" (1985); "Discipline and Sharing: Education in the Indian Way" (1985); "Traditional Indigenous Education: A Natural Process" (1988); "Bridging Cultures, Cultural Robbery: Imperialism—Voices of Native Women" (1989); "Real Power—Aboriginal Women—Past, Present and Future" (1990); "The Disempowerment of First North American Native Peoples" (1990); "Empowerment through Their Writing" (1990); "Words, Racism: Racial Exclusivity and Cultural Supremacy" (1992), "C is for Culture" (1993), "Speaking for the Gener-

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ations, Native Writers on Writing" (1998); "Aboriginal Literatures: A Distinctive Genre within Canadian Literature" (2005); and most recently "The Aesthetic Quality of Aboriginal Writing" (2006). Each of these essays reflects Armstrong's concern to critically shape the "'voice' of social practice" (Isernhagen 1999, p. 138) through dialogue and thus leading towards an understanding difference through literature. According to Armstrong, unless Native people learn to "re-hardwire themselves through literature" (Armstrong "Land Speaking" 1998b, p. 140), they would not be able to understand and better the effects of colonialism. The emphasis on shared words implies the importance of storytelling as a mode of sociocultural and historical exchange of experiences. One of the Armstrong's major concerns has also been the preservation of the environment for the community she loves and derives her inspiration from. She insists that

> I am claimed and owned by this land, this Okanagan. Voices that move within as my experience of existence do not awaken as words. Instead they move within as the colours, patterns, and movements of a beautiful, kind Okanagan landscape. (Armstrong "Land Speaking, 1998b, p. 176)

Therefore, a considerable portion of Armstrong's essays such as "Sharing one Skin: Okanagan Community" (1996); "Land Speaking" (1998b); "Unclean Tides: An Essay on Salmon and Relations" (1998); "Let Us Begin with Courage" (1999); and "The Importance of Community: Development and Sustainment in an Age of Globalization" (2000) deals with the tremors faced by a changing ecosystem. Armstrong identifies women power in the preservation of the environment. She feels that as people cease to care for the natural world, respect for women and the responsibilities, they undertake diminishes since the landscape is synonymous to "Grandmother voices" (Armstrong "Land Speaking 1998b, p. 176) that narrate wisdom and truth. Consequently, the titles of Armstrong's essays reflect a continuous engagement with the changing ecosystem and a desire to disseminate Indigenous systems of thought.

Armstrong's oeuvre also involves a major concern for the Okanagan language and learning and the manner in which the same may be passed down to Okanagan youth. Her major concerns involve the well-being of the world's ecosystems in general and that of the Okanagan in particular. She has also been actively involved in reclaiming the Native voice, especially the female Native voice through her writings. "Reclaiming" indicates a revival of lost voices which belonged to Indigenous people. For years, they have been subjected to cultural and political genocide which resulted in the eradication of their rights to self-determination. By undertaking the project of "reclaiming", Jeannette Armstrong has attempted to formulate a philosophy and treatise in literary theory which is Indigenous in its roots and understanding. Armstrong's thematic and generic concerns in sociopolitical causes and within Aboriginal literatures are rooted in the "Okanagan". In an interview with Janice Williamson, she explains:

> If I were being fully, truly honest, I would say, I'm Okanagan. I'm not Indian. I'm not Native. I'm not whatever you classify me as. I'm Okanagan. That's a political and cultural definition of who I am, a geographical definition, and a spiritual definition for myself of who I am because that's where my philosophy and world view comes from. (Williamson 1993, p. 11)

Such a position is also emblematic of Armstrong's concern for not being glossed over into a homogenizing category such as "Native" or "Aboriginal" only. Armstrong articulates a response against the homogenized, monolithic concept of the "Aboriginal problem" or the "native syndrome". While there are points of commonality between all cultures, Armstrong's works reflect the basis of her lifewords in the Okanagan Valley. The writer would like to be identified with the specific Indigenous community to which she belongs. A reading of her writings without due attention being given to her location in the Okanagan as an Okanagan visual artist, writer and activist would be a gross injustice to her works and her contribution as a creative artist.

Place offers self-identification. Location also is a repository of cultural and historical lineage which is juxtaposed to the history of nomadic existence of European migrants in Canada. By stressing upon their specific locations, Indigenous writers subvert the notion of "civilization". Early European settlers in Canada had often looked upon their ability to form settlements, habitation and earn livelihood and follow a specific way of life as a symbol of "civilization" as opposed to "savagery" or the barbaric existence of "nomadic tribes" of the North Americas. For many Native women writers specifically, the process of writing is a healing process which helps them to fathom their identity in the midst of mindless oppression and consequent dejection. Words help one to heal the wounds of colonization, "to touch and understand one another is to bridge our differences" (Williamson 1993, p. 25). Armstrong has also stressed on the importance of a process of "de-schooling" (Isernhagen 1999, p. 139) which would enable Indigenous writers to offer due attention to their own generic abilities, by understanding how Western assimilationist genres have permeated the structure of thought. Armstrong achieves her goal through the reflection of truth, an inheritance of words of power which she feels morally obligated to transmit to her children. More importantly, writing helps Native women writers to formulate their own philosophy in life, pertaining to a certain degree of "indigenity". In the words of Okanagan writer, Jeannette Armstrong,

> The process of writing has been a healing one for me because I've uncovered the fact that I'm not a savage, not dirty and ugly and not *less* because I have brown skin, or a Native philosophy (Williamson 1993, p. 10).

Indigenous identity is reflected in the use of English or French as well as, for example, in Jeannette Armstrong's words: "I might as well speak my language because the meanings of English words I use arise out of my Okanagan understanding of the world" (Armstrong, "Racism et al." 1992, p. 75). To cite a specific example, in her 1990 prose text, "This is a Story", Armstrong uses so-called Rez English instead of standardized English in order "to construct a…sense of movement and rhythm through sound patterns" (Armstrong, "Land Speaking" 1998b, p. 192) similar to the Okanagan language. In "This is a Story", Kyoti, the trickster figure, is aghast to find Okanagan land encroached upon by non-natives or Swallow people. Moreover, Kyoti realizes that neither did "The People" or the natives recognize Kyoti nor did they speak the Okanagan language. In order to highlight the ambivalence of Kyoti's gender (the trickster figure can either be male or female), Armstrong does not use

the personal pronoun at all. Moreover, usage of words such as "kinda", "coulda" or "hey, man" foreground Rez English. Armstrong asserts that "Rez English from any part of the country, if examined, will display the sound and syntax patterns of the Indigenous language of that area and subsequently the sound that the landscape speaks" (Armstrong, "Land Speaking" 1998b, p. 193). For instance, the following extract from the story reveals a mode of narration which is spontaneous and not linearly bound.

> Kyoti had looked and looked for somebody who could talk in the People's language. Kyoti asked the one person who could talk proper, how this had all happened. (Armstrong, "This is a Story" 1990a, p. 131)

The almost cyclical nature of the narration reflects what Armstrong calls "auto-translation". In a recent evolvement of her thoughts on the use of English and Okanagan, Armstrong has used the term "auto-translation", an almost always continuous process of translation from the Indigenous language to the colonizer's tongue which has led to the development of a particular aesthetic in Indigenous literatures. According to her, such translation enriches the vocabulary in English and offers a distinctive texture, a land language to the narratives by the Indigenous authors (Armstrong, "The Aesthetic Qualities" 2006).

6.2 Section II

Marginality of Indigenous languages has been a defining trope which contests universalist assumptions of literary traditions and also factors in the unique ethnic and cultural experiences which demand critical evaluation. Language has been a powerful tool for Indigenous people across the world in order to overcome the injuries of imposed change, political exclusion and loss of identity. Within the constraints of state legal systems and the plethora of public ideas and expectations, Indigenous people have been involved in seeking cultural justice, while rearticulating and redignifying the collective self. From the perspective of India's Northeast, "The common man in the Northeast is painfully caught in the mayhem of violence produced by unending militancy, inter-ethnic feuds and the oppressive measures of the state" (Baral 2013, p. 10). Karbi Anglong in Assam has been part of such a history since the 1950s. When the first "State Reorganization Commission" was formed in 1954, it did not recommend statehood for the tribal districts in Northeast India. Consequently, the "Hill State Movement" intensified its demands, and by the time of the elections in 1957, all of the six Autonomous District Councils of Assam were under pressure to form independent Hill States. However, ruling Karbi leaders were in opposition to the formation of Hill States. In reaction, in 1959, the Karbi Students' Association (KSA) was formed—the first of its kind. Meanwhile, the Diphu Government Boys' High School was established in 1958, and the first and only government-run college, Diphu Government College, was founded in 1964. Discussions on language rights and cultural activism are centred around these urban locations in and around Diphu

in East Karbi Anglong. The Assam Official Language Act (1960) led to widespread agitation, and the KSA became active participants of the newly formed All Party Hill Leaders' Conference (APHLC). They propagated the cause of the APHLC and also advocated the use of the Roman script for Karbi language amidst the staunch opposition of ruling Karbi leaders who were part of the then Mikir Hills Autonomous District Council. By Article 244 A in the Constitution of India as per the Assam Reorganization (Meghalaya) Act of 1969, the autonomous state of Meghalaya was created in 1970. Karbis were given the opportunity to join the state of Meghalaya or to have a new autonomous state of their own or to continue to remain in Assam. Ruling Karbi leaders opted to be part of Assam which was seen as a betrayal of the Karbi people by the KSA which then continued the statehood campaign from time to time. In 1973, the Roman script movement resurfaced and KSA demonstrated in Diphu in December of the same year. They were subjected to brutal assault by the state police, and many KSA leaders were arrested and jailed. Inside prison, the idea of the Karbi Youth Festival was developed in order to create cultural awareness and protect and promote dying traditions from Karbi Anglong. In 1974, Karbi Youth Festival (KYF) was first held in Karbi Club, Diphu, in January coinciding with New Year celebrations. It was a small affair lasting for three days and drew only a limited attendance. But it made a huge impact among the youth and students. Since then, the organizers made the KYF into an annual event. An apex cultural body called "Karbi Cultural Society" (KCS) was formed in 1977 which directly started supervising the KYF. Under the guidance of KCS, annual KYF began to be held in rural areas in all parts of Karbi Anglong. KYF grew in strength and prestige as rural youth and students rallied solidly behind it in spite of state government's apathy, refusing to give any financial assistance. But the KYF continued without any lapse and flourished to become the Karbi national cultural platform. In the cartographic imaginary, Karbi Anglong, as reiterated by the annual Karbi Youth Festival, has existed and survived over centuries through its myths, legends, songs, dances, artistic traditions as well as through its conflicting history and moribund politics. Most importantly, the Karbi Youth Festival takes cognizance of differentiation rather than assimilation, whereby language plays a mobilizing force in identity formation.

In 1994, KYF began a new experiment when it was decided to hold a five-day event at Taralangso, a sprawling serene venue in Diphu, with an aim to build up a cultural complex called "Karbi Peoples' Hall" (KPH). Since then, the KPH continues to be the venue of annual KYF. The KYF draws more than 2000 young rural artists, folk singers and dancers in their colourful traditional dresses. They perform folk dances such as Chomkan, Chong Kedam, Banjar (related to death ritual), Lingpum Sokchon, Haccha and Ritnong Chingdi (farming related) in accompaniment with traditional drum (cheng) and related folk songs. Participants come from 21 zonal committees of the KCS, each zone organizing its own fund for 100 members or more and taking part in the competitions for folk and modern singing, folk and modern dancing, dress shows, and traditional sports, which draw thousands. At present, Taralangso has developed an ethnic amphitheatre and huge three open-air stages where hundreds of dancers/singers can perform at a time. Besides, there are Western song competitions drawing in new talents who are experimenting with a new age fusion music

with themes of youth frustration, unity, change and assertion of identity. The five-day event is almost trouble-free without the presence of a single police as it is manned by hundreds of KCS volunteers. The festival begins with a traditional procession called "Rongketong" or the "Hundred-Drum Ensemble" presented by artistes of the Department of Art and Culture, Karbi Anglong Autonomous Council (KAAC). Dances as varied as Ritnong Chingdi/Hen'upAhiKekan, Lingpum Sokchon, Nimso Kerung, Hacha Kekan, Chong Kedam and Banjar Kekan are performed by young men and women from the 26 KCS zones along with other invited groups across the region. Karbi creation songs such as *MoseraKhir* or the *Bong'oi* as well as contemporary Karbi songs and dances such as *Luncheto* and *Lunchethak* are part of the repertoire at KYF. Traditional musical instruments such as MuriTongpo, Krongchui and KumLi'eng reiterate the virtuosity and skills from the region as do the active participation in traditional sports such as HambiKepathu, KengdongdangKekat and BathiliKe'ap.

In the course of the events at the Karbi Youth Festival, the community redefines itself in the light of the emergence of a new discourse of Karbi identity and ethnic presence in the hills. The festival is a site of resistance, celebration and reaffirmation of Karbi cultural heritage. Lamenting on the gradual transformation of the Karbi "rong" or village to a Kuwehonchi (Guwahati) or concrete jungle, the festival narrates a tale of exclusion, inclusion and survival amidst all adversities.

It is interesting to note that it was in protest against such appropriation of Indigenous histories by non-Aboriginal peoples that Jeannette Armstrong first embarked in her writing career. Armstrong's work with the Okanagan Indian Curriculum Project in 1982 stimulated her career as a writer. She decided to volunteer and write the history of her people herself when it was suggested that non-Aboriginals should take up the task of writing the same. She voiced her protest because she felt "I'm not going to have *my* culture and the Okanagan people exploited this way. There has been too much exploitation" (Williamson 1993, p. 17). This led to the eventual development of the first novel by an Aboriginal woman in Canada, entitled *Slash*.

Published in 1985, *Slash* "portrays a collective Native history of the last twenty-five years in North America" (Lutz 1990, p. 86). After a long-awaited gap of fifteen years, Armstrong published her second novel entitled *Whispering in Shadows* (2000), which "chronicles the experiences of a young woman living on a reserve" (Shepard 2005, p. 77). Armstrong's two novels are a rich tapestry of poetry, description, letters, journal entries and essay, a "hybrid" style of the Borderlands (Anzaldua 1989, p. 49). The protagonists of the novels have to combat the "little white world" (Anzaldua 1989, p. 48) inside their heads. Communication of difference becomes a preservation of difference leading to the establishment of a "minority identity" (Isernhagen 1986, p. 88). Most importantly, both novels explore the intricate relationship between land, language and community within an Okanagan context, thereby expostulating some of the basic tenets in Armstrong's philosophy and theoretical treatise and literary aesthetics. The novels have firm bearings in a specific cultural tradition of the Okanagan and thus bypass cultural hegemony in the form of literary criticism and theory. The dynamism and dialectical fluidity of the journeys undertaken by the two

protagonists, Slash and Penny, are indicative of a worldview rooted in the Okanagan language. Armstrong states:

> Reality is very much like a story: it is easily changeable and transformative with each speaker. Reality in that way becomes very potent with animation and life. (Armstrong, "Land Speaking", 181)

Armstrong's writings instead invite interdisciplinary studies by a unique combination of art, creativity, literature and the environment. Her writing involves interactions at levels which are beyond the textual space. Penny or Slash's engagement with the devastation of the ecosystem, their love for song and dance and art, is reflective of the multidisciplinary nature of the novels. According to Salish/Cree writer, Lee Maracle, "Interaction around eating, working, living, rights to privacy, respect for space territory—all are cultural" (Maracle 1990, p. 169). Armstrong who has worked in several media has explained the shift in her career interests from a visual artist to a writer. The activist Armstrong who calls herself "a visual artist, primarily" explains that she "can create and write on a plane or on a bus or … whatever" but that she could not "find a way to do that with the kind of visual arts that [I] she was producing" (Isernhagen 1999, pp. 165–66). Dissemination and consequent healing become the major concerns for writers such as Armstrong. Her writing invites Native readers who have shared similar stories of colonization and oppression to engage in a dialogue with themselves, rooted in the Indigenous philosophy and ways of life. Her works invite a "homecoming" for many Aboriginal peoples, estranged from their ways of life and being. Writing is only part of the process of finding one's "belonging". It is a journey which involves a long process of homecoming, by recounting a historical narrative from a personal perspective. Slash's account of the American Indian Movement and Penny's lament for a decaying ecosystem reclaim stolen terrain and establish the rights of the unwritten part of history to question and challenge established and institutionalized historiography. Therefore, Armstrong as an Indigenous writer is not merely "writing back" or devising a policy of decolonization aimed at the non-Native reader. The concern is overtly for a Native audience who is abreast or perhaps is not aware of Indigenous traditions and history, belonging particularly to the Okanagan in Armstrong's example. For Armstrong, who has had the privilege of a traditional teaching from the Okanagan elders and the women in her family, to disseminate their teachings has been a principal concern for her as a creative artist.

6.3 Section III

However, is it possible for a non-Indigenous critic/writer/reader to gauge the "land language" pertaining to Indigenous communities? Does exclusive accessibility to the particular Indigenous community in a rapidly globalizing world change into a metaphor for power politics? In other words, does such selective permeability into the Indigenous community create a space, a place "that cannot be imagined, inviolate places no one can enter, no one can know, that will remain forever sealed off, unex-

plored, and that no amount of humbling will make available"? (Gould 1994, p. 43). Given the history of oppression by colonial rule, the dichotomy of savagery and civilization pervasive in colonialist discourse, such overly protective stance vis-à-vis one's Indigenous community, is perhaps not unwarranted. Jeannette Armstrong herself has spoken of the damage done by the misuse of words and of her responsibility:

> to strive for correctness in my presentation, correctness of purpose, and accuracy in my use of words in my attempt to transcend the simple actuality of things I have seen, to the image of those same things in the context of my entire history, and the sacred body of knowledge that we, as a people, have acquired. (Armstrong, "Words" 1990b, p. 29)

"Telling it" entails a journey towards "becoming". A demolition of essentialist racial identities necessitates a symbolic and literal "writing over". Armstrong's poem, "Indian Woman", for instance, makes use of each of the stereotypical images of Aboriginal women in popular culture.

> I am a squaw
> a heathen
> a savage
> basically a mammal
> ….
> I have no feelings
> ….
> I have no beauty
> ….
> I have no emotions
> (Armstrong, "Indian Woman" 1998a, pp. 231–232)

Each of these stereotypes perpetuated in the first section of the poem is reversed in the next with the lines "Someone is lying". The speaker identifies herself as "Indian Woman" who is "the keeper/of generations", "the strength/of nations", "the giver of life/to whole tribes" and "a sacred trust" (Armstrong, "Indian Woman" 1998a, pp. 233–234). A juxtaposition of the positive images provides an alternative to the rampant colonial notions on the "Indian woman" and also reinstates the powers of the Aboriginal woman within an Indigenous community. The poem thus negotiates the changes in the traditional distribution of power and authority. By reinstating the role of the Indigenous woman, the narrative formulates and solidifies an emerging Indigenous community identity. In this context, one may also cite the "Pocahontas syndrome" which reflects the diverse and derogatory stereotypes associated with the Native woman. Native American writer Rayna Green has pointed out in "The Pocahontas Perplex: The Image of Indian Women in American Culture" that, from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries, the Indian Queen was presented as a symbol of the Americas which after the colonial period in the USA became divided into the figures of Princess and Squaw.

> Thus, the Indian woman began her symbolic life as a Mother figure – exotic, powerful, dangerous, and beautiful – and as a representative both of American liberty and European

> classical virtue. She represented, even defended America. But when real Indian women – Pocahontas and her sisters – intruded, the responses to the symbol became more complex, and the Pocahontas perplex emerged as a controlling metaphor in the American experience. (Green 1984, p. 19)

In her bid to offer a corrective to what has been handed down as "history", Armstrong becomes "the dreamer", the "choice maker", the "word speaker" in "Threads of Old Memory". It is in her role as "artist", "storyteller" and "singer" that she carries the "Threads of Old Memory" negotiating with a foreign language "an old lost world/of astounding beauty" (Armstrong 1998c, pp. 234–236). To cite a powerful example, one may also refer to Thomas King's satirical short story entitled "A Short History of Indians in Canada". The title of the story alludes to colonialist gestures within European historiography which has often relegated the history of "Indians" to a footnote or at most a derogatory paragraph. Located in Toronto, the story describes how two city employees, specifically sweepers, clean the streets of the city of any flying/dropping Indians. They are only seen as a tourist attraction, and sometimes, it is a pity that people travelled through Toronto and "didn't even see an Ojibway" (King 1999, p. 64). The cleaners, Bill and Rudy, can identify the tribal affiliations of the bodies by looking at the feathers categorized in a book. They also know that Ojibways are more common in the area than Navajos. King through his story ridicules stereotypes of the "Indian" found in the education system and offers an alternative history for the Indigenous community. While King's text provides humour as the source of hope in Pandora's box, it also narrates a story of blindness, arrogance and wilful forgetfulness on the part of the colonizer.

Therefore, it is possible to explore Indigenous narratives as simultaneous tales of resistance, of negotiation, understanding, albeit oppressed by a pervasive culture of oversight. It is perhaps possible to read into or at least gauge into the impenetrable silences within Indigenous narratives since "Various possibilities underlie action, choice, power and knowledge and ascribe meanings to them, formally known as "philosophies" (Chanda 2006). Such readings are predicated on the position of the subject (the reader of a narrative or the subject within the narrative itself) and involve a dialogue which is contextualized on the basis of alter-histories. An alter-history does not imply a counter-history but rather another version of history, which does not propagate absolutist notions of truth and power. Consequently, one must take cognizance of the "self" in order to arrive at an understanding of responsibility towards a particular narrative. What readings are there after all except the personal? To quote postcolonial critic, Gayatri Spivak, who explains in an interview, first published in 1987, "The idea of neutral dialogue is an idea which denies history, denies structure, denies the positionality of subject" (Spivak 1990, p. 72). Colonial and neocolonial perceptions of Indigenous people have formed such an oppressive and pervasive presence in their lives that for many, self-identification is dialogic by necessity and therefore contextualized by extension. Indigenous narratives therefore form bridges and connections across pervasive stereotypes and maintain and revitalize Indigenous community links.

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Chapter 7
Empowering People Through Eco-Museum: A Case for the Métis of Western Canada and Meenas of Rajasthan

Nandini Sinha Kapur

I

The main research questions addressed here would relate to common themes between the folklores of the Meenas of Rajasthan and the Métis of Western Canada and their interpretations in the historical setting and identity movement. In addition the historical trajectories of both the social groups in terms of socioeconomic and political rights and future directions for upward mobility of the majority of the Meenas and Métis will also be discussed. We propose the model of eco-museum for sustainable employment engaging Meenas and Métis in the management of local resources and their heritage by generating revenue and employment.

The Meenas of Rajasthan have had a strong tradition of identity movement throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The folklores of the Meenas clearly indicate acculturation process through which they shifted from a "folk background/little traditions" to adapting to the "great traditions." Meenas were successful in fighting a political battle after 1947 (Indian Independence) against the blanket coverage of their tribe under the Criminal Tribe Act of 1871 imposed by the British Raj. They have occupied the highest positions in the Indian Administrative Service after the passage of Scheduled Caste/Scheduled Tribe Law in 1956. Murli Meena Devi, the first lady Panchayat of Dausa is a case in point of the strides that Meenas have made. However, most of the Meena women still do not have access to education. The government should not only implement educational and employment projects more effectively such as NREGA but work in a new and future direction that will go a long way in implementing the concept of "eco-museum."

When we compare the above story with the objectives of this research project, it is imperative that we undertake an exercise in cross-checking notes on the commonality of themes in the folklores of Western India Tribes and those of Western Canada. Meenas and Métis went through comparable historical situations. Métis are people

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of mixed European and indigenous[1] ancestry/Indian-white ancestry (mentioned as one of the three recognized Aboriginal people in Canada and the state of passed Alberta's Métis Betterment Act in 1938).

Like the Cree, some of the Métis became useful functionaries as servants and home guards in the Hudson Bay Company (HBC). Archival records from HBC indicate that Métis developed distinct sociocultural and political identity by the early nineteenth century. Métis emerged as buffalo hunters and were recognized by Western traders (Hudson Bay Company and North West Company). Political activism by Métis rapidly grew by the 1830s. Derogatory categorization and racial remarks toward the Métis remind us of the Rajput attitude and derogatory remarks toward the Meenas in the mid-nineteenth century. Just like the Métis who became indispensable local functionaries, the Meena Zamindaris had also grown powerful in the countryside of eastern Rajasthan by the eighteenth century and had strategically helped the Rajput government to control the territory. Similarly, Métis showed promising capacity for a settled, industrious community. Here is a striking resemblance with the Manitoba Act which allotted 1,400,000 acres of land to the Métis. In such a context, the implementation of "eco-museum" model may hold promises for a brighter future for both the Meenas and Métis.

When we compare historical situations, we are not necessarily emphasizing similarities between the Meenas and Métis. We agree that there are dissimilarities between them, especially when it comes to status and details of privileges and deprivations in their respective historical and contemporary situations. However, the processes of Rajput and European state formation for the Meenas and Métis, respectively, in Western India and Western Canada indicate some similar historical situations. While this essay is an overview of historical experiences of these two communities and retrieval of their heritage, it also proposes a sustainable development project of eco-museum for their benefits in the contemporary times.

The model of eco-museum essentially means an open-country museum, a museum without walls. The concept of eco-museum is an interdisciplinary concept. Georges Henri Riviera first defined eco-museum in 1973 as the "new genre of museum" a concept based on interdisciplinary (specially ecology), model organic bond with the community in which it exists, and participation of this community in its constitution and operation archival material and ethnography including poetry, songs, and folk stories have remained integral part of the history and identity of indigenous commu-

[1] Indigenous peoples, also known as first people, Aboriginal people, or Native people, are ethnic groups who are the original inhabitants of a given region in contract with groups that have settled, occupied, or colonized the area more recently. Groups are usually described as indigenous when they maintain traditions or other aspects of an early culture that is associated with a given region. Not all indigenous peoples share this characteristic, sometimes having adopted substantial elements of a colonizing culture, such as dress, religion, or language. They are generally historically associated with a specific territory on which they depend. The United Nations has issued a "Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP)" to guide member state national policies to the collective rights of indigenous people, such as culture, identity, language, and access to employment, health, education, and natural resources.

nities across the world. Eco-museum helps to preserve the unique historical, cultural, and natural features of the landscape.

When we present the history of Meenas and Métis, we emphasize the importance of their oral traditions embedded in their folklore. The contributions of Franz Boas and Levi Strauss in finding meanings to the common Métis and strands within tribal folklores are too well known.[2]

It is important to note that the Canadian government has insisted on a "foundation of Oral history" to insist upon the acceptability of oral evidence in litigations between the Native peoples and governments. A case study in point is Xeni Gwet'in's (a Tsilhqot'in Nation from the Nemiah Valley in Central British Columbia) counsel argued in favor of existence, importance, and consistency of an oral tradition and oral history in the first decade of twenty-first century.[3]

II

The Meenas of eastern Rajasthan came under the blanket cover of Criminal Tribe Act of 1871 imposed by the British colonial regime.[4] However, the Meena elite had inherited and developed a rich oral tradition and history by the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.[5] The folklores of the Meena elite clearly indicate the beginning of an identity movement in a Rajput-dominated state and society.

The foremost legend that constitutes the history of Meenas is that of Rajput treachery and the Meena foster. The "story" not only reasserts the Meenas' jurisdiction over the territory of Jaipur state but also links their past with the Kachwaha state, which was brought up by the Meena king of Khohgong 8 km from modern Jaipur. The mother, along with her Meena king enquires and discovers her illustrious past. He adopts her as his sister and Dhola Rae as his nephew. When Dhola Rae becomes fourteen, he is sent to the court of Delhi as a Meena representative, with a tribute from Khohgong. The Kachwaha young prince remains there for five years, where he conceives the idea of usurping his benefactor's authority. On the fateful night of Diwali, Dhola Rae along with his Rajput allies from Delhi enslaves a number of Meenas and takes over Meena country (Dhundhar).[6] Dhola Rae's son Maidal Rae later captures Amber (the subsequent capital of Kachwaha state of Jaipur) from the Susawata Meenas (Amber being the capital of their chief RaoBhato, the head of the Meena confederation).[7]

The above-mentioned story clearly reveals the attempt of the Meenas to highlight the loss of their territorial rights and resources, because the Kachwaha state had already integrated the Meena settlements and Meena chiefs into its territorial and political setup without driving them away. The humiliation of military defeat and submission had to be compensated by Meena chiefs by reminding themselves of their pre-Kachwaha supremacy in the region.

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[2]For instance, see Franz (1911) and Claude Levi Strauss (1978).

[3]David T. McNAB in Connie Jacobs, James Giles and Greg Saris (eds.) (2004).

[4]Shinogo (1979, pp. 27–29).

[5]Crooke (1972, pp. 1329–1330).

[6]Crooke (1972, pp. 1331–1332).

[7]Crooke (1972, p. 1331).

The construction of a Kachwaha in Ramgarh beyond Amber fort clearly indicates royal attempts to control the Meenas at Jammu Ramgarh. The predominance of Meenas in the core area of Jaipur state is also evident from the early acknowledgment of their local importance. The Meena chief of Kalikoh had the right to put the tika of sovereignty of Kachwaha rulers by drawing blood from his toe.[8] However, what was not granted to the Meenas of Jaipur region was social status equivalent to their initial importance to the Kachwaha state in the medieval period. No inscriptional record of the Kachwaha dynasty refers to the Meena chiefs.[9] The Meenas of Jaipur persistently complained about the blanket coverage of the entire community till the fourth decade of the twentieth century to the Jaipur court but failed to redress their grievance.[10]

The level of education and politico-economic development of the Meena elite evident from the top offices that they have held in the elite Indian Administrative Service and Indian Police Service can possibly be traced to the period of transition when they claimed Kshatriya Rajput origin transition and shed Meena Tribal origin[11] and the sociocultural reform movement in the erstwhile Jaipur state in the 1920s and 1930s under the leadership of prominent Meenas like Chhoturam Jharwal, Mahadevaraum Palom, and Jawaharrammanotal. These leaders constituted Meena Jati Sudhar Committee in 1924 and Meena Kshatriya Mahasabha, Jaipur.[12]

Some aspects of self-identity of the Meenas in the twentieth century as described in Meena Purana Bhumika composed by Muni Magan Sagar (a Meena who converted into Jainism and was well versed in Sanskrit literature) along with a brief reference to Meena Itihasa of Ravat Saraswat, published from Jaipur in 1967. Muniji "sanskritized" the folk traditions and constructed the antiquities of the Meenas by quoting the scriptures, ranging from the Vedas to the Srimad Bhagavad Gita. This transition can be situated in the sociocultural reform movement in the erstwhile Jaipur state in the 1920s and 1930s under the leadership of prominent Meenas like Chhoturam Jharwal Mahadevaram Pabri and Jawaharram Manotal. These leaders constituted the "Meena Jati Sudhar Committee" in 1924 and Meena Kshatriya Mahasabha, Jaipur.[13] The blanket coverage of Meenas under the Criminal Tribe Act of 1871 in the 1920s was also an important context.

Evidently, ancient Indian history by nationalist historians and prestigious dynasties is being appropriated to reconstruct a "respectable" past and present. Muniji offered respectable status to the Meena chiefs of the bardic traditions by allotting "Candravamshiya" caste to the Meena kings of Jaipur of the pre-Rajput (pre-Kachwaha) era. The Meena elite went ahead and gave themselves the origin of Matsya Avatar (Vishnu's fish Avatar) in the third and fourth decades of the twentieth cen-

[8] Kapur (2008, New Delhi, pp. 71–93).

[9] Prasad (1966, pp. 14–16).

[10] Singh (1972, pp. 266–270).

[11] Kapur (2008, New Delhi, p. 94).

[12] Ravat Saraswat, Meena Hihasa, Jaipur (1967, pp. 220–221, 226) and Rizvi (1987, pp. 87–91).

[13] Ravat Saraswat, Meena Itihasa, Jaipur (1967, pp. 220–221, 226) and Rizvi, Mina (1987, pp. 87–91).

tury.[14] However, the majority of the Zamindar Meenas have not really "modernized" and most of the Meena women do not have access to modern education. The case of Murli Meena, the only woman Panchayat from the Meena community in Dansa, is an exception as she has been a very enterprising person. The evil of dowry is rampant among the Meenas.[15]

Perhaps one of the ways in which some of the Meena youth could be engaged is in terms of both employment and education. The sites of Nain, localities of Dansa and Ramgarh, can be brought together as an open-country eco-museum for Meena history, culture, and art. The local Meena youth can be employed as volunteers supported by the government of Rajasthan. This entire belt is steeped in history and folklore of the local Meenas. Colonel James Tod recorded the following legend, popular among the Meenas of Nain:

Bawankot, Chhappan Durwaza,
Myna murd, Naen Ka raja,
Booroo raj Naenko,
Jub Bhoos men Bhutto mango,

General A. Cunningham of the Archeological Survey of India translates it as "there were fifty-two forts and fifty-six gates to the Meena man, who was Nain's Raja. It was sorry time for the realm of Nain, when they were glad to beg their share of chaff." When A. C. L Carlleyle, assistant to General Cunningham, visited the ancient temple in the deserted township of Nain in 1871–72, the priest repeated a similar saying implying Meena control over 56 forts:

Chappankot, bawandarwaza
Ja men raheNaenka Raja2
There were fifty-six forts and fifty-two gates,
Where the raja of Nain did hold his state.

The Meena elders can be employed to disseminate the above popular folk songs and folktales. Storytelling is an art which has sustained many societies throughout history. The educated public can be introduced into both myth and history of the above bardic traditions of the Meenas.

What is clearly evident from the above account is that the Meenas adopted the concept of "kingdom" and courtly standards from the local Rajput state while the concept of *jagirs* (estates created by the state and distributed to chiefs) seems to have been influenced by the political systems of Rajput and Mughal states.

Thus, popular sayings and archeological and historical sources point toward Meena chiefdoms (much less organized than kingdoms) and not formally organized kingdoms on the pattern of state system.

The fact is that the Kachwaha state never recognized the Meena chiefs as equivalent to the rest of the Rajput chiefs. The fact that the Meenas were always organized

[14] Muni Magan Sagar, Meena Purana Bhumika (1937, p. 4) and Nandini Sinha Kapur (pp. 94–105).
[15] Suman Meena (2015).

into chiefdoms is also evident from the 12 estates of the Meena chiefs listed by their famous bard, Govind Ram Rana of village Bhoniawala (district Jaipur).[16]

Magnification of small chieftainships into ancient kingdoms was once again appropriation of the state system to highlight one's political importance in the locality. Similarly, monopoly over jagir is claimed as a part of imagining oneself as equivalent to the Rajput chiefs of the Kachwaha state. Although it is assumed that the state settled some of the Meena chiefs as Zamindar (conferred localities on those who kept the line of combat open) much after they were suppressed militarily,[17] they were actually confirmed in their own settlements.[18]

Meenas also presented their famous charter of demands in the twelfth century. The Meenas are stated to have asked for monopoly in the following areas of state services: army, treasury, armory, and accounts of income and expenditure. The fact is that the Meena chiefs had been utilized by the Kachwaha state in areas of security: guarding the royal treasury and the palace.[19] Not only does Tod mention these Meena functionaries, but even as recent as the mid-twentieth century Meenas had been serving the royal court and household in these areas. Besides, their importance in the control of strategic routes and passes is also evident from the fact that Ghatarani (queen of the Passes) has been one of their chief's deities. Hence, Meenas appropriated those areas of state administration in which they had been utilized.

Their bardic tradition and history can be juxtaposed when we examine the archival papers of the British period. Hence, a pictographic gallery can be built out of their legends and British administrative and police records. Before the position of the Criminal Tribe Act of 1871, the portrayer of the Meenas as violent and anti-social became common in the official literature of Rajasthan in the pre-colonial period.

In *Amarakavyam,* seventeenth-century Sanskrit text from the court of Mewar (southern Rajasthan), the Meenas are clubbed together with the Bhils as a violent social group.[20] In other words, the Meenas continued to be portrayed not only as an ethnic community along with other tribal populations, but also as anti-social well into the seventeenth century. Was there any change in the subsequent period? Their much maligned image remained intact till the twentieth century. The image of criminality of the Meenas may have been constructed by the colonial administrators by quoting the Meenas with the Meos through the story of the marriage of Darya Khan (Meo) to Sasbadni Meena, but interference into the livelihoods of pastoral and tribal groups was not made by the colonial state for the first time. Mobilization of resources, extension of agriculture, and strategic reasons necessitated interference, however limited, by the pre-colonial state in their regional contexts. Hence, the Meenas were not treated much differently in the pre-colonial period. Whether influenced by Persian chroniclers of economic interests or due to belief in the Meo-Meena equivalence and criminality of these mixed ethnic groups, colonial portrayal of the Meenas did not

[16] Singh (1972, pp. 208–209).

[17] Rizvi, p. 11.

[18] Dicksen (1992, p. 388).

[19] Tod, Annals, p. 1430.

[20] Kothari (ed.) (1985, p. 142, v. 6).

Fig. 7.1 Meena woman paints animal motifs on the exterior wall of her house

make any meaningful departure from seventeenth-century royal records of Rajasthan. Lt. Col. Locket, as early as 1831, observed the criminality of the Meenas of Koth-putlee, Jaipur, and Shekhawati.

Another significant component of Meena heritage is their artistic tradition which should be showcased in the proposed eco-museum for the Meenas (Figs. 7.1, 7.2, 7.3, 7.4 and 7.5).

III

The idea of eco-museum is not new to the Canadian government or Canadian society. Canada has established world's largest eco-museum model of eco-museum at Kalyna, East of Edmonton, Alberta, focusing on Ukrainian heritage. It has agricultural tours, tours of the historic churches, visiting farmer's market including birds and bees' organic winery and meadery, historical artifacts, and local artisanal products. It encourages industry sponsors and is a huge source of earning revenue that showcases eco-tourism.

Kalyna is a "living" outdoor museum covering 20,000 km^2 in rural East Central Alberta. See Web site: Kalyna country and Wikipedia Kalyna Country Eco-museum Trust Society.

A report of 2009 very interestingly states that for the $500 grant the recipients were the Kiki not Métis, who were funded for a computer system for research and collection of local history.[21]

[21] www.Kalyynacountry.com.

Fig. 7.2 A collection of Mandana Meena arts

The author was inspired by the eco-museum model of Kalyna country for an eco-museum model for the Métis of Western Canada at a site of choice to be negotiated between the governmental apparatus and the Métis community leaders. The Métis have demonstrated the quality of leadership in fighting for social justice, economic and political rights.

The Métis elders have lamented the loss of their old lifestyle as reported and published in popular and research literature on the Métis. Perhaps, the model of eco-museum may then work in the conservation of the Métis heritage and engagement of the Métis youth in running the proposed eco-museum would help in the sustainable development of this community. The location of eco-museum would have to be in the heart of the Métis country, Western Canada, spanning suitable areas across Alberta, Saskatchewan, and Manitoba or any stretch in one these three provinces.

If Louis Riel led a rebellion in Red River country and became a martyr in 1885, Métis associations, Métis land rights groups, and Native communications all worked to help both Métis and other Native people. The case of Joseph Dian, an Indian teacher who worked for the Métis deserves attention. In 1932, Dian presented a list of demands to the Alberta government. The list included a separate piece of land for the Métis people, government schools for the Métis children on Métis reserves, proper medical treatment by government clinics, among others.[22] The government of Alberta responded to the above suggestions. It made a law that the Métis land of Alberta be called Métis colonies. Alberta is the only province in Canada that has Métis settlements.[23]

[22]Cardinal and Ripley (1987, p. 271).

[23]Canada's People, p. 72.

Fig. 7.3 Two women drawing peacock and flower motifs on the exterior wall of her house

The people also have been described as Métis who have often referred to themselves as French Canadian or half-breeds when confronted by outsiders. However, the people referred to in the official documents as French, Canadian, and half-breeds refer to themselves and their ancestors as Métis.[24]

In spite of the government of Alberta' and Métis settlement, the following Métis literature continues to depict the sense of loss of the Métis and aspiration to regain

[24]Lischke and McNab (eds.) (2007, p. 169).

Fig. 7.4 Meena art on house

Fig. 7.5 Meena art on house

their lost heritage and identity. The proposed eco-museum would not only showcase the various dimensions of Métis culture, heritage, and traditions but would also involve the unemployed Métis youth as volunteers sponsored by donors or employed by local administration. Hence, engagement of the Métis youth would generate sustainable development for the First Nation of Canada along with the preservation of the wealth of Métis heritage.

The major components of an eco-museum of the Métis can comprise of the following forts and posts involved in fur trade such as Fort Assiniboine, Beaver Lake Cree Nation, Fort Chipewyan in Alberta, Forts in British Columbia associated with Hudson Bay Company such on Fort Fraser, Fort Nelson, Fort St. James, Fort St. John, Fort Victoria, Fort Alexander, Fort Benson, Brandon House, Brunswick House First Nation, Prince of Wales Fort in Manitoba, Fort Carlton, Fort de la Crone, Fort Esperance, Fort Pitt, Fort Qu' Appelle in Saskatchewan, among others.[25]

One of the major components of eco-museum is Métis art. Ted J. Brassier in his essay, "In Search of Métis art"[26], researched on Métis art from 1975 to 1976 leading to further investigation into the history and production of Métis art. The Métis have a rich tradition of producing exquisite pieces of art. The search for evidence has resulted in a considerable amount of data, 'odds and ends' found in the printed literature, in archives, and in museum collections. Burton Thayer and Frederick Douglas were the first scholars to identify the Métis as producers of a distinctive at style.[27]

As a result of historical research, the latest edition of George P. Murdock's bibliography of North American Indians includes a separate list of publications relating to these Métis but, in museum collections, most of their arts and crafts products have been ascribed to the Cree, Ojibwa, Assiniboine, Eastern Sioux, and a variety of northern Athabasca tribes.[28]

Allied with the westward-expanding fur trade, these Métis derived part of their income from the manufacture of garments and implements for the trading posts as well as for their own trading expeditions. On the plains, they became involved in a large-scale production of horse gear. In 1800, a trader noted that saddles were made by personnel of the North West Company.[29] Widespread trade in these saddles was implied by Francois Larocque in 1805, who found the Crow Indians using saddles "such as the Canadians make in the North West Country."[30]

Many pad saddles preserved in museums carry this particular decorative pattern pointing to a single source of origin which was clearly identified by Paul Kane, Frank Mayer, and Friedrich Kurz. The beginning of a distinctive Métis art style is not surprisingly linked to the rise of an ethnic identity in the early decades of the nineteenth century.

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[25] See list of Fur Trading Posts and Forts in North America.

[26] Jacqueline Petersen and Jennifer S. H. Broun (eds.). University of Manitoba Press, Brasser Publisher.

[27] B. Thayer, The Minnesota Archeologist 8 (April, 1941).

[28] Murdock and Leary (Human Relations Area Files Press, 1975).

[29] Gates, ed., (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1933), 143.

[30] Burpee, ed., Journal of Larocque (Ottawa: Government Printing Bureau, 1910), 64.

Pictures made by Peter Rindisbacher on the Red River in the 1820s showed the Métis dressed in blue summer capotes (coats) held together with an Assumption sash, decorated leggings, and moccasins, with a colorful shot pouch hanging on the breast. Some of these Métis wore top hats wrapped in ribbons in which plumes were stuck. In wintertime, two peaked caps called wideawakes were worn, as well as leather coats which were painted, quill worked, and trimmed with fur. Adopted by the voyageurs in the mid-eighteenth century, this costume remained distinctively Métis until the late 1860s.

Rindisbacher's and Kane's paintings also reveal other Métis creations, such as richly ornamented blankets covering the dogs that pulled the Métis carioles (sleds). Métis in the North West Territories were still making and using such tuppies, as the blankets were called, in the early decades of the twentieth century.[31] Dog blankets of this type can be seen in the McCord Museum in Montreal.

According to Alfred G. Bailey, "the floral designs preponderate along the line of what was the main route of the fur trade."[32] However, there is no evidence that the traders were instrumental in the introduction of this European folk art derivative. Instead, it can be demonstrated that the correct connection is with the Roman Catholic missions, beginning on the St. Lawrence River and moving west through the Great Lakes region. Small and stylized semi-floral designs were used by the French Métis who came from the Great Lakes mission. These increasingly naturalistic and flamboyant floral designs become noticeable on Métis products by the 1830s.

It is significant, however, that Métis art patterns adopted by tribal artisans were used almost exclusively to decorate the types of garments, pouches, and horse gear introduced by Métis traders. Many of these "tribal" artisans were probably Métis who had joined Indian communities. Many Métis underwent such assimilation and a large proportion of the people now living on and around Indian reserves are descended from them. Beginning in the 1830s, very productive Métis colonies grew up among the Eastern Sioux in Minnesota and among the Sisseton at Fort Totten, as well as among the Sioux along the Missouri River. Their presence can be detected, for example, in the Jarvis Collection in the Brooklyn Museum in New York.[33] Documented Métis beadwork from Fort Totten is in the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, D.C.[34] The Yankton Sioux incorporated the Fort Totten Métis as a tribal subdivision.[35] There is evidence that a high percentage of the geometric designs in recent Sioux beadwork were based upon floral prototypes. Knee-length leather cuffs decorated with semi-floral beadwork and worn over cloth trousers were particularly popular among these Sioux Métis.

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[31] C. Whitney (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1986), 106.

[32] Alfred G. Bailey (Toronto: University of Toronto Press 1969), second edition 151.

[33] Feder (New York: The Brooklyn Museum, 1964).

[34] Smithsonian Institution, Office of Anthropology, Catalog no. L27-35.

[35] Howard, "South Dakota Museum Notes 27 (1966) 7–8: 7.

Around 1900, A Métis woman named Flora Loutit lived at Fort Chipewyan; her silk embroidery and quillwork "[set) the fashion for the whole North."[36] A jacket made by her is in the collection of the National Museum of Man in Ottawa.[37]

7.1 Role of Métis Elders

The role of Métis elders should form a significant part of the open-country eco-museum. It is important to note that Joseph E. Couture is from Alberta and is a Métis of Cree ancestry with a Ph.D. in the areas of native development, psychology, and education who has written and published a seminal research paper on the role of Native Elders.[38] Joseph E. Couture became apprenticed to Elders since 1971 (specially Medicine Elders). Native Elders certainly offer us valuable insights into cosmos and its relationship to land, nature, and life. We undoubtedly get a Native's worldview through the eyes of Elders. To quote Couture, the nature of the Native's relationship to the cosmos, the land, to all life-forms, to himself, manifest in ritual and ceremony. They say that to learn the "how and why" of the traditional Native stance is to find the key, to discover a "saving grace" of insights and a creative power beyond any rationality, all crucial to human continuance.[39]

He agrees with Brumble who says that Elders have become the focus of a "cultural dialectic."[40] Elders were involved in treaty and non-treaty communities, Native and non-Native. Included are social scientists of all stripes pushing to observe and analyze, striving for their syntheses, as well as increasing numbers of Native engaged in a return of their roots. Both tend to took indiscriminately to Elders, wherever they can be found, for insights and guidance.[41]

In the late 1960s, Elders, although flattered and grateful, were initially flustered and were forced to rethink and redefine themselves and their roles. They were faced with dire and unsettling questions about identity and survival, and with the basic paradoxes regarding the nature of the Native world and the fundamental issues about the world in which humans live. Couture applies and calls Native Elders as "reference bibliography."[42] They are repositories of the stories' legends, prophecies, ceremonies, songs, dance, language, and customs of the people.[43]

There is a need in the contemporary Native world to exercise discretion to the extent possible, something of the fullness of the Traditional Experience and Story—as embodied in the highest, most evolved Elders.

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[36]Cameron 1912), 321.

[37]Collections of the National Museum of Man, Ottawa, Ontario, no. VI-Z-249.

[38]Couture (2013, Calgary' Alberta).

[39]See Berry, Brumble, Steinmetz.

[40]Brumble, p. 34.

[41]See Brown (1982), p. 119, for similar views.

[42]Joseph E. Couture (p. 2013).

[43]Couture, p. 203.

Couture assumes that traditional values are dynamic[44] and can be and are being re-expressed in new forms, and that such, as it so behooves, is being brought about by Elders now at grips with a counsel, healing and inspiration, interpretation of the past and present, in their apprehension and concern over future survival.

The late 1960s and the early 1970s witnessed the political emergence of Native organizations in Alberta. The opening round of activity by both political and service leaders and organizers, initially enthusiastic, climaxed in early 1969 in much discouragement and deep, angry frustration. In negotiations, mutual distrust predominated. Confrontation was required and frequently resorted to, and conflict became a working condition in the drive to break open bureaucratic and political doors. It was a time also when programs were exceedingly difficult to start and maintain, largely for lack of adequate core and development monies, and partly for lack of skill and insight on both sides. In the midst of this period of dismaying hurt and resentment, a major shift in consciousness, nonetheless, slowly dawned. It started that same year with Native leaders seeking out Elders and continued subsequently when others also began the trek back to the Elders of their tribes.[45]

For the first time since the signing of the Western treaties, top Elders responded in assembly as the historians of their tribes, as philosophers and teachers of tradition. They expressed a new for the people the meaning of their history, in light of present conditions, and pointed out a saving and safe direction to pursue so that the people's history be sustained and forwarded.[46]

Elders hold the secrets of the dynamics of the new vision. They are propelled by the past and are drawn absolutely to the future. There is a bioconcentric vision, i.e., a vision of earth and community—an ecological vision of an enduring Mother Earth and the people, a relationship intertwined in a single destiny. In other words, Elders hold a deep insight into the structure and functioning, and manifestation of the entire ecological process.[47]

True Elders are so and do what they do because they have shamanic personalities; that is, they have a non-romantic, brilliant sensitivity to the dimensions and patterns of manifestations of the natural world, in its most challenging demands and delights.[48]

Couture rightly observes that the traditional Elders' capacity to accommodate change, upon contact with Western Christianity forms, readily led them to become Christian, but in a way that allowed not only transformation of perception, but sustained a full continuity with the faith of the people.[49] My hypothesis is that conversion was a simple instance of new growing out of the old, forming a new syncretism congruent with their "faith."[50]

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[44] For more detail about the creative capacity of Native culture, see Couture 1987, pp. 180–184.

[45] Joseph Couture, p. 204.

[46] Couture, p. 206.

[47] Berry 1987a, p. 185.

[48] Couture, p. 209.

[49] See Gravely, for discussion of the adaptability of Black Eld.

[50] Couture, p. 210.

Elders are a national issue because of their qualities and rarity.[51] The needs of the people require guiding wisdom as assurance of a continuing, living Native presence in Canada, and for during the time needed to acquire a "faith" about the real possibility of survival.[52] Elders have consistency, continuity, and clarity of insight and skill regarding paradigmatic alteration (i.e., reinterpreting the story).

7.2 Family Histories

We can add the component of family histories of few elite Métis families which have been published, for instance, that of the Kennedys and Spencers. The Kennedys were a trading family belonging to Cumberland House in the late eighteenth century.[53]

David McNab participated in a Chaplain Society Colloquium on the "Diversity of Aboriginal Histories" and embarked upon a journey of discovering ancestries.[54] William Kennedy (1819–90) was the first "white" explorer who used indigenous knowledge in Canada's northern territory. He was the fourth son of Alexander Kennedy (c. 1770–1832) of Aberdeen, Scotland, and Mary Bear (c. 1780–1865), a member of the Cree Bear clan from Pine Tree Island, Cumberland House (allocation in northeastern Saskatchewan).[55] Mary Bear was the daughter of the trader and medicine person, old Mukwah William's friend and colleague with the Hudson's Bay Company, John Mc Lean (1798–1890), and his family also lived in Elora, a nearby locality.[56]

It was a tight-knit Métis community. It is important to note that in Canadian history, William Kennedy is known as the first "white" person to explore the Canadian Arctic (1852–54) and to use Inuit knowledge to survive in the Arctic. But he was a Métis of Cree Bear clan. We must note that William Kennedy was David T McNab's great-great-great grandfather.[57]

Portrayal of the Kennedys reveals that William Kennedy's maternal side always avoided being identified with "Indians."[58] David T. McNab recounts his interesting experience with the Native Elders at Long Lake (northern Ontario) which has a bearing on the aspirations of young, educated Métis to find out their bearings and preserve Métis heritage.[59]

Kay Northey is one of the oldest living Spencer relatives and is a wealth of knowledge on the southern branch of the family (Fig. 7.6). Her mother, Chrissie Spencer,

[51] See Phillips, Troff, and White calf 1976, and Phillips and White calf 1977.

[52] Couture p. 211.

[53] David T. McNal (2010 p. 21).

[54] David T. McNAB, P. 22) .

[55] David T. McNAB, Connie Jacobs, James Giles, and Greg Saris (eds.) (2004, pp. 32–41).

[56] David T. McNAB, P. 23.

[57] David T. McNAB, p. 24.

[58] David T McNAB, p. 27.

[59] David T McNAB, p. 29.

Miles Spencer's Family

Miles Spencer
b. Fort George, James Bay
June 11, 1839

Edith McLaren (wife)
b. Riviere Du Moulin,
April, 24, 1849

Children

Water John
b. Little Whale River, Hudson Bay (Quebec) May 5, 1868
d. Southampton, On Ontario, December 13, 1946

Emily
b. Little Whale River, Hudson Bay (Quebec), October 8, 1870
d. Fort George, James Bay, March 31, 1905

Daisy Alice
b. Ruperts House, James Bay, August 30, 1873
d. London, Ontario, April, 21, 1948

Charles or Joseph
b. Rupers House, James Bay, February 22, 1876
d. (place unknown), February 26, 1876

Christine (baptized Christiana)
b. Fort George, James Bay, June 10, 1877
d. Southampton, Ontario, July 18, 1974

Winifred Ann Sinclair
b. Fort George, James Bay, April 22, 1880
d. London, Ontario (bu. Southampton), March 27, 1964

Stella Mary Agnes

b. Fort George, James Bay, April 6, 1883
d. Southampton, Ontario, 1974 (month and day not known)

Edna Ruth
b. Fort George, James Bay, May 21, 1886
d. Toronto, Ontario, (date unknown)

Cameron Inkster
b. Fort George, James Bay, March 24, 1889
d. Southampton, Ontario, August 4, 1975

Lillian Rosalie
b. Fort George, James Bay, February 5, 1892
d. Southampton Ontario, September 1978

Fig. 7.6 Information about Mile Spencer's family has been complied mainly through family Bible Records and death and baptism records

was a daughter of Miles Spencer. Kay lives in her mother's house in Southampton, and at the age of 93, she is still very energetic and eager to help with family research.[60]

Spencer research has been about Virginia Barter's mother's side of the family. The knowledge of mixed Aboriginal–European heritage for Virginia was certainly a surprise too. There was also a Native heritage on Virginia's father's side of the family. Virginia's father, Ralph Parker, was related to the Tanners of Kentucky. John Tanner, the famous "white Indian," had been kidnapped by Indians when he was nine

[60] Virginia Barter, p. 254.

years old. We knew that he had grown up among them and had taken an Indian wife. Author Virginia Barter discovered a biography of John Tanner.[61]

Tanner had become "an Indian" in every sense of the word. He had forgotten his English language and even his English name. In the winter of 1812, Tanner was hired by the HBC to hunt buffalo to feed the starving settlers who first arrived at the new settlements. The above history is based on repository of archival papers besides John Tanner's biography.

The source of the following photographs is from David McNab's work quoted in this essay.

In conclusion, we may reiterate that the above components of the history, heritage, and culture of the Métis of Western Canada can be considered together for an initial proposed project for an open-country eco-museum for a sustainable development at least for a proportion of Métis youth.

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Chapter 8
Climate Change and Interlinking of Indian Rivers: Lessons from Canadian Inter-Basin Water Transfer Experiences

Deepak Kumar Das

8.1 Introduction

Rising demands for water for irrigation, domestic and industrial purposes have triggered a massive growth worldwide in the number of large water infrastructure projects involving the transfer of water from a river basins considered to have surplus water to those where the demand for water has exceeded or is likely to exceed supplies. The underlying purpose for inter-basin water transfer (IBWT) projects that exists globally has either or any of the combination among drinking water supply both urban and rural, irrigation, hydropower generation, industry, environmental improvements and navigation. The two major characteristics of inter-basin water transfer perhaps that can be considered universal are its innate complexity and associated affinity to generate controversy. These attributes are the results of the arrangement of manners of interactions of water with humans. Water is needed for sustenance of life in many ways starting from metabolic activities, food production, a means of transportation and an input to almost all economic activities and has spiritual and psychological values. The wide range of interactions with human activities makes the definition of surplus water difficult and necessitates agreement to preclude when such inter-basin water transfers are desired. Thus, inter-basin water transfer projects and controversy proceed side by side. Though scientific studies and analysis play important roles in assessing the feasibility and effect of inter-basin water transfer, it cannot determine the final merit of individual proposals because of conflicts in fundamental values. The IBWT in Canada and interlinking of rivers (ILR) in India are no exceptions to this.

Further, events related to climate change are expected to increase the frequency and magnitude of extreme weather events, notably of drought and floods to which life along with livelihood and agriculture sector are particularly exposed. While

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agricultural productivity growth and policy development have allowed better coping with these risks and reducing overall impacts on the sector, there is substantial room to improve policy responses and coordinate across policy domains, including respect to water rights and allocation, weather and hydrological information, innovation and education, and risk management schemes. Indeed, drought and flood risks are likely to become a major policy concern as increasing population will increase the demand for food, feed, fibre and energy, not to mention the competition for water resources. Urbanization will increase the demand for flood protection and mitigation, raising the issue of the allocation of flood risks across sectors and areas. As a coping measure, IBWT or ILR has been a choice by governments for adoption.

Further in the globe, an increasing number of regions are facing chronically shortage of water which is a great concern. According to United Nations Water Programme, water scarcity is defined as the point at which the aggregate impact of all users impinges on the supply or quality of water under prevailing institutional arrangements to the extent that the demand by all sectors, including the environment, cannot be satisfied fully. Water scarcity is a relative concept and can occur at any level of supply or demand. Scarcity may be a social construct (a product of affluence, expectations and customary behaviour) or the consequence of altered supply patterns—stemming from climate change for example. The concept of Falkenmark (1989) on water stress index indicates that a country whose renewable freshwater availability on annual per capital basis exceeds about 1,700 m^3 would suffer occasional local water problem. Below this threshold, the country begins to experience a period of frequent water stress. When freshwater availability falls below 1,000 m^3 per person per year, the country would experience chronic water scarcity, which hampers economic development, human health and values. Similarly when freshwater availability falls below 500 m^3 per person per year, it comes under absolute water scarcity. The water availability picture of India reveals how alarming the problem of India.

Year	Per capita water availability (m^3/person/year)
1951	5,177
2001	1,869
2005	1,341
2050	1,140

In India, more and more basins are moving from water stress to water scarce conditions. It is worth mentioning here that the water resources of India are not uniformly distributed throughout the country. Further lacking in well thought water use practice in India, some states consistently have adopted a dependency on supply-side management, requiring cities and irrigation water providers to satisfy an ever-growing demand for water with engineering structures which seem to be economically sound. This has prompted Government of India for planning and implementing a large number of engineered water transfers—even siphoning water from one side of mountain

ranges to the other in various ways with dams, diversion channels, tunnels and water lifting arrangements which raises questions about sustainability and the assumptive attempt to support growth.

8.2 The Canadian Scenario

8.2.1 Major Inter-Basin Water Transfer Projects in Canada

Canada has more than 600 dams and 60 large inter-basin water diversion projects. The inter-basin water transfer projects in Canada are developed mainly for hydroelectricity production. In Canada, some of the major inter-basin transfers that exist in various provinces in the sequence of contributing and receiving basins are British Columbia: Nechako(Fraser)-Kemano, Bridge-Seton Lake, Cheakamus-Squamish, Coquitlam Lake-Buntzen Lake; Saskatchewan: Tazin Lake-Charlot (L. Athabasca); Manitoba: Churchill (Southern Indian Lake)-Rat-Burntwood (Nelson), Ontario Lake St. Joseph (Albany)-Root (Winnipeg), Ogoki(Albany)-Lake Nipigon (Superior), Lake Erie-Lake Ontario; Quebec: Eastmain-Opinaca Fregate-La Grande, Caniapiscau-La Grande; and in Newfoundland: Julian-Churchill, Naskaupi-Churchill. An estimated amount of 95% of water transferred, however, is for hydropower generation. This transfer of water caused major changes to the hydrologic balance in terms of interactions between water quantity and quality. The knowledge gained from the study of these interactions between water quality and quantity provides a foundation for predicting impacts on various aspects that can be used to better understand the future inter-basin water transfer projects, and this makes Canada the world leader in water diversion (Day and Quinn 1992).

8.3 Constitutional Provisions, Legal Framework and Institutional Arrangements

The role of Federal Government of Canada is limited to only formulation of policy for inter-basin water transfer, and the IBWT projects undertaken in Canada are provincial. The federal government advocates exercising caution in considering the need for major inter-basin transfers and endorses other less disruptive alternatives such as demand management and water conservation to satisfy societal needs without sacrificing water-related values to irreversible actions. The federal government provides guidelines and criteria for assessing inter-basin transfers within Canada in cooperation with the provinces/territories; takes all possible measures within the limits of its constitutional authority to prohibit the export of Canadian water by inter-basin diversions; strengthens federal legislation to the extent necessary to fully implement this policy; and develops with concerned provincial governments a mutu-

ally acceptable referral system to ensure that provincial licensing of small-scale transfers of water (local arrangements between communities, or containerised transfers) between jurisdictions takes into account federal interests respecting navigation, fisheries, environmental protection, Indian treaties and trade considerations (Federal Water Policy 1987).

The primary need for increasing public awareness with respect to water is recognized by the federal government policy of Canada and encourages the media, education authorities and non-governmental organizations to provide opportunities for public input on water decisions that have broad social, economic or environmental implications and consider the full spectrum of public values. For promoting public awareness and their real participation in decision-making of inter-basin water transfer programmes and initiatives to improve and protect Canada's water resources, the federal as well as provincial governments ensure that the public is consulted and that their views are considered in all major federal water management decisions. Both governments also ensure public access to information on the extent and health of water resources through appropriate means, including a State of the Environment reporting system. The timing of public involvement is also critical which is ensured from the planning process as it can prevent polarization of views and create an environment of mutual respect that also form the basis of negotiation. Public involvement should extend to the post-development phases of a project so that problems do not arise in the management of the project (Fitzgibbon 1987). Presently in Canada, there is a complex array of federal, provincial, local agencies and institutions that each has roles in management of water including inter-basin water transfer, through wide range of legislative and regulatory tools. The basic constitutional framework for water management in Canada is characterized by a shared, but by no means precise, division of responsibility between the federal and provincial level of governments (Saunders 1987). The federal government is taking relatively restraining role with respect to water management and to defer largely to the provinces unless there is a clear federal interest (Saunders 2000). The primary aim of water management of federal government has been focused on its constitutional responsibility for fisheries, navigation, international relations and water quality. The intergovernmental agreements have generally served the Canadian federation well which clarifies the scope of federal and provincial powers in sharing inter-jurisdictional waters as in the case of Apportionment Agreement for Prairie rivers and the Prairie Provinces Water Board and Mackenzie River Basin Trans-boundary Water Master Agreement and Mackenzie River Basin Board which administer these agreements. These types of agreements effectively removed the disputes concerning the rights of downstream provinces and responsibility of releasing agreed quantity of water by the upstream provinces. There are a number of important federal and provincial agreements across Canada dealing with water resources including inter-basin transfers. Sometimes, this also touches international obligations like Columbia River, Skagit River and Great Lake. The Canada Water Act of 1970 emphasizes federal and provincial cooperation and includes provisions for some unilateral federal action on trans-boundary issue. Some of the federal laws which provide platforms for cooperation and interdependence of water management are Constitution Act of 1982, International Rivers

Improvement Act of 1985, Fishing Act 1985, Navigable Water Protection Act of 1985, Indian Act of 1985 for lands reserved for Indian and Aboriginal People, Canadian Environmental Assessment Act of 1992, International Boundary Water Treaty Act of 1999 and International Joint Commissions, along with provincial acts in different names like Water Protection Act, Water Resources Acts, Water Preservation Act, Environmental Quality Acts of different provinces along with River Basin Boards and Regional Water Boards.

8.4 Environmental and Climate Change Significance

IBWT projects are found in almost all provinces of Canada, and the total diversion at present is more than 4,500 m^3/s. The findings that are apparent from review of Canadian inter-basin water transfer projects reveal that most diversions utilize shortcuts and natural drainage channels and most of them are remotely situated away from more populated regions. Canadian dams store water during peak flow periods and release water to generate power during low-flow periods. Such changes to water quantity also modify various parameters of climate and water quality parameters within the reservoir and also downstream. The effect decreases with distance from the impoundment. The studies of Duffy (1987), Eley and Lawford (1987), Laycock (1987), Fitzgibbon (1987), Day and Quinn (1992), Smith and Kells (1993), Rosenberg et al. (1995, 1997), INHS (1996), Stolte and Sadar (1998), Prows et al. in Environment Canada (2001), Quinn and Edstrom (2000), Quinn et al. in Environment Canada (2004) throw ample light in this aspect. Major examples include thermal stratification, earth quakes induced in nearby areas due to crustal stresses caused during and after filling of large artificial reservoirs, greenhouse gas emission within the reservoir and modification of downstream water temperatures; eutrophication; promotion of anoxic conditions in hypolimnetic water and related changes in metal concentrations in outflow. Increased concentration of mercury in fish mass in the reservoir as well as downstream to certain distance makes them unsuitable for human consumption. This also causes mercury level increase in fish-eating birds (e.g. Ogoki, Churchill, and La Grande diversion areas). The most dramatic shifts result from mixing of water from disparate hydro-ecological systems (e.g. across major hydrologic divides or from freshwater to estuarine environments), causing changes in chemistry, temperature and sediment. In addition, the transfer of fish, parasites and pathogens can accompany such mixing. Forests, agricultural lands and wildlife habitat may be lost in perpetuity and existing fishery habitats destroyed. Case history of receiving rivers like Elk, Kemano, Cheslatta and Bruntwood indicates sediment retention, associated changes in total dissolved solids (TDS), turbidity and nutrients in the reservoir and discharged water; increased erosion/deposition of downstream sediments and associated contaminants. The case study of depleted rivers like Nechako, Peace and Churchill show severe fishery problems related to excessive summer water temperature due to reduced flow, slow channel

degradation, accumulation of river bed material, vegetation encroachment and clogging of secondary drains (Kellerhals 1987).

Though most of the inter-basin water transfer projects are situated in less populated region of Canada, they have affected aboriginal or first national peoples of Canada. The critical analysis of large inter-basin water transfer projects in Canada infers that much of the inter-basin water transfer projects were initiated before mid-1970s. The heretofore approach of resources management by Canadian government was based on institutional secrecy. The review of five projects, namely Long Lake, Ogoki, Nechako, Churchill and La Grande I (Day and Quinn 1992), reveals that secrecy was maintained while undertaking the planning of the projects. In none of such projects was there an opportunity for the interested public to voice opinion nor were there quasi-judicial institutions available to consider systematically the project assumptions, risks, biophysical impacts, economics and question of equity. In these projects, the affected communities were not informed of the changes in water regime which will affect the basic nature of development, possible environmental impact and the time frame for such changes. The newer inter-basin water transfer projects are La Grande (James Bay) Programme, Churchill-Nelson, Churchill Falls. They are of no exception and have no different patterns.

Day and Quinn (1992) in their case study on Churchill-Nelson diversion reveal that the project was completed in 1977. The Manitoba Hydro was licensed to undertake the diversion in 1972. The Churchill River Basin (250,000 km^2) covers three provinces, i.e. northern half of Alberta, Saskatchewan and Manitoba. The project with average diversion of 775 m^3/s of water from Churchill River at Southern Indian Lake (SIL) to Nelson River comprises 300 km of diversion channel consisting of Rat (35 times the normal flow), Burntwood (7 times the normal flow) and finally to Nelson rivers. Large changes were induced in the water regimes of the Churchill and Nelson rivers due to this diversion. The observed effects are heavy shoreline erosion from the created new shoreline of Southern Indian Lake from where the water is diverted by raising the existing lake by impounding the lake height to 3 m high, thereby increasing inundated area and shoreline. There was increase in mercury concentration in commercial fish and fall in fish catch soon after inundation. Enormous impacts have been observed in terms of geomorphological and fishery in created reservoirs, dewatered rivers, diversion channels and water-receiving bodies. Wildlife is affected due to changed water levels, and waterfowl is affected in reduced flow of Churchill where the ducks and geese found reduced area for breeding. The socio-economic change observed are social impacts like displacement of tribes and no consultation with local people and secretive approach followed by Manitoba Hydro. In this project, the Manitoba Hydro initially took the limited responsibility of repair and replacement of facilities that were directly affected by the diversion. Compensation for effects on fishing, trapping and transportation was the responsibility of the provisional government. Later as the province did not assume this responsibility, and the Manitoba Hydro was progressively forced to make ad hoc settlements with no proper planning for the problem. Power planning had totally dominated resources decision-making in diversion area. Long-term plans were not formulated for the use of other resources, and considerations of project effects on these aspects of the resource were conservative.

The study of the James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement (1975) reveals that it incorporated a number of opportunities for native communities to participate in and benefit from hydroelectric-related development; still, there was widespread opposition to James Bay II Dams and diversions in the Great Whale, Nottaway and Rupert rivers. Treating unjustly the communities could delay the construction process and drag the government to costly disputes leading to the situation of mistrust. The study also advocates for special attention to the native communities to comprehend the effects of diversion on the pace and direction of social change for them. The case study of Nechako-Kemano inter-basin transfer project by Alcan Aluminium Company for hydroelectric production to support smelting industry reveals that there were many trade-offs apart from power generation like flood reduction, submerging Tweedsmuir Park, deposit of huge volume of sediment in the Nechako, inundating homes and graveyards of local Indian community forcing them to settle in a destabilising life style in an unfamiliar way. Also, the flows to Kemano rivers across the drainage divide may have contributed positively to fish resources in that river, temporarily and also for some other species and growth of regional economy based nearby city Kitimat. There is also blame of fluoride emissions which has caused decimation of forest, damaging aquatic habitat and local workers health. Though the project is in operation for more than half a century, the absence of benchmark data on all affected rivers has bewildered efforts to understand and remedy induced changes which warrant for careful surveys of both hydrology and other biophysical ecosystems.

It can also be seen from studies of the Long Lake and Ogoki diversions, Churchill diversions, La Grande (James Bay) Programme (Day and Quinn 1992) that the benefits and losses narrated above are similar. Concern for protecting the commercial fishery in Lake Winnipeg from alien invasive species like gizzard shad and rainbow smelt is the main reason Canada and Manitoba insist that the Garrison Diversion in north Dakota and more recent variations of that project, not to divert water from the Missouri into the north flowing Red River (Kellow and Williamson 2001). This issue is most threatening in overcoming natural barriers that have existed for over thousand years, such as continental drainage divides (as in Garrison Example) or oceans separating continents. Eurasian sources now account for almost three quarters of the 160 alien species that have found their way into the great Lakes, mainly via ship ballast water, and the cost to water intake structures and native species is in billions of dollar (Schindler 2001).

From an environmental point of view, a number of inter-basin water transfer projects have been either suspended or dropped. Seagel (1987) reported the suspension of the McGregor Diversion Project in British Columbia, Canada, in 1978, primarily due to concern over the transfer of fish parasites from the Pacific to the Arctic drainage. The cases of Kootenay were also suspended on environmental grounds. Most recently, Canada has introduced legislation to protect the Great Lakes from bulk water withdrawal. Most of the provinces in Canada have joined the Canadian Heritage River System Programme which is a modest in the direction of protecting a representative sample of riverine corridor from further disturbance. This Programme

for French river in Ontario will be constraint in the potential inter-basin transfer route of Grand Canal from James Bay to Great Lakes (Day and Quinn 1992).

Emerging evidence on climate change indicates that the northern hemisphere is getting wetter, but some pockets of dry areas are likely to become even drier like Western Canada. On the other hand in Africa, desertification is advancing and flow rate in the existing rivers and lakes is becoming more varied. Areas of Southern Europe can also expect increasing water stress. Under these conditions, the issue of conservation of water has gained importance. Some water stress areas are looking for inter-basin water transfer, but these are unsound from the perspective of ecosystem health. At present, it is evident from literatures that Canada is heading towards a conflicting situation for bulk bottled water supply to Israel, also for some inter-basin water transfer such as those for Great lake to south of USA have the potential for future conflict. Inter-basin water transfer and potential for conflict can be avoided if there is in place a committed policy of water conservation in order to ensure ecosystem health. This is considered a priority issue in water resources management all over the globe.

Due to IBWT, the possible threats that are apprehended in Canada are adverse environmental impacts and climatic change and water exports. In response to this turn of events and continuing proposal to export water, the Government of Canada in 1999 announced a strategy based on environmental rather than trade grounds. The basins or watershed would become the geographical basis for preventing bulk water removals and proposed all provincial governments in Canada to legislate prohibition of bulk water removals from watersheds within the jurisdiction. Protecting water from its ecological integrity and its use at source, within natural than political boundaries, was initiated as defence against bulk water removal whether for use in Canada and elsewhere thus avoiding the discrimination that could bring international trade challenges. Despite reservations by some environmentalist and other interest about this strategy (Gleick et al. 2002), the federal and provincial governments now have laws, regulations and policies in place to prohibit bulk removal of freshwater, and they typically apply to watershed areas within their jurisdiction. Existing inter-basin transfers, however, are considered to be "grandfathered" and not subject to reversal, e.g. British Columbia's Water Protection Act in 1995 prohibits issuing new licence for bulk water removal and prohibits new projects to divert water between major watersheds.

8.5 The Indian Scenario

8.5.1 Interlinking of Rivers Programme

According to MOWR, Government of India (2016), the overall implementation of interlinking of rivers (ILR) programme which involves inter-basin water transfer, under National Perspective Plan, would give benefits of 35 million hectares of irriga-

tion, raising the ultimate irrigation potential from 140 million hectare to 175 million hectare and generation of 34,000 MW of hydropower, apart from the incidental benefits of flood control, navigation, water supply, fisheries, salinity and pollution control, ecological upgradation due to minimum flow guarantee in rivers, sizeable employment generation, increased tree farming and many other indirect benefits. Brahmaputra and Ganga, particularly their northern tributaries, Mahanadi, Godavari and west flowing rivers originating from the Western Ghats are found to be surplus in water resources. Storage reservoirs are proposed to be built on these rivers and connect them to other parts of the country by which regional imbalances could be reduced significantly. Overall there will be social upliftment with lot of benefits by way of additional irrigation, domestic and industrial water supply, hydropower generation, navigational facilities, etc. (Government of India, MOWR 1999).

8.6 Constitutional Provisions, Legal Framework and Institutional Arrangements

The Constitution of India lays down the legislative and functional jurisdiction of the Union and states. The constitutional provisions in respect of allocation of responsibilities between the state and centre fall into three categories: The Union List (List I), the State List (List II) and the Concurrent List (List III). Article 246 of the Constitution deals with subject matter of laws to be made by the Parliament and by Legislature of the States. Under the domain of the Constitution, "Water" is basically a state subject and the Union comes in only in the case of inter-state river waters. List II of the Seventh Schedule, dealing with subjects regarding which states have jurisdiction, has the following as Entry 17:

> Water, that is to say, water supplies, irrigation and canals, drainage and embankments, water storage and water power subject to the provisions of Entry 56 of List I. Entry 56 of List I (Union list), reads as follows: "Regulation and development of inter- state rivers and river valleys to the extent to which such regulation and development under the control of the Union, is declared by Parliament by law to be expedient in the public interest".

As most of the rivers in the country are inter-state, the regulation and development of waters of these rivers are a source of inter-state differences and disputes. Further under the provisions of Article 262 of Indian Constitution, the central legislation has enacted River Board Act 1956 and Interstate Water Dispute Act of 1956. In recent years, the Union has also enacted laws on environment to control pollution, which have effect on water use, including groundwater and its exploitation. A large number of acts deal with irrigation, canals and their maintenance, water rates and cess; command area development and maintenance of tanks are in force in each state. Some of these laws date back to the 1860s and 1870s. The constitutional and existing legal provisions do not specifically permit or prohibit the transfer of surplus water from one basin to a deficit basin. The issue had come up before Krishna Water Dispute Tribunal and Narmada Water Dispute Tribunal. The Krishna Water Dispute Tribunal

in the matter of inter-basin diversion within the state between Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh after reviewing petitions and based on international experience decided that (i) the diversion of water outside the river basin by a state is legally valid, (ii) needs for diversion are relevant to equitable allocation and (iii) however, more weightage should be given to intra-basin use. In this perspective, the National Commission for Integrated Water Resources Development has felt the need for institutional arrangements with requisite legal backing at Union level for making the states to come together for paving the way for inter-state inter-basin sharing of water by mutual agreement based on scientific studies (MOWR 1999). Government of India (2002) in its National Water Policy indicates that water should be made available to water short areas by transfer from other areas including inter-basin transfer based on a national perspective.

Long-distance diversions of water in India are not a new concept and have been in practice in India over five centuries. These projects have been highly beneficial and with claims that these have not resulted in any significant negative environmental damage. Such inter-basin water transfer projects which are existing for the overall development of the respective regions are Periyar Project, Parambikulam Aliyar, Kurnool Cuddapah Canal, Telugu Ganga Project, Ravi-Beas-Sutlej-Indira Gandhi Nahar Project and the most recent are Sardar Sarovar Project, Upper Indravati Irrigation Project. These projects brought about all-round socio-economic growth with overall enhancement in the ecology and environment of the region some even irrigating the areas of Thar Desert. These projects not only provide irrigation or produce hydroelectricity but also are transferring surplus waters to scarce area like Tamil Nadu, and Rajasthan right up to Jaisalmer and Barmer desert area. These projects are eliminating drought conditions, providing power benefits; that are shared by the regional grids, transformed desert waste land into an agriculturally productive area by bringing irrigation and vegetation. Canal water is also available for meeting domestic needs. There are also reports from new inter-basin water transfer projects like Indravati a subcatchment of Godavari contributing to Mahanadi, where there are evidences of inundation of additional area and triggering of landslides, channel scouring as well as increase in breaches many fold on river Hati carrying additional water diverted from river Indravati.

8.6.1 The Proposed Interlinking River Project

The National Perspective Plan envisages to link 37 rivers to resolve water crisis in India and consists of two components with thirty links. The Peninsular Rivers Development Component has 16 probable links, namely Mahanadi–Godavari, Inchampalli–Nagarjunasagar, Inchampalli Low Dam–Nagarjunasagar Tail Pond, Polavaram–Vijayawada, Almatti–Pennar, Srisailam–Pennar, Nagarjunasagar–Somasila, Somasila–Grand Anicut, Kattalai–Vaigai–Gundar, Pamba–Achankovil—Vaippar, Netravati–Hemavati, Bedti–Varada, Damanganga–Pinjal, Par–Tapi–Narmada, Ken–Betwa, and Parbati–Kalisindh–Chambal. This component has got 27

major dams, and 4,777 km of canals inclusive of 94 km tunnels and water lifting provisions to divert 1,41,288 M cum of water and will generate 4,000 MW of hydroelectricity.

Similarly, Himalayan Component has fourteen links namely Manas–Sankosh–Tista Ganga, Jogoghopa–Tista–Farraka, Ganga–Damodar–Subarnarekha, Subarnarekha–Mahanadi, Farakka–Sunderban, Gandak–Ganga, Ghaghara–Yamuna, Sarda–Yamuna, Yamuna–Rajasthan, Rajasthan–Sabarmati, Chunnar–Sone Barrage, Sone dam–southern tributaries of Ganga, Kosi–Ghaghara and Kosi–Mechi. The features of these components are nine major dams, 6,090 km of canals which will divert 32,983 M cum of water and generate 30,000 MW of hydroelectricity.

8.6.2 Feasibility Study on Interlinking of Rivers

For each of the 30 links under both Himalayan Rivers and Peninsular Rivers Development Components, studies were undertaken sequentially, i.e. pre-feasibility study followed by feasibility study. The study was conducted by National Water Development Agency (NWDA). In this study, review of all the pre-feasibility studies and feasibility reports of 14 links under Peninsular Component and 2 links (Indian portion) under Himalayan Component (MOWR 2016) has been made.

These studies deal with both technical aspects and environmental issues. It is observed in the proposals that the water transfer links are aligned so as to cover the maximum area to be benefited, shortest possible path, minimizing the need of lifting of water, cost of earthworks, land acquisition and cross drainage works, etc. It is observed that many environmental issues like submergence of forests and cultivated habitations, rehabilitation and resettlement of people and other related issues are not properly addressed. In this context, it is claimed that all care has been taken while preparing the feasibility reports of various links, to adopt appropriate and adequate compensations, rehabilitation and resettlement packages to the affected population, afforestation, etc. Except for one or two, the detailed project reports are yet to be prepared where the elaborate Environmental Impact Assessment will be done and proper Environmental Management and Rehabilitation and Resettlement Plan for project-affected people will be evolved and provided for.

8.7 Analysis on Proposed Interlinking of Indian Rivers

In the meanwhile in India, a good number of analytical studies, critiques and apprehensions are coming up in different manner. Some of which are D'Souza (2003), Vaidyanathan (2003), Rath (2003), views of eminent personalities in India Today: Aiyar (2003), Bandyopadhyay and Perveen (2003), Gupta and Deshpande (2004), Prasad (2004) which relates to hydrology of the river basins, Agricultural Productivity and Food Security, Environment and Ecology, Socio-Economics and Finance, Cul-

ture and heritage, Conflicts and Politics, Technology and knowledge Gap and ethics of implementers and stakeholders. Some studies seek transparent techno-economic and environmental feasibility study and comparison with other alternative options before giving final approval to the interlinking Indian rivers project.

According to D'Souza (2003), the plan for interlinking rivers is based on the simple and deeply flawed belief that rivers have surplus water and that flood and droughts can be banished by technical solutions alone. Moreover, this doctrine is based on a supply-side approach ignoring the complexities inherent in the river ecosystem.

Vaidyanathan (2003) examined and raised questions on the aspects of utilizable resources and projected utilization, irrigated area, net irrigation requirement, gross irrigation requirement, irrigation efficiency, issues relating to modalities of transfer, etc. In this context, he advocates for a careful, detailed and objective review of conceptual, technical, environmental and economics of the proposed plan by independent experts and public discussion of issues before launching and implementation of the project.

Prasad (2004) views steps taken so far for interlinking rivers as a popular and populist measure which further warrants a comprehensive examination and analysis. Further, it is imperative on the part of government to make it transparent before it is committed intellectually, financially, legally and otherwise to such a giant endeavour like interlinking of Indian rivers.

According to Biswas and Tortojada (2001) as almost all developing countries are located in tropical and semi-tropical regions, particularly monsoon countries, namely India, Bangladesh, Pakistan and Sri Lanka where seasonal rainfall patterns are pronounced simply have no choice but to build large dams to store water to ensure their increasing urban population has access to water for drinking, agriculture, industrial and energy development and for ecosystem conservation. Small dams, watershed management and rainwater harvesting will work in some of the areas to overcome certain situations, where population is dispersed and there is reasonable amount of rainfall. Situation analysis of developed countries indicates that these countries are mostly in temperate regions where precipitation is more evenly distributed over the year. Moreover, the economies of these countries are no longer dependant on water. Flood and drought are temporary inconvenience for these people as they have sufficient infrastructure to overcome such situation. Therefore, in the context of India, which is a predominantly agrarian tropical country the issue of inter-basin water transfer has assumed paramount importance to trigger agricultural development with regional equity.

A review of the methodology used for the assessment of surface water availability for each transfer in the hydrological and environmental sections of the feasibility reports of ILR (Smakhtin et al. 2007) illustrates the potential environmental impacts of the transfers in the deltas of the Godavari and Krishna rivers, but has not considered the variability of flow within a year, which is high in monsoon-driven Indian rivers. As a result, much more water may be perceived to be originally available at the site of transfer. The use of alternative techniques, such as a low-flow spell analysis and a storage-yield analysis, to re-evaluate the availability of the surface water at proposed transfer sites is advocated. It is shown that water transfer planning is based

on the maximum projections for future irrigation adopted by each state which falls within each river basin. This boosts irrigation requirements and serves as the driver for future water resources development. It is emphasized that environmental water demand needs to be calculated (using the desktop technique developed earlier) and explicitly included at the planning stage—similar to the demands of other sectors. This "contingency" demand would reserve some water for environmental use in the future, while more detailed national approaches for environmental flow assessment are being developed. Environmental impacts of reduced water and sediment inflows to the Godavari and Krishna deltas were examined in the context of the most downstream link from the Godavari (Polavaram) to the Krishna (Vijayawada). It is shown that the Krishna Delta has retreated noticeably during the last 25 years. Environmental flows need to be provided to at least delay this "shrinkage" which threatens agricultural production and mangrove ecosystems.

According to Balasubramanian (2013), there is essentially a need to look at every option by which the water problems of India can be solved in an economically efficient and ecologically sustainable manner. According to him, the alternate solutions to interlinking are many. Some of them are proper management of the existing water systems in an efficient manner and by saving rainwater irrigation can be provided. Ancient water saving mechanisms and storing techniques can fetch more water. Sprinklers and other water saving mechanisms can be put in place for efficient irrigation. It has also been suggested that instead of interlinking of rivers, virtual water can be used. Simply put, virtual water is like the concept of exchange of goods and services. For instance, when a country imports one tonne of wheat instead of producing it domestically, it is saving about 1,300 m^3 of the local water. If one location has water scarcity, the local water can be saved and used for other purposes. In the case of river linking, experts suggest that instead of merging rivers, investing money, and playing with the natural cycle of the river, food grains can be transported to the needy areas. The concept of virtual water can be one of the alternatives to river linking. Without exhausting the options for so many alternatives, why should one opt for river linking without knowing its consequences?

An examination from 1950s to the early 1970s (Shady 1999) reveals that there was a global surge in irrigation development where irrigation was the leading factor in bringing about green revolution, thereby putting an end to the mass starvation in the world. At present, irrigation is practised on more than 250 million ha, and this represents 17% of the worlds cultivated land. These irrigated lands produce about 40% of the agriculture output and employ directly or indirectly more than 2 billion rural people who are mainly small and subsistence farmers. From the past studies, it is evident that dams, diversions and inter-basin water transfer project are essential from the point of view of prolonged drought and flood situation, hydropower generation and conservation of ecology in some of the regions. Moreover, the future perspective in relation to the programme for checking population growth in developing countries like India indicates that the population growth will continue to increase. The per capita demand for water will increase from the current low levels owing to increased economic development. Further agricultural, industrial, energy domestic and environmental sector will require their fair share of water. Some of this additional

water will be available from the alternatives like demand management—efficient use, recycling and reuse of municipal and industrial wastewater, utilizing increased return flow from irrigation, proper pricing, etc., conservation of water through rainwater harvesting and groundwater recharging, seawater desalination, etc. But in most cases, this will not be adequate.

With all the above pros and cons and apprehensions, there was a Writ Petition in the Supreme Court of India in 2002 related to ILR project. The Supreme Court of Government of India in its judgement on 27/02/2012 related to Networking of Rivers WP (C) 512 of 2002 and WP (C) 668 of 2002 adjudicated that the scheme is divided into four major parts: (1) interlinking of Mahanadi–Godavari–Krishna–Cauvery rivers and building storages at potential sites in these basins, (2) interlinking of west flowing rivers north of Bombay and south of Tapi, (3) interlinking of rivers Ken and Chambal and (4) diversion of other west flowing rivers from Kerala. Considering the response affidavits of ten states, as remaining states have not responded, despite the grant of repeated opportunities to do so, it is noted that the states of Rajasthan, Gujarat and Tamil Nadu have supported the concept of interlinking of rivers, the state of Madhya Pradesh had stated that ILR is a subject falling under the jurisdiction of the Central Government and the Central Government should consider the matter. The states of Karnataka, Bihar, Punjab, Assam and Sikkim have given their approval to the concept in principle, but with definite reservations, with regard to the environmental and financial implications, socio-economic and international aspects, such as inter-basin water transfer, and the need to be properly examined at the appropriate levels of the government. For example, all the rivers in Bihar originate from Nepal and it may require consent of neighbouring countries and is a matter which would require consideration of the appropriate authority in the Central Government. According to the state of Punjab, interlinking of rivers should be started only from water-surplus states to states facing water deficit. The states of Assam, Sikkim and Kerala had raised their protests on the grounds that they should have exclusive right to use their water resources and that such transfer should not affect any rights of these states. The state of Sikkim was concerned with particular reference to tapping of the hydropower potential in the state and the state of Kerala entirely objected to long-distance, inter-basin, water transfer.

The report of National Council for Applied Economic Research (NCAER) was considered by the Supreme Court, which indicated that interlinking of river projects will prove fruitful for the nation as a whole and would serve a greater purpose for higher returns from the agricultural sector for the benefit of the entire economy and also it would provide varied benefits like control of floods, providing water to drought-prone states, providing water to a larger part of agricultural land and even power generation. Besides providing benefits to the country, it will also help the countries like Nepal, thereby elevating India's international role. Importantly, they also point out to a very important facet of interlinking of rivers, i.e., it may result in reduction in some diseases due to the supply of safe drinking water and thus serve a greater purpose for humanity.

Based on the facts available on the planning, acquisition, financing, pricing, civil construction, and environmental issues involved, policy decisions affecting the leg-

islative competence would squarely fall in the domain of the government of states and centre. The judgement of Apex Court denied saying ILR should not be completed and recommended that these projects are in the national interest, as view of all experts, most state governments, and particularly, the Central Government are unanimous. It also noted that the Court may not be a very appropriate forum for planning and implementation of such a programme having wide national dimensions and ramifications. It will not only be desirable, but also inevitable that an appropriate body should be created to plan, construct and implement this interlinking of rivers programme for the benefit of the nation as a whole (Apex Court Judgement Para 62). As large sums have been spent on preparation of initial and detailed project reports of the project "Ken-Betwa Project" and the DPR is ready also the states of Madhya Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh along with the Central Government had already given their approval and consent. Apex Court directs the Committee to take up this project for the implementation at the first instance itself and also noted for fixing a reasonable time frame and cost for execution of the ILR project for its effectiveness considering report by NCAER. Freedom is also given not to involve those states which have sufficient water at the initial stages, and also for states which are not substantially involved in any interlinking of river programme and the projects can be completed without their effective participation. The Committee may involve any state for effective completion of the programme at any subsequent stage. Based on the directives of Supreme Court, the MOWR is expediting the implementation process for timely completion of the projects and steps are being taken. The interlinking of rivers will continue, but at the same time, the shortfall in respect of various aspects which the Supreme Court has remained silent and left over to the experts need to be reviewed and measures are to be taken to see the dreams come true with minimum adverse effect and maximum advantage to society as a whole.

8.8 Progress of ILR

As seen from MOWR (2016), Government of India has set up a Special Committee for ILR based on Directives of Apex Court of India. The Committee will consider the views of all the stakeholders, for proceeding ahead to expedite the objectives of the interlinking of rivers as per terms of reference. Steps have been taken up for generating consensus with development of alternative plans and also setting out road maps for implementation of mature projects. Further four specific subcommittees have been constituted for comprehensive evaluation of various studies/reports, identifications of most appropriate alternate plan, consensus building through negotiations and arriving at agreement between concerned states and restructuring of National Water Development Agency.

A Task Force for ILR has been constituted by the Ministry in April, 2015 which also meets the requirement of Committee of experts as directed by the Cabinet while approving the constitution of Special Committee. A Group on Intra-State River links has been constituted by MOWR, RD & GR in March 2015. The Group has reviewed

all relevant issues on intra-state river links including the definition of such link and the funding of intra-state river link projects. Ken-Betwa link project has been declared as National Project by the Government of India and various clearances such as EIA, CAT, FAR for Ken–Betwa link project are in the advance stages and the Government will start implementing this National Project as model link project of ILR programme after the statutory clearances.

The DPR of Damanganga–Pinjal link, Par–Tapi–Narmada Link was completed and needs modification and approval if any. Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) on water sharing between Gujarat and Maharashtra for Damanganga–Pinjal and Par–Tapi–Narmada link project is also awaited. Mahanadi–Godavari link is the first and critical link of nine link system of Mahanadi–Godavari–Krishna–Pennar–Cauvery–Vaigai–Gundar under Peninsular Component of NPP. The Government of Odisha has its reservation for the Mahanadi (Manibhadra)–Godavari (Dowlaiswaram) link due to large submergence involved in Manibhadra dam proposed under the link project. As such the feasibility of Mahanadi–Godavari link is further examined to address concerns of Government of Odisha due to considerable submergence involved in Manibhadra Dam and this has to be studied by National Institute of Hydrology.

Manas–Sankosh–Teesta–Ganga (MSTG) link envisages diversion of 43 BCM of surplus water of Manas, Sankosh and intermediate rivers, for augmenting the flow of Ganga and after the pre-feasibility report (PFR), the feasibility report (FR) is under revision for alternate alignment studies avoiding various reserved forests like Manas Tiger Reserve, Buxa Tiger Reserve with 80 m lifting of water.

For obtaining a pre-conducive environment of ILR, some intra-state links are taken up as a first step and for these 46 proposals of intra-state links from nine states, viz. Maharashtra, Gujarat, Jharkhand, Orissa, Bihar, Rajasthan, Tamil Nadu, Karnataka and Chhattisgarh have been received and for most of the projects PFRs have been completed and the Detailed Project Report of Burhi Gandak–Noon–Baya–Ganga link is under technical appraisal in CWC. DPRs of Ponnaiyar–Palar link (Tamil Nadu), Wainganga (Gosikhurd)–Nalganga (Purna Tapi) link (Maharashtra) are under progress.

In addition to ILR undoubtedly, MOWR Government of India has taken the right initiatives by way of Jal Kranti Yojana which are contributing activities to demand management but not an optimal demand management process and the components of this Yojana are

1. Jal Gram Yojana,
2. Development of Model Command Area,
3. Pollution abatement,
4. Mass Awareness Programme,
5. Other Activities.

8.9 The International Vision

The proceedings of the inter-basin water transfer (IBWT) Workshop by UNESCO in 1999 (UNESCO 1999) reflects the negative public sentiment concerning IBWT but is not viewed as adequate reason to consider IBWT as a generally unacceptable option. A clear consensus emerged in favour of a thorough assessment of social and environmental impacts prior to implementation of IBWT proposals as a result of its potential to produce unintended adverse effects. It was also agreed that IBWT should continue to be considered as an alternative for addressing imbalances in water supply and demand when conducted as part of a sustainable development policy. Another concept widely supported by workshop participants is the need for equitable sharing of IBWT benefits among areas of transfer origination and areas of water delivery.

The general appreciation was that technical problems are seldom the limiting factor to IBWT, and IBWT projects must not be disapproved in advance on account of the mere fact of water transfer without considering its utility as other water management infrastructure system component. Requirements for new infrastructure, including IBWT solutions, can be eased by water demand management; yet, such measures must be viewed in their complexity, considering social and political impacts, where economy is not always the determining factor. Environmental Assessment (EA), economic and social progress, and ethical goals need to be accepted as a step in the evaluation of any major infrastructure project, including IBWT projects. In the process of implementation of inter-basin water transfer project or linking rivers the following perceptions (UNESCO 1999) concerning issues related to shared water resource, sustainability, inter-basin solidarity, inter-generation solidarity, institutional solutions, the political dimension, implications for aquatic ecosystem should be taken into consideration.

According to Cox (1999) in the decision-making of IWBT, social, environmental, cultural, emotional, ethical and aesthetic values are increasingly interfering in addition to economical and technical feasibility. IBWT projects may efficiently be supported by modelling tools for multi-criteria decision-making of different kinds, by which there is a possibility to assess uncertainty and estimate the value of social and economical criteria. Professional analyses should support the decision-making process and provide unbiased information to the decision-makers and the general public. However, the ultimate decision in complex matters like IBWT is political. The five criteria proposed by Cox for justifying or rejecting IBWT projects are as follows:

1. The receiving area must face a substantial deficit in meeting present or projected future water demands that cannot be fulfilled by other reasonable measures.
2. Water resources of the area of origin must be adequate, and any loss must be compensated, using the word in its broad sense, meaning any value which would make the transfer acceptable, and not just vending of water.
3. Substantial environmental damage should not occur in either area.
4. No substantial sociocultural disruption should result in either area, including even emotional and religious motivations.

5. The benefits of the IBWT should be equitably shared between the area of delivery and area of origin.

New water resources infrastructures development and inter-basin water transfer will be necessary to overcome water shortfall in certain basin. It is equally evident that the development of such inter-basin water resources project is strongly opposed by a certain group of researchers or activists for some reasons that may be categorized either or any combination from among right views or their own doctrinaire views. A multidisciplinary water resource profession must consider carefully all the views expressed, irrespective of whether they are against or for the development projects, and the reason thereof. If the issues raised are valid, the same must be addressed promptly, courteously and in a timely manner. Some critiques seek that before the conventional reliance upon trans-basin diversions as a response to shortage, it is urged that importing water from distant watersheds lulls growing communities into a false sense of security, subsidizes unsustainable growth, and exacts significant social economic and environmental costs.

8.10 Lessons for India

Till now in no case an evaluation of consequences for all the resources and resource users in an area of ILR to be affected by water transfer has been undertaken, and trade-offs made among them, in deciding whether or not to divert water. Biophysical change and costs of adaptation, mitigation and compensation have always been considered as insignificant details to be resolved after projects are approved. The issues of sustainability of interacting environmental components and human populations depending on them have invariably been ignored. These areas require serious attention in taking up future projects. In the case of interlinking Indian rivers, which is technically possible with acceptable environmental impacts, several issues and apprehensions remain to be addressed. These issues need to be addressed for which strengthening of scientific knowledge is required. India would need to conduct post audits of the existing inter-basin water transfer projects with more support from academics and researchers to gather large amount of information and experience that will be certainly useful in guiding interlinking the Indian rivers project.

The rivers of India are situated in different eco-regions with varied and complex ecosystem. Their interlinking will pose ecological damage, threat and risk of pest, diseases and genetic loss of flora and fauna, especially when the Himalayan rivers will interlink with Peninsular rivers (e.g. Ganga River with Mahanadi and further down). This needs to be addressed by conducting different potential protective measures such as electronic barrier or mesh or any other affordable filtering technology which will filter the flora and fauna of donating basin flowing down to receiving basin. There should be detailed impact study on different aquatic species and varieties of fish, prawn, crab, alligators, dolphins and other aquatic flora and fauna.

The need for long-term monitoring is particularly important with respect to social impacts, not only to understand the mechanism of climate change but also for adaptive management and mitigation of impacts. India would need to improve climate-forecast scenarios, for the magnitude and variation in precipitation. Knowledge is needed about water balances in altered landscapes and sediment processes and how to down-scale global models for use in hydrological and ecological models (Das 2005, 2006). Nevertheless, climate prediction, a comparatively newer science, faces some difficulties caused by uncertainties of the natural system. Also, the results of different Global Climate Models (GCMs) are considerably not the same for a specific area on various socio-economic and ecological grounds for which more research is supposed to be helpful in water resource management. A range of climate scenarios and GCMs should be constructed to capture a desirable part of the uncertainty space designing for coping mechanism related to water management. Better understanding is required of interactions between hydrological process and biogeochemical responses, particularly with respect to interaction with acid deposition and reduction process, dissolved organic carbon cycling, UV penetration, contaminant (mercury) transport, introduction of non-native biota and bioaccumulation and nutrient cycling; effect of altered water quantity/quality on ecosystem structure and function, and interaction between changing hydrologic regimes and aquatic habitat quality. Instrumented basins should be established in key regions, and an Indian Hydro-Ecology Research Network needs to be established to coordinate and facilitate multidisciplinary research assessing the effect of climatic variation on water quality. Further ILR project would need to include detailed multiple resources use planning with integration of components under economic and regional development like forestry, mining, fisheries, tourism, expansion of industries based on the infrastructures such as water availability, communication and transportation facilities like roads, hydroelectricity created under this programme. Agreements between regional development authorities, state and Union should include scopes to integrate economic and social development planning for native or indigenous people and their participation. It is essential to assess the environmental flow requirements with reliable models that need to be provided to at least delay the "shrinking of deltas" which threatens agricultural production and mangrove ecosystems.

Further, the observations of Supreme Court of India on the recommendations of the National Commission for Review of the Working of the Constitution (NCRWC) 2002 regarding the important facet of river interlinking, i.e. sharing of river waters with Doctrine of Riparian Rights, Doctrine of Prior Appropriation, Territorial Integrity Theory, Doctrine of Territorial Sovereignty, English Common Law Principle of Riparian Right, Doctrine of Community Interest, Doctrine of Equitable Apportionment, the existing agreements, judicial decisions, awards and customs that already exist need to be considered. Furthermore, as directed by Supreme Court of India in 2012, the relative economic and social needs of interested states, volume of stream and its uses, land not watered are other relevant considerations that need to be studied with institutional arrangements by the expert bodies and their impact on the project for remedial measures.

8.11 Conclusion

In this paper, critical analysis of Canadian experience with regard to inter-basin water transfer focusing the issues of assessment, adaptive management and mitigation of environmental and social impacts, provisions in the Federal Water Policy, Water Acts and recent government initiatives has been made. Canada has a long history of undertaking inter-basin water transfer projects mostly for hydropower generation. The benefits of some such projects are claimed to be real, substantial and wide ranging with a long-term biological and socio-economic cost. But many studies have recorded the adverse environmental impacts of such projects such as thermal stratification, earthquakes induced in nearby areas due to crustal stresses caused during and after filling of large artificial reservoirs, greenhouse gas emissions within the reservoirs and modification of downstream water temperatures; eutrophication; promotion of anoxic conditions in hypolimnetic water and related changes in metal concentrations in outflow, increased concentration of mercury in fish mass, increased erosion/deposition of downstream sediments and associated contaminants, intermixing of alien invasive aquatic species. Further in some projects, many aboriginals or First Peoples of Canada have been displaced from their native places and they resent the construction of such projects. Therefore, it is stressed that public views should be taken into account while deciding on investment in inter-basin water transfer projects, so that proactive measures can be taken to minimize the adverse environmental and socio-economic impacts. As a matter of fact, Canada is currently adopting a very cautious approach on bulk transfer of water. Recently, many inter-basin water transfer projects have been either suspended or dropped for the purpose of long-term conservation of water based on the natural boundary of water in the basin of origin. Further, as climate prediction is a newer science, it faces complexity caused by uncertainties of the natural system. The results of different GCMs are considerably not the same for a specific area on various socio-economic and ecological grounds for which more research will be helpful in water resource management. A range of climate scenarios and GCMs should be constructed to capture a desirable part of the uncertainty space.

In this study, the Indian proposals are also examined to a certain extent. This study tries to suggest some gaps in the socio-economic and ecological arena and steps that would need use of multi model projection to predict downstream impacts of the ILR plans under current and future climate change projections with appropriate downscaling of GCMs and also reduce the future negative impacts and help in securing sustainable environment in the linking of the Indian rivers. Although by and large, this article recognizes the need for ILR but advocates for states for a slow and detailed study reliance upon proposed large-scale transfers and suggests for alternative paradigm to communities that could achieve water independence by exhausting various options of demand-side management approaches and by nourishing the living rivers essential to both human and natural ecosystems and keep last option for ILR for either or any of the combination among drinking water supply both urban and rural, irrigation, hydropower generation, industry, environmental improvements, navigation and overall growth.

On the whole, the present research work has tried to shed light on the issues related to Canadian water policy perspective, government action in assessing environmental impact of inter-basin water transfer projects in recent years for sustainable water environment. In this study, suggestions are made for taking future steps in implementing the capital-intensive mega-proposal of interlinking Indian rivers considering the national water policy framework, constitutional provisions and socio-political as well as legal environment aiming at securing greater economic and regional development with integration of components of multiple resources use planning with ethics of proactive ecology and also adopting appropriate proactive measures.

As the study is from the support in the past by Shastri Indo-Canadian Institute for Educational and Research Collaboration between Canada and India, it can be said it has rightly grown, especially in the past two decades and in the canvas of research in specific disciplines of Social Sciences, Arts and Humanities, natural sciences, Engineering and Applied Sciences, etc., and has further scope for educational and research collaboration between Canada and India as explained in this paper in the direction of promoting partnerships in resources sharing and knowledge production in the field of engineering, and interdisciplinary subjects of engineering and social sciences for environmental sustainability and mitigating and coping climate change including current technological interventions like ILR.

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Chapter 9
Foreign Policy of Canada vis-à-vis India under Stephen Harper: From Cold Storage to Warmth of Billion-Dollar Trade

K. Mansi

The Prime Minister Shri. Narendra Modi's visit to Canada in 2015 has been hailed as a first standalone bilateral visit since 1973. The visit came to mark a strategic bilateral visit between Canadian Prime Minister just before the federal elections and the newly elected Indian Prime Minister, the first by an Indian Prime Minister in over forty years, after "peaceful" nuclear explosion in 1974. The visit generated business worth more than 1.6 billion Canadian dollars, according to official figures released by the Harper government. In addition, a contract between Canada's Cameco Inc. with the Department of Atomic Energy (DAE) was also signed, which will see Canada supply India with over seven million pounds of uranium over the next five years. Moreover, the two Prime Ministers, Harper and Modi, agreed to intensify discussions to finalize negotiation on Bilateral Foreign Investment Promotion and Protection Agreement to provide conducive environment in bilateral trade and investment.

The progress being made in the Canada–India bilateral relations may seem just like any bilateral trade relations to most of the young population in both the countries who have dim memories of 1998 Pokhran tests by India under the leadership of Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee (leave aside 1974 nuclear test during Prime Minister Indira Gandhi) when Canada suspended nuclear cooperation with India. Although the two countries never cut off relations completely, a distinct chill in the bilateral relations cannot be ignored. The freeze only truly began to thaw after the Conservative government under Stephen Harper began to actively seek new trading opportunities with India as symbolized by his own visit to the country in 2006, the year he came to power for the first time. The historical evaluation of Canada–India relations can be said to be topsy-turvy. None of Canada's bilateral relations with any country has been so tumultuous as that with India. If Canada–India relationship has seen halcyon days of 1940s and 1950s, it has also witnessed the roughness of the fundamental divergences over Cold War—Canada siding more with United States

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and India seemingly more sympathetic towards Soviets. The incompatible interests over Kashmir issue, the operation of Indo-China Control Commission and Suez crisis all have added fuel to the fire. The relationship between the two countries reached its nadir following the first nuclear test, *Laughing Budhha*, conducted in 1974 by India which allegedly used Canadian uranium and hence violated the agreement between two countries.

Throughout 1980s and into early 1990s, the two countries lived with their benign indifference towards each other although immigration kept them connected culturally but not involved politically. Sour memories of the diverging views, incompatible interests and mutual mistrust corroded ties between Ottawa and New Delhi, and it lingered on for almost three decades. It was only in the late decade of 1990s that the Canadian Government started the efforts to bring a desired improvement in bilateral economic and political relationship between the two countries. This initiative was the result of economic reforms initiated by the Indian government which forced the world to have a fresh look at this country, which was all set to become one of the fastest growing economies in Asia.

Since then, there has been a continuous attempt by both the countries to engage economically, as evident from a number of bilateral visits at the political levels like team Canada under Prime Minister Chretien and Prime Minister Paul Martin. The trade between two countries increased manifolds within a decade from 1992 to 2003, wherein India's export to Canada increased fivefold. The attempts to re-engage with India have been there since the end of Cold War but they got a big push under the Conservative government of Stephen Harper who first came to power in 2006. Since the election of the Harper government, Canada–India relations have gone from "frozen to red hot". However, these improvements took time to evolve and it was not before the second term of Harper as Prime Minister that Canada embraced coherent policy towards India. The review of first two years of Harper's term as Prime Minister saw his government rhetorically recognizing India's importance, but doing very little to develop or articulate a clear India-specific plan of action. The present article seeks to explore this change in Canadian attitude vis-à-vis India under the premiership of Stephen Harper. The article revolves around two core arguments: firstly, there has been a shift in Canadian international policy and its perceived position in the international system under Stephen Harper. Once the country which was well associated with liberal internationalism under Harper, Canada has its strand of neo-conservatism which revolves around economic diplomacy over other forms of conventional diplomacy. Secondly, Harper is out to make Conservative party the natural ruling party of Canada. Hence, he needs to woo voters, especially voters from the ethnic community. The ballot box politics, hence, encouraged Harper to engage more with India as Canada has a big Indian Diaspora base.

The first section of this article presents an overview of Canada–India relations. In this section, Canada–India relations are analysed through three phases: a period of special relationship, benign ignorance and re-engagement. The second section deals with shifts in Canadian international policy since 2006, i.e. under Stephen Harper. This section finds out factors responsible for this shift and how this shift has impacted Canada–India relations. The final section of the article explores the possible roadmap

for further cooperation. It tries to find out the potential areas where the two countries can collaborate and work together.

9.1 Canada–India Relations: Journey Since the End of World War II

Canada's formal relationship with India can be traced back to imperial military operations during WWII under the aegis of British Empire when both the countries participated in war against Axis power. The immediate post-war period saw India getting independence from Britain in 1947. It was at this point in time that Canada first recognized India as "major power of Asia[1]" and realized the similarities between these countries—so far off in geographical terms yet having so much in common. Canada shares with India a common colonial past, a democratic federal structure and multicultural and multiethnic social composition which "seemed to make it an ideal partner in Asian Cold War" (Donaghy 2007) and Canada pursued a closed and cordial relations with India. The perceived mutual trust and acceptance of new world order made both the countries to participate, cooperate and nurture a "special relationship".

9.2 Courting the "Special Relationship"

The Indo-Canadian relationship of the late 1940s and early 1950s has been hailed by some scholars as the "Golden period" in bilateral relations. For Escott Reid (1981), the Canada's High Commissioner in India from 1952 to 1957, it was a period of "special relationship". The early relationship between the two countries, as Louis Delvoie (1998) puts, was shaped by a number of "shared interests, concerns and perspective". He underlines that given the new reality of international system, both the countries wanted to foster new places for themselves in international community. The Indian state wanted to foster its identity and role as the world's largest democracy and independent Asian power. For Canada, it was breaking free of an isolationist tradition and taking advantage of stature it acquired at in persecution of WWII. It should be noted here that Canada emerged very strongly in economic terms and hence it also wanted to cash the strength politically in international system as compared to war-torn Europe. And most importantly, the support for democratic India, as during the creation of intercontinental and multiracial group of Commonwealth of Nations, allowed Canada "a semblance of autonomy in its foreign policy, enabled Ottawa to reach out towards other emerging Afro-Asian nations, provided a sense of distance from dominant voice of united states within the Atlantic Alliance, and fostered a belief that Canada would be an 'honest broker' in world affairs" (Delvoie 1998: 52).

This may further be attributed to the fact that the two countries shared an identity of perceptions on the need to enhance relations between Asia and West, foster

[1] W.M. Dobell quoted in Rubinoff.

Third-World development and promote multilateral organization (Rubinoff 2002). As China chose communism, India was the obvious choice and Canada found India a "likeminded" country in Asia with which it can promote and pursue its goals as middle power. This goodwill and initial bilateral relations were further strengthened by personal rapport of leaders at that time. The Prime Minister of Canada Louis St. Laurent and Lester B Pearson had cordial personal rapport with the Prime Minister of India Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru. The emergence of Cold War too played a major role to bring these two countries together. In the wake of deepening East–West divide, it was needed to maintain a neutral stand and not be identified with any extreme end if Canada and India wanted to have independent foreign policy and play a mediatory role in this ideological conflict. It was required in order to avoid any major break out, such as the nuclear war.

Canada found Nehru's India under the aegis of Non Aligned Movement (NAM) leading a neutral world and hence thought relations with India could be useful to avoid any unwarranted situation between East–West divide, help to curtail Soviet expansion in Asia and also neutralize the communist China. By the mid-1950s, Canada–India relations involved in real partnership as Canada development aid under Colombo Plan (1950), which started first as "mutual empathy and shared political interest, began progressively to take on concrete expressions in the form of locomotive and hospital, hydro and nuclear power stations, irrigation and agricultural schemes, as well as steady flow of experts, teachers and students in both direction" (Delvoie 1998: 52).

But everything was not as harmonious and cordial as it seems. According to a few scholars, the relations were cordial but not deep. Ryan M. Touhey in his book *Conflicting Visions: Canada and India in the Cold War World, 1946–1976* points out that the Canada–India "courtship" in the late 1940s and 1950s produced a veneer of closeness, but lacked a solid foundation of mutual interests. According to him, the two countries diverged on a number of key issues in the late 1950s and 1960s, particularly at the fractious International Commission for Supervision and Control in Vietnam, Korean war, Soviet aggression in Hungary, Suez crisis and a few more. The Cold War did bring them together initially but as it advanced, Canada became more in sync with American position and India inclined more towards Soviet, especially during the late 1960s when Indira Gandhi "progressively abandoned NAM" resulting in 1971 Treaty of Peace, Friendship and cooperation with USSR. It deeply intensified India's bilateral trade relations with Russia and infuriated West leaders, including Canada which saw it as detrimental to its economic and security interests.

They also clashed repeatedly over the issue of nuclear safeguards and India's decision not to sign the Non-Proliferation Treaty in 1968, even as Canada supplied reactors and fuel to India. Officials in the Canadian Department of External Affairs began to feel bitter towards India, and differences in national interest appeared more serious against the background of a supposed former "special relationship". The nuclear test of 1974 (Smiling Budhha) was, as Touhey explains, "the proverbial straw that broke the camel's back". The subsequent bitterness in Canada–India may have appeared sudden but it was actually a manifestation of long-standing grudges nurtured over time.

9.3 Living Through "Benign Neglect"

None of the countries reacted as harshly as Canada did to Pokhran test in 1998, cutting off bilateral ties and imposing economic sanctions on India. The reaction did not occur overnight, rather it was a culmination of decades-long mutual distrust and disillusionment. As mentioned in the last paragraph, the distrust can be traced back to the Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's decision in 1974 to test a "peaceful nuclear device" which relied on Canadian nuclear technology intended strictly for peaceful purposes. The event triggered a "diplomatic ice age" in Canada–India bilateral relations. According to Touhey (2007), this was an act of "betrayal" and Ottawa's reaction was harsher than as anticipated by New Delhi. Canada took it as the violation of Colombo Plan and as a result, Indo-Canadian economic relations got a jolt (Iqbal 2013). Perhaps Canada miscalculated Indian proliferation risk factor, and its reaction to India's nuclear test was the reflection of its frustration over Canada's own failures to monitor nuclear proliferation ever since its nuclear policy vis-à-vis India. Canada's stand has always been against nuclear proliferation, even though Canada decided to move forward with a nuclear transfer relationship with India. Singh (2009) underlines that this decision of Canada was based on three arguments:

> First, it was possible that other states would offer India nuclear technology, but at least Canada would be in a position to offer the adequate safeguards to stop proliferation. Second, it was assumed that the newly formed International Atomic Energy Agency would play a role to ensure India's reactors were properly safeguarded. Third, Canada thought that India did not have the technical ability to pursue a military program based on the CANDU design. (p. 235)

Based on these arguments, Canada ignored the hesitation by some members of the government who recognized that "India's nuclear interests might be less benign than once assumed (ibid)". Given the international scenario of that time, it is more than obvious that other state referred to was the Soviet Union and Canada never wanted Soviets to fulfil India's nuclear need and gain Indian loyalty. A fourth argument can be added here, Canada sought "to curve out a niche for itself in nuclear market" (Touhey 2007). Although the Canada–India reactor agreement (CIR) was signed in April 1956, it was not before 1963 that the first CANDU[2] nuclear reactor was sold to India. The preceding years saw protracted discussion and negotiation on the application of International Atomic Energy Agency safeguards. Ottawa sought to impose stricter safeguards on CANDU that India resisted. Canada went ahead with the supply as Pearson believed that if Indians were pushed too far, New Delhi will go elsewhere (Touhey 2007: 740), which they did not want at any cost. Secondly, Pearson's foreign policy did not accord required priority to bilateral relations with India. India was never a foreign policy priority for Prime Minister Pearson. The election of Trudeau in 1968 did little to change this. Canada under Trudeau started to channel its energy towards China and later Japan.

[2]Canada's first sale of a power reactor, in 1963, was also made to India: a 100 MW CANDU (Canada Deuterium Uranium) reactor became the Rajasthan Atomic Power Plant (RAPP1).

In May 1974, when New Delhi announced that it had successfully tested its first nuclear "peaceful" device, Canadians were taken aback; it provoked a reaction of outrage among Canadian politicians as well as public. According to some government officials, this explosion touched one of the main nerves of Canadian psyche (Delvoie 1998). To its part, India found Canada's position to its peaceful nuclear explosion as that of double standard, disproportionate and hypocritical. India argued that Canada itself is a full member of nuclear armed North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) alliance, and through North American Aerospace Defense Command (NORAD), it was a part of American nuclear deterrence system. That means when Canada itself is very much a part of West led nuclear "haves" club, the protestation and outrage were unconvincing for New Delhi.

Because of India's perceived betrayal, the Canada–India relationship remained rocky throughout the 1970s. Adding fire to the fuel was 1975 imposition of "emergency" in India by the then Prime Minister Mrs. Indira Gandhi which saw absolute suspension of civil liberties. This event affirmed Canada's 1973 study that "India was the permanent 'sick man[3]' of Asia whom it was futile to try to help" and without dissent, government of Canada immediately suspended its nuclear cooperation with India. A series of high-level discussion between the two countries for the next two years could not yield much as the compromise reached was rejected by Trudeau cabinet in March 1975. In 1976, Canada revised its non-proliferation policy to restrict nuclear trade to only those countries that were party to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT) and as a member of the nascent Nuclear Suppliers Group, it severed nuclear cooperation with India (Sethi 2014). It was not until the late 1980s that Canada allowed some leeway vis-à-vis the Indian nuclear programme. To show its commitment to nuclear safety without supporting weapons proliferation, Canada remained firm that its support would only exist for critical safety problems. Thus, in 1992, when India requested that this support be extended to both its IAEA safeguarded and its non-safeguarded reactors, the deal fell apart (Singh 2010). The other bilateral relations also suffered. Africa rather Asia, South Africa rather India, became the focus area of Canadian aid for Liberal government of Trudeau and its subsequent government. Ashok Kapur has termed this phase as "Canada's own phase of benign neglect[4]" or indifference.

The years between 1976 and 2001 were one of the prolonged bilateral indifferences permeated by collective and institutional memory of discord by officials on both sides (Touhey 2007). However, immigration and development aid by Canadian international development agency (CIDA) was the link between two countries which have become lukewarm towards each other. Two incidences which added further woes to Canada–India relations during 1980s were the Khalistan movement, demand of an independent Sikh homeland in India by Sikh secessionist, and 1985 bombing of Air India flight. Although Canada and India cooperated in the aftermath of this bombing, New Delhi always felt that Canada was soft with Sikh militants residing there and it had failed to confront the problem of terrorism earlier. The sense of

[3]Taken from Rubinoff, p. 843.

[4]Quoted in Rubinoff, p. 843.

this bilateral indifference began to change during 1990s in the face of change in international power dynamics. With the collapse of Soviet Union, United States was declared the sole global hegemon and world superpower. India too had felt implications of this change and Canada also came in terms of Indian realities. Touhey (2009) in his article "From periphery to priorities" identifies three core principles of this change: first, the distance created by India's decade-long predisposition to tilt towards Moscow diminished with the end of cold war; second, the gradual implementation of economic reforms by the finance minister Manmohan Singh began to transform the Indian economy; and finally, the Liberal government of prime minister Jean Chrétien accorded much importance to Asia-Pacific region. Not only in Canada but also in America, the Clinton government started to take much interest in India.

After frosty decades of 1970s and 1980s, the two countries started to work towards improving bilateral relations. Since India's economic growth after liberalization no longer remained something to be ignored by the rest of the world, in January 1996, the then Canadian Prime Minister Jean Chrétien led a 300-person "Team Canada" delegation to India. The government's objective was to match India's business requirements to the existing Canadian capabilities, emphasizing opportunities for Canada in the growing Indian market. Team Canada was composed of several ministers, premiers and businesspeople, and returned with 75 contracts worth $3.4 billion dollars (Singh 2010). This change in Canadian attitude towards India under the PM Chretien was perhaps the realization that India no longer was a peripheral international player but one of the most promising economies in Asia-Pacific region.

India declared itself a nuclear power with two nuclear tests in May 1998 within first six weeks of nationalist Bharatiya Janta Party (BJP) government coming to power under Atal Bihari Vajpayee. It had a domino effect as Pakistan also immediately conducted a round of nuclear tests. It generated a concern for arm race and in worst scenario possibility of a nuclear war. This act by India was severely condemned by the major and middle powers, including the US, European Union and Japan. Canada's was the most severe in its response and went on to recall its high commission, cancel CIDA programmes, suspend trade talks and opposed India's request for World Bank loans. Furthermore, Canada challenged India's bid to procure security council permanent seat and took an anti-India stance in subsequent G8 meetings. By this time, Canadian foreign policy was centred on "human security" agenda strongly propagated by Lyold Axworthy, the then Foreign Minister of Canada. Axworthy had Wilsonian idealistic viewpoint which manifested in a personal crusade against violators of international norms like India with its second round of nuclear tests. Canada's political scene was so much dominated at that time with this one man that his call for isolation and punishment for India found no dissent in Canada. Axworthy attempted to enforce his perspective through soft diplomacy and economic mechanisms, maintained for longer than any other state (Singh 2010). Ottawa moreover sought to rally G8 and international support against the tests, warning that these represented a severe challenge to the non-proliferation regime and a threat to regional stability (Delvoie 2008).

Touhey (2009) argues that these sanctions imposed on India by Canada were more detrimental to Canada than India. Canada's position vis-à-vis India left little

scope for negotiation and compromise. A relationship already bleak went further into political as well as economic neglect. India continued to develop economically and transform rapidly with increased overture to global market, but Canada was slow to accept this reality and mount the necessary foreign policy change to deal with new realities unlike other countries like Australia, France and most importantly United States have adopted. The Canada's anti-India stance took a reverse turn only after 9/11 terrorist attack and entry of John Manley in foreign minister portfolio.

9.4 Re-engagement

The Canadian government began to reassess its approach vis-à-vis India only in 2001. Canada faced two realities by this time: first it realized that its harsh reaction to 1974 nuclear test and 1998 Pokhran tests by India yielded no impact on India's nuclear policy, and there was a domestic criticism of Ottawa's questionable strategy to isolate India. Secondly, most of Canada's western allies (mainly members of G8) have already abandoned their previously harsh stance in favour of resuming normal relations with India. To Canada's surprise, America had already begun to work out differences with India on nuclear issue which later culminated into Indo-US nuke deal. The 9/11 terrorist attack called for re-conceptualization of security threat. It was argued that security threats, especially nuclear threat, could now be wielded by a new genre of rogue and fundamentalist states, as well as terrorists with potential access to weapons of mass destruction (Walt 2002). With this realization, Canada too changed its course of action. In a major policy reversal, John Manley in March 2001 said that Canada wished to have broader relations with India. Canada seemed to follow the American strategy of "compartmentalizing the disagreement so that other facets of bilateral relationship, particularly economic, could be developed and pursued" (Touhey 2009: 918). Following this policy shift, Canada withdrew most of its sanctions in April 2001. In October 2003, the then Prime Minister Vajpayee and Prime Minister Chrétien committed their governments to an "expanded partnership for the twenty-first century"[5] and agreed to strengthen government, commercial and civil society linkages as they forge their new partnership. India became a priority once again in Canadian foreign policy.

When Chretien retired, Paul Martin took office. Prime Minister Paul Martin's international policy statement laid out as a goal of Canadian foreign policy further engagement with the BRICS countries, specifically economic engagement with India and China. He also sought to build on progress already begun earlier. He visited New Delhi in January 2005 and the joint statement by Canada–India reaffirmed the two countries' commitment to deepening their bilateral ties on key global issues and enhancing their cooperation in areas of mutual priorities, including regional

[5] http://mea.gov.in/bilateral-documents.htm?dtl/7759/India++Canada+Joint+Statement accessed 14/5/16.

security and counterterrorism, science and technology, environment, bilateral trade and investment and people to people link.

9.5 Stephen Harper and Change in Canada–India Bilateral Relations: 2006–2015

The election of Conservative minority government of Stephen Harper in 2006 has further added to the tempo of efforts taken since 2001 to reassess and improve relations with India. Since the election of the Harper government, Canada–India relations have gone from frozen to red hot.[6] Harper made India a "key priority" particularly on the trade and economic front. However, as Singh (2010) a observes in her thesis that these improvements have taken time to evolve. In its first two years, the government rhetorically recognized India's importance, but did very little to develop or articulate a clear India-specific plan of action. It was not until Harper's second term that the Conservatives established a regular pattern of engagement with India. So what happened in these two years of Harper government? In his first two terms as Prime Minister, once in 2006 and again after the 2008 federal elections, Harper worked with the constraints of heading a minority government until 2011 when the Conservative Party of Canada got an overwhelming majority. During his tenure as Prime Minister, the foreign policy of Canada saw a major shift in its conduct and its bilateral relations vis-a-vis Asia. When Conservative party of Canada under Stephen Harper first came to power in 2006, the Liberal legacy had dominated the country so much so that the Liberal Internationalism (LI) of Canada was always identified with Liberal party of Canada. The Liberals have been said to be the natural governing party of Canada. Harper took on a job to undo (Liberal) past and to make Conservative Party of Canada as its natural governing party. For this, he chose to pursue economic diplomacy and follow ballot box politics.

Canadian foreign policy under Stephen Harper has been characterized as marking a "Big Shift" (Ibbitson 2014); being "short sighted" and "incrementalist" (Nordlinger 2013); "un-Canadian" (Smith 2012); and "transformative" (Plouffe 2014a). Others have proffered the view that Harper is rebranding Canada (Staring 2013), and his policies are driven by a set of "neo-conservative" ideas, where all foreign policy objectives are dominated by economic interests and trade policy priorities (Plouffe 2014b). A few other scholars underline the "neo-continentalist" approach (Massie and Roussel 2013) and a "brutal pragmatism" that he seems to practice (Nordlinger 2013). Observers also note a decidedly "hawkish" tone in Harper's speeches on matters of foreign policy (Gravelle et al. 2014). Harper realizes that "power is shifting" away from USA and towards Asia and that the world has become a dangerous place to live in. In such a world, he declared, "strength is not an option: it is a vital necessity". It further grows from Harper's own worldview that prioritizes confrontation and support for democracies over traditional Canadian values of neutrality and media-

[6]Peter Sutherland, Former Canadian High Commissioner to India in an interview to Anita Singh.

tion (Robertson 2011) and his aim to position Canada as a 'rising power' (Robertson 2013). For this purpose, Harper believes that Canada needs capability—military, economic and political.

9.6 Harper Worldview: From Internationalism to (Neo) Conservatism

According to Massie and Roussel (2013), conservatism refers to political attitude situated at the right of the political spectrum. Further analysing the nature of conservatism in social, economic and political terms, they find that socially, conservatism has religion and tradition as its central element; economically conservatism favours free trade and minimalist role of state; and politically the purpose of conservatism is to maintain law, order and stability. Massie and Roussel (2013: 39) have underlined that "conservatives value stability, cautiousness and prudence over new ideas". It is said that Stephen Harper is the first prime minister produced by the Canadian New Right that had emerged way back in the 1980s. Comprising neo-conservatives, Christian evangelicals, and "fiscal" conservatives, Canadian New Right took inspiration from the American New Right and those of the ilk of Barry Goldwater—which eventually produced the presidency of Ronald Reagan in the 1980s. Wells (2013), the biographer of Stephen Harper had once mentioned *The Patriot Game*, a book by the British-American writer Peter Brimelow which gave expression to the pent-up Albertan feelings about the need for Christian ethics, limited government, free market and a muscular diplomacy. The nucleus of the New Right remained for decades centred in western Canada and strongly present in the media, but it began influencing Canadian politics only in the 1980s with the rise of the Reform Party. As the Progressive Conservative party began disintegrating in the late 1980s and Reform Party, composed of business leaders, populists for small government, and social conservative and western Canadians with little voice in Ottawa, made a surge in national politics, a moderate version of the Canadian neo-cons came forward under the leadership of Stephen Harper as he became the leader of the Conservative Party in 2003. It is said that his selection as leader signalled a radical "neo-liberal free market emphasis" (Farney and Rayside 2013) which is at the centre of economic diplomacy pursued by Harper government in subsequent years.

The Progressive Conservative Party of Canada came to federal scene after the merger of Reform Party and Canadian Alliance in 2003. The Reform/Alliance parties were frequently labelled as neo-conservative, representing distinct foreign policy perspectives far more familiar to American neo-conservatives than to the mainstream Canadian politics. When they merged into new Conservative Party, the same ideas percolated into it. Collectively, neo-conservative ideas in Canadian context highlight the aspects of sovereignty, militarism and national interest. It is said that Harper in office has moderated many of his ideological principles (Smith 2012). Massie and Roussel (2013) have further analysed this strand of Canadian conservatism and

come to the conclusion that the neo-conservatism is part of neo-continentalism. Neo-continentalism is being seen as an emerging dominant idea and as a rival to internationalism in Canada. Neo-continentalism differs from traditional continentalism in one significant way: the traditional continentalism sees Canada as a natural ally to USA because of its geographical location and contends that Canada has no real choice as its economy and security is tied to USA.

Michael Hart in his book *From Pride to Influence* says that the Canadian ties with the United States are the "indispensable foundation of Canadian foreign policy in all its dimensions" (Hart 2009: 39). Relations with the USA are seen as unintentional societal and economic phenomenon than a deliberate political project. But neo-continentalism argues that these relations are not out of compulsion but out of choice. Massie and Roussel (2013: 45) argue that "neo-continentalism is driven by a shifting political and ideological landscape in Canada" embodied by advent of neo-conservatism under Harper. According to them, the most important traits of neo-continentalism are the embodiments of conservative values like free trade and laissez-faire, sovereignty, tradition, religion and family. The conception of Canada as a "foremost power" in international system and the Manichean conception of good and bad divide are other important traits. Neo-continentalism is guided by principles and value than pragmatism and dispassionate assessment of national interest, and military force is considered as legitimate tool to secure international order and punish those who threaten US-dominated world system. Under Stephen Harper, Canada is on the path of neo-conservative approach to international relations. Engler (2009) argues that at the base of Canadian neo-conservatism is a coalition of extreme pro-US capitalists and right-wing Christians. The use of force is considered legitimate. This is quite visible in Harper's approach towards militarization of Canadian foreign policy, even when he talks of national interest like fostering sovereignty or securing Canada and Canadians across the world or maintaining peace, order, stability and good governance. Not only this, Harper is out to revamp Canadian history also, where he talks of Canada as "warrior" nation, which is contrary to popular belief of Canada as peaceful country. Harper's conduct of foreign policy is in consistency with the neo-conservative and neo-continentalist approach of Canada with a particular emphasis on economy.

In this backdrop of changes in Canadian political scenario under Stephen Harper where does India figure? The bilateral relations with India is on top priority as it fits in two important aspects of Canadian foreign policy perspective under Stephen Harper: economic diplomacy and ballot box politics.

9.7 Economic Diplomacy: Prioritizing Indian Market

As the post-Cold War decade saw major changes in international system, so did the economy of India and political scenario of Canada. In the later part of the decade of 1990s, Canadian foreign policy was dominated by one man's worldview which was world famous as "Axworthy doctrine". Lloyd Axworthy, the Foreign Minister

of Canada from 1995 to 2000 in Liberal government, sought to revamp the Canadian foreign policy (CFP) using public diplomacy, soft power and placed impetus on "human security". He talked about democratization of CFP and included NGOs, IGOs and several human rights groups to formulate policies to combat threat to human lives. Ottawa process and creation of International Criminal Court are classic examples of a policy initiative using a democratic process and where Canada led, while United States opposed.

The beginning of 1990s witnessed a turning point in the economic history of independent India under the Finance Minister Dr. Manmohan Singh (1991–1996). Dr. Singh sought to revamp Indian economy and ushered in a comprehensive policy of economic reform which came to be recognized worldwide. Basdeo (2006) points out that the Indo-Canada relations that had cooled off considerably following India's nuclear detonation in 1974, the year 1992 marked a turning point in their bilateral relationship. He further puts that as the forces of globalization rendered India's economic policies ineffective on the world stage, and domestic crises hampered the confidence within the sub-continent, the then Prime Minister Narasimha Rao's administration took the uphill task to transform the Indian economy drastically. This economic liberalisation under the direction of Manmohan Singh led to Canada's re-engaging with the subcontinent as never before. However, the bilateral relationship between two countries plummeted again after 1998 Pokhran test. Axworthy factor worked well to isolate India from Canada and it lingered on to influence bilateral relations citing human security issue. Things began to change after 2006 federal elections in Canada.

Chapnick (2011: 139) observes that "the conservative foreign policy from 2006 onwards has been effectively characterized as an effort to eradicate one individual's as opposed to one party's legacy": to un-do Axworthy legacy. Axworthy was one of the main persons behind Canada's severed relations with India in the wake of 1998 Pokhran test. Since coming to power, Harper has shunned public diplomacy in favour of economic diplomacy.

The Harper government launched Global Markets Action Plan (GMAP), which expects to "entrench the concept of 'economic diplomacy' as the driving force behind government's activities through its international diplomatic network" (Department of Foreign Affairs, Trade and Development 2013). Under the Global Markets Action Plan (GMAP), the government will work with Canada's SMEs to grow their export presence in emerging markets from 29 to 50% by 2018 (Foreign Affairs, Trade and Development Canada 2013).

Pursuing his economic diplomacy, Harper government has signed free-trade agreements with nine countries and is negotiating an unprecedented 50 more accords, with the European Union and the Trans-Pacific Partnership Group. Although this economic diplomacy of Harper has been criticized as a "free-trade frenzy" with differing views that it will be an economic gold mine for Canadian economy but critics fear it will cost the country jobs and sovereignty. Notwithstanding these criticisms, Harper moved ahead with other free-trade agreement; one such negotiation is going on with India as well. India and Canada are negotiating Comprehensive Economic Partnership which once signed opens door for bilateral trade and investment. The ninth round of negotiations towards Canada–India Comprehensive Economic Partnership

Table 9.1 Trends in Indo-Canadian bilateral trade between 2005 and 2015 (value in US dollars million)

Year	India's exports to Canada	India's imports from Canada
2005–2006	103,090.53	149,165.73
2006–2007	126,414.05	185,735.24
2007–2008	163,132.18	251,654.01
2008–2009	185,295.36	303,696.31
2009–2010	178,751.43	288,372.88
2010–2011	249,815.55	369,769.13
2011–2012	305,963.92	489,319.49
2012–2013	300,400.58	490,736.65
2013–2014	314,405.30	450,199.79
2014–2015	310,338.48	448,033.41

Source Export Import Data Bank, Government of India, Ministry of Commerce and Industry, Department of Commerce

Agreement (CEPA) was held on 19–20 March 2015, in New Delhi. The negotiations focused on goods and services and progress continues to be made. Canada remains committed to concluding an ambitious agreement with India.[7] It is noteworthy that Canada is currently the only country in the whole of Americas with whom a broad-based Comprehensive Economic Partnership Agreement (CEPA) is being negotiated by India. Perceptions have changed dramatically over the past decade as the Indian economy has surged ahead. Its emergence from the global recession relatively unscathed caught peoples' attention as has the expanding footprint of Indian multinationals such as Tata, Essar, Birla, Reliance and others.

If we look at Table 9.1, we find that there has been a continuous rise in the bilateral trade (export and import from India to Canada) since 2006 except in the year 2009 and 2012 when there was a marginal decline. The last year data also show slight decline. Bilateral trade has registered a growth of nearly 76% during the period of 2005 and 2011 (Iqbal 2013). There has been higher growth rate in India's imports from Canada than India's exports to Canada as evident from Table 9.1.

This table shows that there has been constant a increase in Canada's export to India since 2006 except 2009 and 2012. For Canada, year 2015 did not record any decline in trade with India. The search for new market in Asia has topped the chart of the government. As evident from the two Tables 9.1 and 9.2, the Canada–India bilateral trade has seen upward growth since 2006. The marginal decline in 2009 can be attributed to global economic slowdown. But both the countries Canada and India could mitigate the effect of economic crisis.

Canada's inherent domestic strengths and timely policy actions ensured limited economic and financial damage from the global recession that shook the world in the latter half of 2008 and continues to plague much of the developed world. As Canadian

[7] http://www.international.gc.ca/trade-agreements-accords-commerciaux/agr-acc/india-inde/index.aspx?lang=eng accessed 17 April 2016.

Table 9.2 Value in millions of US dollars

Year	Canadian total exports to India	Canadian imports from India
2006	1,477	1,692
2007	1,667	1,841
2008	2,268	2,099
2009	**1,873**	**1,754**
2010	1,997	2,062
2011	2,658	2,562
2012	**2,362**	2,858
2013	2,719	2,890
2014	2,920	**2,880**
2015	3,379	3,083

Source Trade Data Online, Government of Canada

economy is highly dependent on the United States, and the United States will remain Canada's top economic partner, the negative impact the recent economic crisis had on USA once again underlined the need to diversify its economy. Harper understands this reality, and although he is pro-US, he is in favour of doing business with Asia. Harper's focus on Asia seems to emerge from two facts—the recognition of rising Asian economic powers like Japan, then China and India (Kirton 2007: 330), and the decline of the United States in the global economy (McKercher and Sarson 2016: 356).While Asia is distant and unfamiliar to many Canadians, its booming demand for Canadian commodities, services and high-tech products make it appealing. It is a source of opportunities and challenges Canada cannot afford to ignore (The Canadian Chamber of Commerce 2012). Harper's pursuit of economic diplomacy fostered by new economic realities of Asia (a booming market) and world (economic recession) made it a perfect blend to look towards India, a rising economic giant in Asia, with world's fastest-growing GDP. India is an ascending economic player and, based on current trends, it is set to become one of the four largest economies in the world within the next four decades.[8] The Indian diasporas settled in Canada are also becoming more matured, organized and influential in Canadian polity. Harper has come to reconcile with this reality as well and he wants these people alongside his party so that he can achieve his goal of making Conservative the natural governing party of Canada. The Indo-Canadian diasporas have also worked in the direction of fostering relations between two countries. This brings us to the second argument of this article: wooing the ethnic votes.

[8]Uri Dadush and Bennett Stancil, The G20 in 2050 referred in "Canada-India: the way forward", The Canadian Chamber of Commerce (2012).

9.8 Ballot Box Politics: Wooing the Ethnic Votes

In the domain of international politics, Leopold von Ranke asserted the idea of "primacy of foreign policy" which says that structure of international politics shapes a country's foreign policy. Its antithesis by Hans Ulrich Wehler suggests that domestic structure explains foreign policy. Kim Nossal, one of the leading experts in Canadian foreign policy, proposes a third variant to explain Harper's foreign policy: the primacy of ballot box.

Nossal (2014) explains that what we see in international policy is shaped first and foremost by electoral considerations. In the case of PM Harper, the broader strategic goal is to make Conservative party the "natural governing party" of Canada. Stephen Harper has himself asserted this idea during one of his 2008 electoral campaign. This is what he said:

> My long term goal is to make Conservatives the natural governing party of the country. And I am a realist. You do that in two ways….one thing you do is you pull the conservatives, to pull the party, to the centre of politics. But what you also have to do, if you are really serious about making transformation, is you have to pull the centre of political spectrum towards conservatism.

Harper is the leader of Canadian West, which is rich in natural resources and a conservative riding. Ibbitson (2014) underlines that West has been traditionally Conservative and less influential and it has faced Western alienation. The discovery of oil sand created a lot of job opportunities and brought immigrants from non-traditional sources like India. These immigrants, as underlines Ibbitson, are socially and economically more conservative than the native-born Canadians, so the voting pattern changed. Hence, in order to please these voters, under the Conservatives, foreign policy is driven by a mix of electoral politics. If Harper has to make conservatives the natural governing party of Canada, he needs ethnic votes as well. Harper made several attempts to improve relations with the Indo-Canadian Diaspora.

In the major step towards wooing Indian Diaspora, within two months of taking office, the Harper government fulfilled one of its major election promises—it called the Air India Inquiry. Singh (2010) in her thesis finds that calling the Air India inquiry had two important strategic effects. First, it differentiated the Conservatives from other political parties within the Indo-Canadian community. Opposition parties questioned the utility of the Inquiry, citing problems of inefficiency and inflated costs. However, the Conservatives recognized the diasporas' dissatisfaction with the 2005 Air India trial and saw the inquiry as a way to publicize these differences. Second, the Air India inquiry synchronized overseas security concerns of the Indo-Canadian community to the government's terrorism policy, particularly after the 2006 Mumbai train blasts. In another major step, Prime Minister Stephen Harper[9] gave a speech at a major South Asian festival in British Columbia and issues an apology for 1914 "Komagata Maru[10]" incident. He offered an official apology for

[9] http://komagatamarujourney.ca/node/5228.

[10] The Komagata Maru arrived on Canada's West Coast on 23 May 1914, anchoring in Vancouver's Coal Harbour. Nearly all of the 376 passengers were denied entry and the ship sat in the harbour

the racism encountered against early Indian settlers to Canada. It was although not so well received among Sikh community, Harper government provided funding for the Komagata Maru monument at Coal Harbour and also a museum dedicated to the incident that is operated by the Khalsa Diwan Society.[11] In the latest development, by the Liberal government, Justin Trudeau has offered to issue an official apology in the House of Commons for Komagata Maru on 18 May 2016.

Harper became the first Prime Minister to address the Indo-Canada Chamber of Commerce annual gala in April 2006, and it was widely noted by members of the Indo-Canadian community, underlining his government's success at connecting with the Diaspora. The Harper government also sought to make changes in immigration policy; it halved the landing fee for new immigrants from 975 to 490 dollars. A new policy to ease the backlog at overseas consulates was pronounced by giving priority to business class and professional immigrants which saw influx of Indian skilled professionals moving to Canada. Another overture was the private consultations that the Prime Minister undertook with the Indian business community in Canada.

These efforts have brought Canada and India to a historic zenith, since both the countries have finally signed the nuclear cooperation agreement (NCA), which saw reversing 35 years of nuclear policy. The NCA gives Canada access to India's 100 billion-dollar energy programme. Other agreements have included two Memoranda of Understanding (MoU) in Earth Sciences and Mining and Cooperation in Higher Education. Improvement to the relationship has resulted in a Joint Study on a Comprehensive Economic Partnership Agreement (CEPA), which lays the basis for the future free-trade agreement. Several bilateral business organizations, namely Canada–India Business Council and Indo-Canada Chamber of Commerce, have also been working towards boosting economic and trade relations between the two countries.

To further expand bilateral relations in terms of both quality and quantity, the two countries have established various mechanisms to interact on an annualized basis in areas of mutual interest. These are Foreign Office Consultations, Strategic Dialogue, Joint Working Group on Counter Terrorism, Trade Policy Consultations, Science and Technology Joint Committee, Environment Forum, Energy Forum, Joint Working Group on Agriculture, Steering Committee on Mining and Health Steering Committee (High Commission of India, Ottawa 2012).

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for two months. It was ultimately forced to return to India and was met by British soldiers. Twenty passengers were killed and others jailed following an ensuing riot. http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/komagata-maru-backgrounder-apology-1.3584372 accessed 17/05/2016.

[11] http://vancouver.24h.ca/2016/04/11/pm-to-apologize-for-komagata-maru-incident accessed 19/04/2016.

9.9 Conclusion and Future Prospects

The importance attributed to India and to Indo-Canadian bilateral ties is evident from marking 2011 as the "Year of India" in Canada by the Prime Minister Stephen Harper, who, while inaugurating the event, stated that "Our country is home to a vibrant, nearly one-million strong, Indo-Canadian community that plays a vital role in Canada's economic and cultural landscape". The acknowledgement of the importance of Indian Diaspora in Canada and the bilateral ties by Harper is the witness of warmth in relations between these two countries which have lived through the frosty years of ignorance, disillusionment and mistrust over many decades.

The Conservative government under the premiership of Stephen Harper has actually re-engaged with India in ways the other Canadian governments have not engaged since the 1970s, which Harper himself boasts. The Indian immigration to Canada rose to 35% since his government took office in 2006. Canada has welcomed over 300,000 permanent residents from India, and nearly 200,000 Indian immigrants have gone on to become Canadian citizens, which is nearly double the number under the previous government.

As a home to over 1.2 million persons of Indian origin (MEA 2015), Canada has witnessed an increased political representation of Indian Diaspora over the last decade. In the House of Commons under Harper, there were nine Members of Parliament of Indian origin and two of them were Ministers of State in the Federal Cabinet. This number rose to more than double in 2015 federal election. The present House of Commons has 19 Members of Parliament and four persons of Indian origin (PIO) sworn into the Cabinet under Justin Trudeau. This phenomenal increase in political representation of PIO in Canada hints at the increased participation of Indian Diaspora in national and international matters. Upon the observation of a decade long premiership of Harper, one may also infer that his ballot box politics and wooing of ethnic vote has led to the mainstreaming of Indian community (the largest component of immigrants from South Asia). With their involvement, the Indo-Canadians have been active in Canada and are already contributing to increased social and commercial exchange between Canada and India. They make a successful force in foreign policy-making process in Canada. Under Harper, this tendency got further impetus due to the Harper government's decision to actively improve economic relations with India (economic diplomacy). This gave the Indian Diaspora, who possesses deep knowledge of India's business and economic environment, an edge to be involved in various overseas endeavours where they could channelize this knowledge to do networking between the Canadian government and various stakeholders. Within a year of coming to power, the Canadian Government opened a new office, the Canadian Immigration Integration Project, in New Delhi in 2007, in order to facilitate newcomers, particularly the skilled immigrants.

Canada–India bilateral relations have moved upward in the last decade, thanks to economic diplomacy pursued by Harper who realized the strategic importance of India. The feeling is mutual as India also reciprocated and moved ahead to foster bilateral ties. The economic relations have seen an upward curve, so has the political

relations, with increase in trade and investment between the two countries. Now that the mutual disagreement has given way to positive attitude leaving aside all acrimony, accusation of betrayal and suspicion, following areas, except conventional domain of bilateral trade and investment, should be explored by Canada and India to further strengthen bilateral ties:

Higher education: Market for higher education in India is projected to grow almost three times in the next 10 years to US$115 billion (FICCI 2011). With the rise in Indian middle class and income, parents are now able to spend money on higher education, technical education as well as foreign education. Canada can attract more Indian students to pursue higher studies in Canada, which has one of the best education systems, and Canada can also invest in Indian higher education.

Energy and mining: A country of 1.2 billion people and a booming economy, India requires access to reliable source of energy, metals and minerals to build infrastructure. Canada, which is rich in oil and mineral resources, is an ideal and abundant supplier of the above. Canada also possesses a world-class expertise in mining-related services and technologies which can account for India's need. The two countries can surely look at each other and explore more opportunities in this regard.

Clean Technology: Canada' strength as a world-class producer of clean technology products and as a leading centre for innovation in clean technology (wind, solar, biomass, energy from waste, small hydro, geothermal and marine) makes it an attractive destination for foreign investment and a gateway to North America which India can explore. Further, Canada can exploit its ability in this field and try to establish and enhance leadership position in Indian market.

Tourism: According to the United Nations World Tourism Organization (UNWTO) survey, China and India are among the fastest growing outbound destinations with growth around 10% per year. Tourism in India is the largest service industry, with a contribution of 6.23% to the national GDP and 8.78% of the total employment in India (FICCI 2011). The two countries can collaborate to promote tourism sector which can be a significant component of ties between two countries.

Canada and India have the potential to develop and flourish bilateral ties in conventional areas, like trade and investment, and can also explore non-conventional yet emerging areas like tourism and clean technology, to gain mutual benefit and foster economic, cultural and political ties. The wave of economic ties boosted during Harper tenure should be further explored and taken forward by current Canadian government under liberal leadership of Justin Trudeau. India under premiership of Narendra Modi is also moving ahead with economic diplomacy. These situations in the two countries provide suitable breeding ground for fostering bilateral relations, and Canada and India must benefit from the changed political scenario.

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Chapter 10
The Inclusion of Competition Clauses in Bilateral Trade Agreements Between India and Canada: Issues and Challenges

Ritu Gupta

10.1 Introduction

Globalization, liberalization, innovation and deregulation are the keywords spelling the future of economies across the world. The composition of the marketplaces has changed dynamically to an extent during the past few decades that is beyond anyone's imagination. The behavioural patterns as well as practices of the market players viz. complex mergers, vertical integration, strategic alliances and international business relations accompanied by technological revolution in every arena have been few of the significant factors instrumental in bringing this change. Competition is one of the by-products of globalization and liberalization. It aims at ensuring a level playing field for these players. It is an excellent institution that helps the matching of 'Consumer Needs' to 'Producer's Resources'. It can ensure the availability of goods or services in abundance of acceptable quality at affordable price. The financial crisis which gripped the world few years back not only strengthened the need but also highlighted the importance of a strong and effective competition law and policy so as to encourage markets to work well for the benefit of business and consumers. The Supreme Court of India observed—'*Over all intention of competition law is to limit the role of market power that might result from substantial concentration in a particular industry. The major concern with monopoly and similar kinds of concentration is not that being big is necessarily undesirable. However, because of the control exerted by a monopoly over price, there are economic efficiency losses to society and product quality and diversity may also be affected. Thus, there is a need to protect competition. The primary purpose of competition law is to remedy some of*

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those situations where the activities of one firm or two lead to the breakdown of the free market system, or, to prevent such a breakdown by laying down rules by which rival businesses can compete with each other. The model of perfect competition is the economic model that usually comes to an economist's mind when thinking about the competitive markets'.[1]

10.2 Anti-competitive Behaviour and Its Fallouts on National and International Economy

The business thrives on competition, but laissez-*faire* is not attainable always in any marketplace due to hidden forces operating there with vested interest of maximizing the commercial gains. More often than not, these undesirable forces trigger practices that interfere with free enterprise of the market. Agreements which cause or are likely to cause appreciable adverse effect on competition are termed as anti-competitive agreements.[2] For example, cartel is a horizontal agreement between producers of goods or providers of services for price fixing or sharing of market and is generally regarded as the most pernicious form of anti-competitive agreement.[3] Such forces or behaviours of the enterprises may cause an economic injury to the affected individual, corporate or a nation through deceptive or wrongful practices affecting economic efficiency and consumer welfare adversely within the country. Hence, to establish effective control over economic activities, regulatory laws as well as the authorities are needed. This traces the emergence of competition laws on any country's horizon. The competition law protects competitive market so as to promote economic efficiency by prescribing certain types of conduct for enterprises. Any such conduct that prohibits or restricts firms from entering into market or introducing new products is considered illegal by competition law. The trident dimensions of such behaviour of the enterprises, so as to eliminate competition out of the market, may be:

- Anti-competitive agreements,
- Abuse of dominant position and
- Merger or combinations.[4]

It is worthwhile to mention here that the lowering of trade behaviours, developments in technology and advancement of communication have resulted in increasingly interdependent economies. Due to falling national trade barriers, enterprises try to organize their operations on a global scale but end up using anti-competitive practices across the borders. Though trade liberalization, as discussed above, tends

[1] Competition Commission of India versus Steel Authority of India Ltd. and Anr. (2010) 10 SCC 744 Para 1–7.

[2] Sec. 3, The Indian Competition Act, 2002.

[3] http://cci.gov.in/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=35; Also see Sect. 3, The Competition Act, 2002.

[4] The Indian Competition Act, 2002; Sections 3, 4, 5 and 6.

to enhance the competitive climate within and among countries, intense competition, at the same time, in the international business environment paves the way for dubious business practices that cause appreciable adverse effect on the competition in more than one economy. Moreover, foreign competition may itself be limited by the monopoly power of global corporations, or collusive behaviour in the form of international cartels, which have been prevalent in various industries since the late nineteenth century and have been found to be operating even in recent years.[5] Indeed, the *topsy-turvy* principle of implicit collusion argues that anything that makes a market more competitive (as liberalization) may actually result in more collusive behaviour by firms. The idea is that as the market becomes more competitive, firms will try to enter into strategic agreements to keep their profit level at a sufficiently high level.[6] In the wake of the above-mentioned ramifications of globalization, the regulation of market players becomes a complex issue across the world.

In India, anti-competitive agreements are exempted to the extent they relate exclusively to export.[7] Further, Section 32 provides for jurisdiction over parties located outside India and actions taking place outside India that have an 'appreciable adverse effect on competition in the relevant market in India'. Thus, effects doctrine has been given effect in the Act. The aim of the Canadian Competition Act is to protect consumers by prohibiting anti-competitive business practices and promoting competition in the Canadian marketplace. The anti-competitive activities that this Act prohibits include price fixing, bid rigging, exclusive dealing, tied selling, market restriction, refusal to deal and abuse of dominance. The Act seeks to prevent harmful restraints on trade, permits the government to review mergers to assess their anti-competitive effects and protects consumers by prohibiting deceptive marketing and advertising.[8] In case of the Canadian Competition Act, however, Section 45 (5) exempts services facilitating export of products from Canada from being enlisted as hard-core cartel agreements.[9]

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[5] Bhattacharjea (2013) at 47. See Also, Levenstein and Suslow (2004).

[6] Bilal and Olarreaga (1998).

[7] Section 3(5)(ii) of the Indian Competition Act, 2002.

[8] http://www.acc.com/legalresources/publications/topten/canadian-competition-act.cfm.

[9] **45.**(1) Every person commits an offence who, with a competitor of that person with respect to a product, conspires, agrees or arranges

(a) to fix, maintain, increase or control the price for the supply of the product;

(b) to allocate sales, territories, customers or markets for the production or supply of the product; or

(c) to fix, maintain, control, prevent, lessen or eliminate the production or supply of the product.

(5) No person shall be convicted of an offence under subsection (1) in respect of a conspiracy, agreement or arrangement that relates only to the export of products from Canada, unless the conspiracy, agreement or arrangement

(*a*)…

(b)…

(c) is in respect only of the supply of services that facilitate the export of products from Canada.

10.3 Trade Relations Between India and Canada: Issues Concerning Foreign Investment and Economic Development

Being fellow members of the Commonwealth of Nations, India and Canada enjoyed a close and cooperative relationship through the early years of India's independence despite the fact that Canada was a member of NATO and India was firmly non-aligned.[10] The Canada India Foundation has been active since 2007 in fostering support for stronger bilateral relations. 2011 was dubbed the 'Year of India in Canada', a joint initiative of both the governments. Following the economic reform process initiated by India in July 1991 which attracted the attention of the Canadian Government and the business community, Canada identified India as the largest market in the region with enormous scope for commercial cooperation. The trade between the two countries continues to grow since then despite the recession of the 2000s. Thus, it can be said that both the countries enjoy a prosperous trading relationship. India's major exports to Canada include ready-made garments, textiles, cotton yarn, carpets, gems, jewellery and precious stones, organic chemicals, coffee, spices, footwear and leather products, processed foods and marine products. India's major items of import from Canada include newsprint, wood pulp, potash, asbestos, iron scrap, copper, minerals and industrial chemicals.[11] Out of these products, potassium chloride (potash), being a major item, constitutes an exception as far as exports from Canada are concerned.[12] India being the sixth largest importer, the competition authorities in India may face a challenge posed by the cartel of producers dealing in potassium chloride.[13]

On the investment front also there has been a rapid increase in FDI in Canada by Indian companies and Canada also has a modest presence in India.[14] On 12 November 2010, Canada and India announced the launch of negotiations towards a Comprehensive Economic Partnership Agreement (CEPA), following the completion of the report by the Joint Study Group that concluded that there was sufficient common ground to move ahead on these negotiations.[15] The eighth round of CEPA was held in Ottawa on 24–25 June 2013. The negotiations focused on goods and services, and progress continues to be made. These consultations focus on a number of issues that are subject to negotiation, specifically those pertaining to access for goods (including tariff and non-tariff barriers), rules of origin, technical barriers to trade, intellectual property, cross-border trade in services, investment and govern-

[10] See http://www.ficci.com/internationalcountries/canada/canada-commercerelationships.html as viewed on 20.05.2014.

[11] Ibid.

[12] See http://www.ic.gc.ca/eic/site/tdo-dcd.nsf/eng/home.

[13] Jenny (2010).

[14] Ibid.

[15] http://www.international.gc.ca/trade-agreements-accords-commerciaux/agr-acc/india-inde/cepa-consultapeg.aspx?lang=eng.

ment procurement.[16] The magnitude of both trade and FDI flows between India and Canada is actually fairly limited.[17] In fact, the stock of FDI in both directions has declined since 2008, and bilateral trade after expanding rapidly in 2011–12 has also declined in 2012–13. Thus, despite tall claims and multiple rounds of CEPA, the share of India's exports (0.68%) and imports (0.57%) continues to be minuscule.[18] Having analysed the statistics, it may *prima facie* be made out comfortably that the practices being adopted by the enterprises involved in export and import are incapable of triggering any competition concerns.

Hence, the inclusion of competition clauses in the bilateral trade agreements is relevant in view of the global scenario. The role of bilateral trade agreements has assumed significant importance in the wake of the emergence of comprehensive trade agreements. The liberalization of tariff barriers through the phasing down or removal of custom duties is the primary objective of these trade agreements.[19] Such agreements hold more potential to influence the international trading environment than any of the existing fair-trading agreements (FTAs). Also, these agreements are a potential avenue between the state parties not only to develop and modernize their existing trade relating systems but also to carry out other associated reforms in various sectors. There is an increasing trend towards including competition clauses. It cannot be denied, however, that there is scope of larger differences across these agreements in terms of how the competition provisions are addressed.[20] As discussed in the previous section, potash export cartel, as flagged by Bhattacharjea in his article[21], poses a difficult challenge for competition watchdog in India. Harmonization of competition clauses would take the trade relations between the two countries a long way.

10.4 The Challenges Ahead and Suggestions

The differences that may arise in the regulation of anti-competitive conduct across border may cause disorder or malfunctioning in the trading system. The bilateral agreements though significant are not perfect. Following select issues pose a challenge in making competition clauses effective:

- Not much data are available on the implementation of competition provisions since there has been limited empirical research about it. Hence, it is difficult to quantify the success rate relating to implementation.
- In case of any dispute, no dispute settlement mechanism is available.

[16] http://www.international.gc.ca/trade-agreements-accords-commerciaux/agr-acc/india-inde/index.aspx?lang=eng.

[17] As noted by a background paper on negotiations towards a CEPA; See also, Dobson (2011).

[18] http://commerce.nic.in/eidb/iecntq.asp; last viewed on 25th May, 2014.

[19] Obradovic (2012).

[20] Sahu and Gupta (2008).

[21] Aditya Bhattacharjea, Supra Note 5.

- Countries are usually not willing to give up their national jurisdiction in the case of the enterprises involved in such practices.
- Due to lack of transparency in the system, any deviations from the competition policies remain unnoticed.
- Intellectual property rights also act as a restraint in the proper implementation of such clauses.

Following suggestions may be made in view of the above discussion.

10.5 Suggestions

- Stronger positive comity commitments would go a long way in strengthening the bilateral agreements. A more binding effect is required to be given to the cooperation provisions.
- Access to confidential information, especially in cases of international cartels, is a must in combating international restrictive practices. Both India and Canada should make arrangements in ensuring safe dissemination of information.
- In case of any conflict, a mutually acceptable redress mechanism should be developed.
- The narrow national interests would generally undermine the cooperation agreement. As discussed above, there is a need to regulate blanket exemption of clauses as under Section 45(5) of the Canada Competition Act.
- Between the two countries, harmonization of national laws is needed so as to avoid any friction between them.
- A prosecution transnational cartel would require a larger network of competition agencies working together. A bigger network of competition agencies, coordinating together, would substantially reduce the cost of prosecution. Moreover, it would make prosecution much easier as has been shown by the prosecution of some previously existing cartels.[22]
- CCI can assist Competition Bureau and *vice versa* as and when the need for such assistance arises.
- Competition policy plays an important role in the formulation of trade policy. While framing such bilateral trade policies, the competition policies of India and Canada should be duly followed.
- Information sharing is very important when seeking a more effective regime for cooperation between countries regarding cross-border competition cases.[23]

[22] Research Report, available at http://cci.gov.in/images/media/ResearchReports/gautam-report_20080730102843.pdf.

[23] https://www.cci.gov.in/sites/default/files/bilateral_trade_treaties_20080508105059.pdf.

10.6 Conclusion

The failure to include competition provisions at the WTO multilateral framework provided the scope for including their inclusion at the bilateral level. The growing depth and dynamism of the relationship between India and Canada are marked by common values, similar political and economic structures, and hence, it is easier to promote bilateral trade between them. It is to be seen that the gains of such agreements are not annulled by anti-competitive practices of the dominant market players. Though the success in extraterritorial application of competition laws is hard to achieve once attained, it can contribute to the realization of the benefits of trade between India and Canada. The stakeholders of both the countries are going to be benefitted by the smooth conduct of competition and fair play of the forces in the market. Improved bilateral trade brings the countries closer, and harmonious relationship becomes precursor to a sustainable relationship. Many lessons can be learnt from the past experience, thereby initiating a new lesson marking beginning of a new era.

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Chapter 11
Triggering Conversations About Mental Health

Anuradha Sovani

11.1 Introduction

This paper shares the process involved in, and the narratives that emerge from, three distinct methodologies used by the presenting author in an effort to trigger conversations about mental health and challenge stigmatizing narratives about mental illness. A lot of work in the field of mental health hinges on public knowledge about mental illness and mental health, and also what laypersons believe, what attitudes they hold in their minds vis-a-vis persons who have suffered from mental illness.

At the root of societal stigma of any sort, particularly about people who have been through mental distress and illness, are the **cognitions** that are held about "people like that or those people," or in Hindi, the national language of India, "*waise log*." The basic erroneous cognition is one that groups and encapsulates all persons with mental illness into one package, as if there are no interpersonal differences in the conditions they are battling with. Labeling people with mental illness as "crazy" or "mad" takes away from their individuality and human quality, making them one of a type. Stereotypical beliefs about what "those people" are capable of follow and may include beliefs about violence and malevolence. Unfortunately, due to poor information giving and almost non-existent psychoeducation, people with mental illness or distress and their family members, too, may often carry around such cognitions in their minds, expecting their near and dear ones to go berserk and out of control. The patient too, if they have any insight, may hold on to cognitions about a bleak and hopeless future, no chances of improvement, and self-stigma, none of which need

This paper may be subsumed under the area of social sciences and education, specifically public health education.

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to be true. As a natural outcome, they feel outcast and distance themselves from the community, often to their own detriment.

Affective reactions cannot be far behind in such a scenario and include the sharply divisive emotion of fear. If the public fears individuals who have been through mental distress, it is highly unlikely that a helping hand would be extended in their direction, even if they ask for help. To add to the problem, we see the affective reactions of the person suffering from the malaise and also their own family members. These people are often guilt ridden because of the underlying superstitious and irrational cognition that they must have erred or sinned in some way and hence brought this terrible malady onto themselves. They may be ashamed and embarrassed to talk about their woes in front of others and ensure that this shroud of silence remains in place, distancing them from the world around them.

Behavioral reactions then follow with persons with mental illness being shunned by society and kept at arms' length. Even a cursory examination of the way social spaces are planned will show that hospitals with psychiatric inpatients are located far away from lived in portions of any community, much like residences that house persons with communicable disease. This would then further circle back to the cognitive notion that being near a person with psychological problems can in some way be harmful or deleterious to others. Further, persons with psychological problems also begin to voluntarily distance themselves from others, reacting to the hatred and disgust others seem to feel for them. On occasion, this distancing can be a function of their symptoms, but most often it is the high level of self-stigma and the "why try" effect highlighted by Corrigan et al. (2009).

Possible routes of intervention—What are the possible routes to ensure that this stigma dissolves or disappears? One apparent way would be to deliver clear messages and **correct and authentic information** through psychosocial interventions targeted at large community groups. Corrigan et al. (2009) emphasize that self-stigma consists of three events occurring one after another: The person is aware of a widely held stereotype about his or her condition; secondly, he or she agrees with it; and finally, he or she applies it to themselves. For example, if it is widely believed that alcohol dependence is a sign of weak will, and nothing can be done to help such a person, the alcohol dependent and his or her family members will come to believe this, and give up hope. Similarly, a firm belief that psychiatric conditions like depression or psychosis are a form of divine curse, or the result of past sins, will ensure that the patient does not take medicines consistently or make psychosocial efforts to get better.

As a result of these processes, according to Corrigan, people suffer reduced self-esteem and self-efficacy. People are dissuaded from pursuing any chances or opportunities that circumstances may bring their way. The effects of self-stigma and the "why try" effect can be diminished by services that promote consumer empowerment.

In the course of Dr. Sovani's interactions with students from Canada, she asked them for their experiences pertaining to the stigma of chronic mental illness. She found remarkable similarity between stories that emerged from the group (either as their own narratives, e.g., Brushes with bipolar disorder, or as descriptions of persons close to them), on the one hand, and the stories collected by her over the years as

part of work with the Institute for Psychological Health and in the course of the student roundtables conducted as part of the SICRG project. She found feelings of helplessness, stories of grit and determination to overcome odds, and finally, with some support from loved ones and society, a discovery of ways to deal with the burden of mental illness and move on in life as a fully functioning person.

When Dr. Stack interacted with students in India and also attended various conferences and conclaves with Dr. Sovani where issues like Child Mental Health and use of films in spreading awareness about mental health were discussed, she was able to cite examples from documentaries created for mental health awareness and their impact on society. She also shared the findings from the photovoice project *Belonging* that she had completed earlier with her colleague Genevieve Creighton. Both Dr. Sovani and Dr. Stack also discussed the impact of art exhibits like "*Mad Pride, Mad City"* held at Gallery Gachet which Dr. Sovani had visited during the visit to Vancouver, Canada. The gallery exhibits paintings by persons who have been through mental illness, and these beautiful works of art are displayed along with a piece written by the painter talking about their personal experiences and insights.

The current paper describes one such effort, ***one route*** to mental health awareness and mental illness stigma reduction, an approach to trigger conversations about mental health: the *Prakashdoot* project that has been conceptualized and executed in the state of Maharashtra, India (Nadkarni et al. 2015). An effort has been made to create audience-friendly DVDs in a talk show format, highlighting in a scientific manner the key aspects of alcohol use disorder and depression, two concerns picked up for the pilot work. In order to ensure that the audience, hailing from all ages and all walks of life, residing in urban as well as rural areas, stays engaged, the chat show format was adopted, a format that has reached every home in India via popular television channels. Further, with the same goal in mind, the program is peppered with popular film songs highlighting the key features of the condition, e.g., social isolation, loneliness, and hopelessness. Writings of local saints and poets are also incorporated, and the material is created in Hindi, the national language of India, and Marathi, the local language in Maharashtra state.

The videographed chat show is halted at pre-specified times to take questions from the audience, a process highlighted in the accompanying manual. Frequently asked questions (FAQs) are also written down and a Training of Trainers (TOT) ensures that local volunteers learn thoroughly how to deliver the program. Hence, *Prakashdoot* is an experiment at spreading awareness about psychological conditions through mass community programs and will soon be replicated to cover information about other maladies. In the current circumstances, with drought in Maharashtra and farmer suicides on the rise, the field is fertile for pilot tests of the Prakashdoot modules.

The ***second route*** to mental illness stigma reduction and public awareness about mental health highlighted in this paper is an annual recovery awards program called *Dwij.* The Dwij Puraskar is an award instituted for persons who have been through the heartbreaking journey of mental illness and recovered, rising like the proverbial phoenix from their own ashes … hence the word Dwij, which means reborn or literally "twice born." The Dwij Puraskar is slightly similar to the Coming Out Proud program (Corrigan et al. 2012; Corrigan and Lundin 2012), where people declare after

achieving wellness that they had indeed been ill. However, the additional element in Dwij is the element of glamor, of celebration, the manner in which the award selection process happens and they grand ceremony akin to film awards in which the award is given away at the hands of celebrities. The idea is to highlight how hard the journey from illness to wellness was, for both the patient and the caregiver, and to get first-person narratives from both in a stage interview. These narratives then can act as motivators for other mentally ill in the community. The awards ceremony also casts a new light on the courage and efforts of the family of the mentally ill and gets society to see them in a new light, to look at them with respect and even some awe.

Dwij, in a sense, also echoes the vast literature on post-traumatic growth (Linley and Joseph 2004) which may occur after going through the arduous journey from illness to wellness. This author had in fact, at one point, submitted a proposal to the SICI to work on PTG in people who have gone through mental illness, in collaboration with a researcher in Montreal. Perhaps at some later point, the proposal can be resubmitted and may even get the grant!

Here are some narratives that emerged from Dwij:

> When I look back, I feel distressed…….those were terrible days. But I came out of them whole.
>
> I thought of dying so many times, but never made any effort to end my life.
>
> An empty mind is the devil's workshop. One must try to stay busy, always.
>
> I try to work hard because I don't like to borrow money from my dad or younger brother. That helped me stay on track.
>
> When I look back I feel sad that so much money was spent on getting well. My children, my husband suffered. But they were there with me always.
>
> I used to scream and shout and run away from home. My sisters, my parents made sure I took medicines, and today I am a normal woman like them all.
>
> When I noticed changes in the behavior of my family member, I was shocked. I did not know whom to talk to. But my doctor helped and luckily the patient is well now.
>
> When I fell ill. I did not know anyone in this city. Now I am well, I have friends in this Institute. I will ensure that I attend support groups and help others, just like others helped me.
>
> Do our best, God will do the rest

Corrigan (2012) writes that **contact** with people who have been through mental illness is a crucial factor in reducing stigma. He writes that the key is targeted, local, credible, continuous contact (to which he gives the acronym TLC3). This contact and understanding of issues that people with mental illness and their families face is the crux of the intervention described above, as well as the ***third route*** described below, viz. **triggering conversations** about mental health.

The methodology used to highlight this route to increasing mental health awareness and illness stigma reduction involves roundtables held with students from India studying psychology and education.

This activity is part of the SICRG grant to UBC (Canada) and SNDT WU (India), and the author of this paper, Dr. Anuradha Sovani, and Dr. Michelle Stack from UBC are working on it. The material used as trigger for these roundtables has been media

portrayals of events that center around possible mental disturbance of some sort. Two kinds of news media portrayals of this kind are being utilized, a few pieces in the popular press where reportage was balanced and fairly scientific, and many more pieces where the portrayal and coverage were overdramatized, and geared to grab readership rather than to represent the truth.

In the initial interaction with psychology students, these newspaper cuttings were kept at workstations and students were divided into small groups and discuss the stories at their workstation. Research assistants took notes of the discussions which ensued. After completing work with one set of media stories, the students were asked to jot their reactions on a chart and move to the next workstation. Their chart was covered up, and as a new group of students approached each workstation, they were asked to discuss and make their points much like before. After a whole round-robin movement, all the charts were exposed, and all students were asked to read aloud and discuss their own reactions to the news stories, as well as those of others.

In a follow through, Dr. Sovani asked the psychology students to collect more such media stories which seemed to make a poor depiction of the facts and which may perhaps mislead the layperson. This made them very sensitive to errors of commission and omission in the lay press, and they came up with many news clippings.

The next lot of roundtables were then held with students of education. Once again, the same process was followed, and research assistants working with the SICRG project transcribed the discussions.

It is now anticipated that a group of students of journalism will be worked with and their reactions collected. A later part of the SICRG project is to sensitize students to use non-stigmatizing language when speaking or writing about mental health and illness.

For an international conference in September 2016, Dr. Sovani will also collect narratives from people who have been through mental illness, seeking their opinion about how to "write the wrong," to put in a non-stigmatizing manner and language what they in fact went through.

Here are some of the narratives that emerged from the roundtables:

> The article should stress on how the people involved were feeling
>
> The title of the article does not match the content,…….it seems to be put there just to draw our attention
>
> The story should have spent some time and column length trying to explain what really happens in this form of mental illness. How can the reader know?
>
> Instead of third person, why can't they have a first person narrative through an interview?
>
> From school years onwards, students should be taught to tackle approach and have a positive approach to the negative side of life.
>
> Had it not been for this group activity we would have never talked about mental illness. Because of these sessions, these topics come up and group discussions throw up all sorts of thoughts and feelings.
>
> We need programs for mental well being of children. Children who have faced trauma will need a completely different program from what we give other children.
>
> Depression is associated with being weak and incompetent, which further adds to depression.

Mental health plays a bigger role than physical health. Mental health can bring physical health but physical health alone cannot bring mental health.

11.2 Conclusion

This paper attempted to review three diverse routes to spreading awareness about mental health and tackling the stigma of mental illness. Two projects were already ongoing, and the last is being executed under an SICRG grant currently. Interestingly, the first intervention strategy described relies on the "draw" of the audio visual medium and excerpts from popular films to keep the audience engaged and plugging in important de-stigmatizing messages and public awareness content from time to time. The strategy uses the moving image in the film clips to convey important learning points about the conditions being discussed (in this case depression and substance use disorders).

The second strategy relies in contrast to the "live" impact of watching a person with mental illness and caregivers of this person interact with an empathic interviewer on stage, in front of a live audience. This takes away the stigma and shame of the condition that was experienced so far, and in turn glamorizes the effort and the courage involved in talking about the experiences and the suffering it brought on the patient and the family. The person with mental illness becomes a hero and a conqueror rather than a victim, and this interventions strategy appears to act effectively across cultures (witness the Gallery Gachet experience in Vancouver).

The third strategy directly gets students and young people to search for and analyze media messages that surround events that involve persons with mental illness. They then think things through, discovering the shallowness of many of these media stories, the deep-rooted bias in the reporter's mind and the bid to grab eyeballs of readers of the newspaper by using journalistic parlance and insensitive terms which are uncalled for. They begin to think about media centers and the need to report honestly rather than with a view to selling newsprint.

The outcomes so far clearly point to the need for many such interventions, both preventive and corrective. The paper also attempts to bring out similarities in lived experiences of stigma, arising out of mental illness or racial features as was the case in the Indian and Canadian case studies, respectively, and the vast repository of pain and suffering that underlie both experiences. The language of this stigmatization experience and suffering is much the same regardless of whether it occurs in a First or a Third World nation, provided the lens through which we look at it is a sensitive one. Social scientists and researchers, and also educators since they shape minds of students at an early age, need to take on this role of social change agents, helping to dispel stigma both from the minds of society and from persons suffering from various conditions and cruel social distancing.

Indigenously, designing such interventions as all these have been designed will ensure generalizability and replicability. The cross-cultural nature of the research

will throw light on any cultural elements that underlie the psychosocial processes involved.

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Chapter 12
Monitoring and Evaluation of Government Programs in India and Canada

K. Gayithri

12.1 Introduction

An effective monitoring of program implementation and its evaluation to assess if the intended outcomes are obtained are two key tools to ensure efficient use of the public monies spent on innumerable and ever-expanding programs. The enthusiasm that the governments have in announcing new schemes and enhancing spending levels is very often lacking in effectively monitoring and evaluating the programs for their success. This is more so in a developing economy like India wherein the government has expanded its activities enormously over time and oftentimes the claims for government's success are based on the quantum of money spent and to what extent increases have been effected over time rather than on the outcomes of such interventions (Gayithri 2015). The need to monitor and evaluate government programs was felt way back in 1952 itself with the creation of Program Evaluation Organisation (PEO) as an independent agency to be housed in the Planning Commission, to evaluate programs funded by plan (Mehrotra 2013) with a specific task of evaluating initially community development program and area development program implemented during the initial planning era (Chandrasekhar undated). However, over time it has been increasingly realized that the intentions have largely remained as rhetoric with inadequate serious efforts to evaluate the programs for their results let alone mid-course corrections. A more serious issue pertains to lack of data pertaining to the end results for a number of programs. In the context of Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) wherein India has missed the target on many components, Alok Srivastava states, '…one of the key reasons was lack of an inbuilt robust system for measuring the progress and achievement of MDGs. Monitoring and evaluation of programs and schemes aiming at different SDGs, in a robust and regular manner is therefore the need of the hour. A national evaluation policy (NEP) would set the tone

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in the right direction from the very beginning for achieving SDGs' (Srivastava 2018, 118).

The importance of monitoring and evaluation is globally recognized, and suitable frameworks are developed from time to time. The Canadian monitoring and evaluation practices have been observed to be very systematic with the evaluation in public sector management dating back to 1969 with the initiation of formalized and centralized evaluation practices. The evaluation policy has undergone number of changes over the years with the formal evaluation policy getting updated in 1991, 2001, and 2009. Lahey (2010, 2) states, 'Changes in the policy occurred for a variety of reasons: as the needs for evaluation or performance measurement evolved or became clearer; as M&E practices matured; and/or as the demands of the new system through public sector reform put emphasis on new areas, for example, the widespread introduction of results-based management in the 1990s and 2000s.' The results-based management Canada successfully managed to reduce its fiscal stress caused by rapid increase in expenditure by enacting 'spending control Act' in mid-nineties (Gayithri 1998, 2001). Prudent expenditure planning and management and streamlining of performance assessment methods have helped Canada tone up public sector accountability in a significant manner (Gayithri 2011).

In this backdrop, the present paper makes an attempt to analyze the monitoring and evaluation practices in India and Canada. The next section outlines the monitoring and evaluation systems and issues in India. Section three presents an outline of the evaluation and monitoring practices in Canada. Last section tries to draw lessons from the Canadian practices.

12.2 Monitoring and Evaluation in India

India has a federal form of government with the fiscal responsibilities divided among the three layers of government—center, state, and the local bodies. While the center and state responsibilities were listed, respectively, under 'center,' 'state,' and 'concurrent' lists that of local bodies, rural and urban came with the 73 and 74 Constitutional Amendments effected from 1993 to 1994. In terms of the expenditure responsibilities, the state governments shoulder larger responsibilities. Government programs are framed by all the three layers of governments; however, the local bodies have tended to largely execute the programs initiated by the center and the states, with the resource support provided by them, leading to a lot of debates on fiscal autonomy at the local level. This paper does not get into those debates. However, at this point, it is sufficient to understand that government programs get conceived and executed at different levels of government and there is a need to have a national evaluation policy to have the national programs evaluated with prescribed periodicity. In view of the fact that there are a number of programs launched by the state governments, there is a need to have state respective evaluation policy. As stated earlier, programs of the local bodies currently are largely framed by the center or states and thus can adopt the respective guidelines. In essence, evaluation has to be government wide and should at least capture the performance of major programs.

In view of the large-scale spending that happens on the programs, there is every need to monitor the implementation through the life cycle of the programs and has either end evaluation or concurrent evaluation of the programs in order to understand if the desired end results are achieved. Concurrent evaluations help in mid-course corrections as and when required. Certain programs also tend to continue on a long-term basis which would necessitate periodic evaluation. It is important to periodically review programs to assess its relevance or else the programs tend to get continued although they have become redundant and outlived their utility leading to wastage of scarce public resources.

12.2.1 Historical Perspective of M&E Systems in India[1]

India's efforts to put in place a systematic program evaluation are as old as that of India's planned development which is amply clear from the statement made in the first five-year plan document, 'Systematic evaluation should become a normal administrative practice in all branches of public activity. With the object of developing the techniques of evaluation a beginning has now been made with the establishment of an independent evaluation organisation under the Planning Commission for community projects and other intensive area development programmes' (as quoted in Chandrasekar Undated). An independent organization, namely 'Program Evaluation Organisation' (PEO), was established in 1952 under the guidance of Planning Commission. The main aims and objectives of evaluation to be undertaken by the PEO were to have an objective appraisal of the program implementation processes and impacts of the programs implemented, and identify the factors responsible for the success/failure of an intervention, beneficiary responses, and lessons learnt.

Progress made in the direction of expanding evaluation activities was quite noteworthy until the fourth five-year plan, with its headquarters in Delhi along with 3 regional evaluation units and 20 project evaluation units located in different parts of the country. State governments were requested to undertake evaluation of state schemes and coordinate with the evaluation field offices of Government of India. In addition to the evaluation of community development and area development programs which were the specific areas of evaluation for PEO when it was set up, it was required to undertake evaluation of plan programs of sectors like agriculture and cooperation, rural industries, fisheries, health, family welfare, rural development, rural electrification, public distribution system, tribal development, social forestry, etc. (Ibid).

The PEO had a central role to play from 1952 till 1970 with its program evaluation reports which were discussed at the annual conference of State Development Commissioners to aid in formulating follow-up action (Mehrotra 2013).

Evaluation was relegated to lesser importance subsequently, with only some newfound interest in the sixth plan and 11 five-year plans. The PEO was reduced both in its

[1]This section draws heavily from Mehrotra (2013) and Chandrasekar's (undated) especially on the historical evolution of the monitoring and evaluation systems in India.

size and importance attached to its evaluation reports, and they barely got discussed in the plan documents. The eleventh five-year plan introduced a new plan scheme, 'Strengthening Evaluation Capacity in government' in 2006–07. The renewed interest was reflected in its statement 'Quality evaluation of various programs and projects would not only bring improvement in public sector performance, but would also address a broad range of issues relating to economy, efficiency, sustainability, and relevance of public sector funding and development intervention' (as quoted in Chandrasekar).

12.2.2 Issues in the M&E Systems in India

While there has been a recognition of the importance of M&E systems, a long felt need to put in place rigorous procedures as evident from various policy pronouncements, initial institutional arrangements to evaluate programs from major sectors, the initial enthusiasm did not last long. Although there were renewed sporadic statements, government-wide evaluation capturing the major program performance at all the three layers of government remains a farfetched goal. Major issues include.

12.2.2.1 Lack of National Evaluation Policy

Program spending in India has expanded significantly at both the central and state government levels, the details of spending are available in terms of both financial targets and achievements. However, what is more important is the information relating to the results of such intervention by the government which can be obtained only by professional evaluation of the programs. Unfortunately, while at least during the initial years, i.e., between 1952 and 1970, there was a somewhat serious effort by the PEO, the subsequent efforts to evaluate government programs were limited to a set of programs. For instance, the Independent Evaluation Office (IEO) set up in 2013 to revamp the evaluation systems in India was very scrapped to be replaced with the Development Monitoring and Evaluation Office (DMEO) as an attached office of NITI Aayog. The DMEO will subsume the PEO of the erstwhile Planning Commission (Economic Times 2015) and will serve under the government's premier think tank NITI Aayog to keep a check on the center's flagship programs. There is a need to have a national policy to have evaluation of all the major schemes periodically and not limit the evaluation to certain programs alone. Government can also think of having an expenditure cutoff to prescribe an evaluation policy.

In this regard, Karnataka, an Indian state based in South India, is a forerunner in framing an evaluation policy at the subnational level way back in 2000, further setting up Karnataka Evaluation Authority to monitor and steer the evaluation of government programs. The evaluation policy prescribes that all plan schemes whose five-year plan outlay is over and above Rs. 100 lakh should be evaluated after the third year of implementation, however, before the completion of the five-year plan. Department concerned implementing such schemes have to compulsorily earmark 1% of such plan funds for evaluation purpose which is not permitted to be reappropri-

ated for any other purpose. It is mandatory for a scheme/project to continue beyond plan period to be justified by evaluation. Initially, the evaluation policy was to be implemented by the Departmental Evaluation Committee (DEC) and State Evaluation Co-ordination Committee (SECC) KEA provides technical guidance to all the departments and institutions an evaluation work taken by them. In addition, KEA undertakes thematic/conceptual evaluations on key issues with its own resources and provides the feedback to the state government.[2]

This kind of institutional mechanisms that steer through the evaluation processes for major programs with a prescribed periodicity renders valuable insights into the required mid-course corrections and an informed review of programs/schemes for their continuation or otherwise. However, such evaluations should not be limited to plan programs wherein typically the percentage shares of plan and non-plan ranged 20 and 80, respectively, thus in effect evaluation being undertaken for a very small component of government expenditure. The scrapping of plan and non-plan distinction with effect from 2017 to 2018 is a welcome step in this regard.

12.2.2.2 Creation of New Institutions and Frameworks

The tendencies to altogether abandon institutions and frameworks created for a particular policy purpose and create altogether a new structure are observed to be widely prevalent in Indian context. The PEO which was put in place was totally replaced with Independent Evaluation Office with inadequate measures to correct for the lapses in the working of PEO. In yet another a quick change, the IEO was replaced with DMEO in 2015. There is a need for a strong organization well equipped with staff and adequate resources.

12.2.2.3 Periodic Review of the Evaluation Policy

The national evaluation policy once framed needs to be revisited with prescribed periodicity or as and when the need arises to reflect or accommodate the changing situations for it to meaningfully contribute to an understanding of program performance.

12.3 Monitoring and Evaluation Systems in Canada[3]

The Canadian monitoring and evaluation (M&E) system emphasizes heavily on both evaluation and performance monitoring to ensure accountability and results-based management. The paper describes the evolution of concepts and the key lessons from public sector reforms which shaped the model of monitoring and evaluation in Canada.

[2] Please see http://kea.karnataka.gov.in/.

[3] The discussion on Monitoring and evaluation systems in Canada draws heavily from Lahey (2010).

The emphasis on monitoring and reporting heightened in the 1990s, with requirements like Department Performance Report to Parliament and measurement of outputs and outcomes. Treasury Board Secretariat (TBS), the central agency, contributed substantially to guide the evaluation process. *Results for Canadians*, the government's modern management agenda introduced in the 2000s, focused entirely on results-based management, where evaluation and monitoring were the critical tools to ensure a result focus, responsible spending, transparency, and accountability. There were various initiatives to build/strengthen M&E capacity, such as introduction of the Modern Comptrollership, a new evaluation policy, creation of Centre of Excellence for Evaluation (CEE) in TBS, and an investment strategy to plan the funding for evaluation. Nonetheless, certain weaknesses existed, which led to revision of the evaluation policy in 2009.

Monitoring and evaluation in the Canadian system is designed to provide results information for a variety of needs and users at different levels. For instance, it is expected to serve as learning tools to assist in program improvements and sound management practices at an operational level, as key management and accountability tools and source of important inputs to strategic reviews at an individual department level, as crucial information for TBS for funding and expenditure management at a government level, and in a legislative context, to enhance transparency and accountability of government operations with parliamentarians and citizens.

The individual government departments and the TBS are the two key focal points for the delivery and use of M&E information. The Centre of Excellence for Evaluation within the TBS plays crucial roles like community development to assist in capacity building, leadership, and support to assist departments, overseeing evaluation standards and quality, supporting the integration of results information to decision making. Through the 2009 Evaluation Policy and a Government Program Evaluation Plan, TBS could direct the conduct of government-wide evaluation studies. TBS guides, oversees, supports, and assists the departments in their monitoring system and reporting process to Parliament.

The individual departments are supposed to form an evaluation capacity appropriate to the size and needs of their organization under the responsibility of deputy ministers or deputy heads. TBS/CEE monitors and ensures that evaluation infrastructure is established in each department, including a senior-level Evaluation Committee, annual and multiyear planning for evaluation, a departmental evaluation policy reflective of the government's policy, and the mechanisms needed to follow through on delivery of credible evaluation products. Deputy heads are also accountable for establishing a corporate performance framework called Management Resources and Results Structure (MRRS) that links all programs of the department to the expected outcomes and serves as the basis for performance monitoring and reporting. Another important role is played by the independent national audit office, the Auditor General of Canada, in overseeing and examining the effectiveness and quality of evaluation and performance reporting to Parliament.

In a government department, both technical staff (evaluators) and non-technical officials (program and senior managers) take the responsibility for M&E, integrate it to decision making, and create a result-oriented culture. The administrative policies

require the departments to put in place the MRRS and a Results-based Management and Accountability Framework (RMAF) which serves to map out program theory or logic, dedicated resources for creating a stand-alone evaluation unit within the department or agency, a departmental evaluation policy that aligns with the government's evaluation policy, a comprehensive corporate multiyear Evaluation Plan, and a senior-level Evaluation Committee.

Thus, the Canadian M&E system requires both a strong central government presence and substantial investment in every government department.

12.4 Eight Key Features of Canadian M&E System Are

12.4.1 A Balanced Emphasis on Both *Monitoring and Evaluation*

The central agency expects the government departments to use ongoing monitoring of the programs and the evaluation studies to yield good governance and management practices. Within the government department, the responsibility of the deputy heads is to ensure high organizational performance, that of the program managers is to place results-based monitoring systems, and that of evaluation specialists is to conduct more probing evaluation studies with their technical expertise. TBS considers both the evaluation and monitoring results as crucial inputs to the annual reporting exercise to Parliament.

The M&E components within a government department are summarized below:

Performance monitoring (Program managers)	**Evaluation** (Evaluators)
Departmental performance report (DPR) (External reporting on performance to TBS and Parliament)	**Departmental strategic review** (Department identifies low performers/priorities)
Management resources and results structure (MRRS) • Key elements of the corporate architecture • Programs linked to expected departmental outcomes • Corporate measures of performance/success	**Policy evaluation**
Program-specific performance frameworks Program theory/logic (RMAFs) Monitoring program performance	**Program evaluation** (5-year cycle)

12.4.2 Internal Evaluation Units in Most Federal Departments with Central Leadership

This model derives largely from the dual notions of 'letting the managers manage' nonetheless, 'making them accountable.' The central leadership is led by TBS, which together with CEE set the rules and provide guidance and oversight in monitoring, evaluation, and reporting as well.

12.4.3 A Well-Defined Foundation to Set the Rules and Expectations for Evaluation: Policy, Standards, and Guidelines

The Canadian M&E requirements are based on administrative policies which allow more flexibility than legislation for modifications and improvements with more experience. There is clarity in the roles and responsibilities of the key players. Various centrally administered policies and procedures (e.g., evaluation policy, annual requirement to report to Parliament through the DPR, MRRS, RMAF, etc.) form the current basis for the M&E requirement.

12.4.4 Checks and Balances to Support the Independence/Neutrality of the Evaluator

The evaluations in all large- and medium-sized government departments used to focus on programs; however, after 2001, higher-level policy or strategic evaluations have been included. To enhance the independence and strength of the evaluators to be credible and objective, certain infrastructure and oversight mechanisms are placed both at the level of the department and the by the central government, which are listed below:

Elements instituted at the level of the department
Deputy head of a government department is responsible for establishing an internal evaluation function that is both robust and neutral[a]
The evaluation function and head of evaluation should have direct and unencumbered access to the deputy head of the individual department or agency, to help ensure independence/neutrality/impartiality in the conduct and use of evaluation results
The government's Directive on the Evaluation Function outlines the principle that evaluation heads have final decision-making authority on technical issues, subject to the decision-making authority of deputy heads
A senior-level Departmental Evaluation Committee in each department plays a variety of roles regarding evaluation planning, conduct, and follow-up, including assessment of the performance of the internal evaluation function
The head of evaluation is encouraged to make use of advisory committees, peer review, or external review panels as appropriate, for the planning and conducting of individual evaluation studies
Elements instituted government-wide and enforced centrally
The government's evaluation policy specifically defines and stresses the neutrality of both the evaluation function and the evaluator
Four broad requirements to ensure standards for evaluation: credible, neutral, timely, and produced in a professional and ethical manner
The government's central evaluation policy center, the TBS CEE, stresses neutrality in its communications and presentations on the implementation of the Evaluation Policy
An annual assessment of each department by TBS through the Management Accountability Framework or MAF process includes an assessment of monitoring and evaluation in the department
The oversight of the Auditor General of Canada (AG) of the implementation of the government's evaluation policy and the quality of performance reporting represents a very public disclosure of information which reinforces both the independence of the function and transparency

[a] 'Neutral' is defined in the 2009 Evaluation Policy (by replacing the word 'independence') as: … *an attribute required of the evaluation function and evaluators that is characterized by impartiality in behaviour and process. In carrying out their evaluation responsibilities evaluators do not allow official, professional, personal, or financial relationships or interests to influence or limit the scope of the evaluation or evaluation questions and the rigor of their methodology, limit disclosure, or weaken or bias findings. In addition, they will not allow preconceived ideas, prejudices, or social/political biases to affect their analysis; the development of evaluation findings, conclusions, recommendations; and the tone and content of an evaluation report.*

12.5 Oversight Mechanisms to Reinforce Credibility and Provide Quality Control

The three levels in which oversight is implemented in the Canadian model are as follows:

- The level of an individual evaluation study,
- An organizational (department/agency) level, and
- A whole-of-government level.

The two key players in this regard are the TBS CEE and the AG of Canada. The CEE monitors the planning and conduct of evaluation in all departments, and TBS handles performance monitoring from approval to reporting. Since 2003, TBS examines the departments and deputy heads annually based on many criterions under the MAF process which is linked to compensation of the deputy heads. At the whole government level, the AG conducts periodic performance audits to monitor the effectiveness of M&E implementation across the full system, which is also reported by the media regularly for full public disclosure. The AG's reports raised several issues, especially when there were setbacks in the 1990s due to fiscal restraints, which helped in improving the evaluation function substantially.

12.5.1 Flexibility and Willingness to Learn and Adjust

One of the unique features of the Canadian M&E system is flexibility. Implementation of the government's evaluation policy, in terms of staff size and budgets, has, therefore, varied vastly across different organizations based on their size. There is also flexibility in piloting new requirements and adjusting as needed before the government-wide rollout, which helps in continuously refining the system for the better. The evaluation policy itself has been revised four times in the past 34 years, which proves the willingness to move away from the status quo.

12.5.2 Transparency as an Underlying Value of the System

Transparency is a crucial aspect in the Canadian M&E system. The officials are mandated, as per the 2009 Evaluation Policy, to make available the approved evaluation reports along with management responses and action plans to Canadians in a timely manner, albeit respecting the Access to Information Act, the Privacy Act, and the Government Security Policy. The AG reports have also increased public awareness on performance/results of government programs. Public disclosure laws and higher access to department/central agency Web sites have also helped in maintaining transparency of the M&E system in Canada.

12.5.3 An Ongoing Commitment to Capacity Building

Within the organizations, mainly three broad groups require familiarity with M&E and M&E training/orientation, which are as follows:

- *Evaluators*

They need in-depth technical training, comprising of social science research methods, survey research, and other specialized training. 'Growing' evaluators typically represents a long-term training commitment and substantial on-the-job experience to gain the skills set and needed experience.

- *Program managers*

They should develop and establish ongoing performance monitoring systems, for which they need some level of instruction regarding the development of performance frameworks, program logic models, results chains, and the derivation of performance indicators.

- *Senior officials*

They need some orientation about the concepts, practices, potential benefits, and commitment of the M&E.

TBS has been offering various trainings/workshops, especially at entry and mid-level training for both technical practitioners and non-technical managers to orient the officials toward a results-based performance framework. In addition to the large number of evaluators in internal evaluation units across government, the majority of the departments hire external evaluators from the private sector. Thus, the role of CEE in overseeing the standards and norms of evaluation is critical. Along with the private sector and professional associations like Canadian Evaluation Society, a network of universities has also contributed to M&E development, by offering evaluation certificate programs, with a focus on specialized and more in-depth training needed to work as an evaluation practitioner. Substantial efforts have been made in recent years to establish a recognized set of competencies for evaluators and an accreditation program.

12.6 Performance of the Canadian M&E System

12.6.1 Volume of Activity: The Investment in Evaluation

The actual spending on evaluation in 2005–06 was $32 million, which was below the estimated resource need of $55 million, however, had risen substantially over the 2000s. The appropriate size and level of investment for the evaluation function within their department are determined by the senior officials. About two-thirds of funding for evaluation in 2004–05 were derived from departmental evaluation units' A-base

budget, and approximately, one-quarter of funds came from the program areas being evaluated.

12.6.2 Volume of Activity: Evaluation Coverage

One of the main objectives of the 2009 Evaluation Policy was to increase evaluation coverage so that 100% of the government's direct program spending (about $112.3 billion in 2010–11) could be evaluated over a 5-year period. The government-wide evaluation coverage was about 10% of all direct program spending in the mid-2000s, which rose to 15% in 2009–10. However, for the past decade, formal requirements existed to evaluate all programs that are considered grants and contributions (G&C), which represent about 40% of all government direct program spending ($43.8 billion). The evaluation coverage for these programs rose dramatically over the 2000s, to the point where total cumulative coverage over the past three years reached 68%.

The 2009 *Policy on Evaluation* mandated the evaluations to address 'value for money' by addressing issues of program relevance and performance, that is, effectiveness, efficiency, and economy.

12.6.3 Use of M&E Information in the Canadian Public Sector

The M&E information for an individual department serves both management needs (the individual program manager as well as the deputy minister and senior management committee), and accountability and reporting needs.

The performance monitoring information collected by program managers and the results of individual evaluation studies conducted by the department's evaluation unit serve as inputs to:

- Treasury Board submissions
- Memoranda to the Cabinet
- The department's annual Report on Plans and Priorities
- The Departmental Performance Report (tabled in Parliament every fall) and
- Expenditure and strategic reviews of all departmental programs and spending.

12.6.4 Linking M&E Information to Funding Decisions

Evaluation and strategic reviews require departments to comprehensively assess all of their programs every four years, to ensure value for money, effectiveness, efficiency,

and alignment with government roles and priorities. Departments would then present these findings as input to budget planning, to change, improve, or replace programs.

12.7 Some Lessons Learned from 30 Years of M&E Development in Canada

Lessons learned from the Canadian experience could be observed under three key headings.

12.7.1 Drivers for M&E

The main drivers of a successful M&E system in Canada are the public sector reform exercises and the management agenda, *Results for Canadians,* which emphasized on the significance of M&E information. The key lessons regarding the drivers for M&E are summarized as follows:

- Political will and sustained commitment, where central leadership and a plan are crucial
- A long-term planning in terms of years
- M&E information to be linked to decision making
- Clear distinction between monitoring and evaluation along with its contributions
- Evaluation should not only be done but the information should be well-utilized
- Incentives for managers to demand information, like rewards for meeting requirements
- Formal requirements to build M&E infrastructure within individual departments and agencies have brought the concept of M&E to the level of program managers and have put it in the context of both management and accountability
- Evaluations should provide useful information to *inform* debates about programs, their performance, and future direction.

12.7.2 Implementation of the M&E System

Commitment and dedication at both senior and operational levels are important to ensure sustainability through the long period of development and implementation of M&E. Some main lessons from Canadian experience on M&E implementation are as follows:

- Sufficient communication and forums for information sharing across organizations about the role of M&E and how it can help management is a must.

- A formal policy document is a useful basis for clarifying roles, responsibilities, and accountabilities of key players.
- A central agency champion for the evaluation function in government can play a key role in the M&E system, such as the CEE in Canada guides, leads, and promotes capacity development, and oversees to ensure quality control.
- The general philosophy of 'try, adapt, learn, and adjust' allows for a period of learning and an ease of adjustment, when needed, without a major investment in reorienting the whole system, although it lengthens the overall period of building the M&E system.
- Flexibility and recognizing that one size *does not* fit all is important to take account of the unique circumstances associated with each organization.
- Oversight by the national audit office is important in giving broad and public exposure of the effectiveness and required adjustments with the M&E system.

12.7.3 Key Elements of Capacity Building

Key lessons learned from Canada are:

- It is crucial to build an adequate supply of human resource capacity. 'Growing' evaluators require more technically oriented M&E training and development than learning through one or two workshops.
- Both formal training and on-the-job experience are important in developing evaluators. Cognitive capacity and communication skills are two key competencies for evaluators.
- Developing the communication skills of evaluators is important.
- Program and senior managers require lesser technical training on M&E; however, they need to have enough understanding to trust and use M&E information.
- Investment in training and systems development is long term. Various training and development programs are offered by the public sector, private sector, universities, professional associations, job assignment, and mentoring programs.
- Champions and advocates are necessary to sustain the commitment needed over the long term.
- Evaluation professionals should have the necessary skill set to play a key role in providing functional advice and guidance to departmental/agency managers about the design and development of appropriate results-based performance monitoring systems.
- Ongoing performance monitoring and periodic evaluation studies should be complementing and support one another.
- The significance of data quality is often underestimated; however, it is critical for the credibility of an M&E system.

12.8 Conclusions

It is important to recognize based on country experiences that putting the right kind of monitoring and evaluation framework is a long-drawn process involving trial and error. Indian monitoring systems which were put in place at the very beginning of the planning process are yet to stabilize and there are new frameworks tried out in between. The evaluation policy once framed also to be revisited with prescribed periodicity or as and when the need arises to reflect or accommodate the changing situations for it to meaningfully contribute to an understanding of program performance rather than attempting altogether new frameworks. The Canadian monitoring and evaluation too has had a very long history; however, commitment and dedication at both senior and operational levels have played an important role to ensure sustainability through the long period of development and implementation of M&E. Lahey (2010) argues that the general philosophy of 'try, adapt, learn, and adjust' allows for a period of learning and an ease of adjustment, when needed, without a major investment in reorienting the whole system, although it lengthens the overall period of building the M&E system.

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Chapter 13
Paradigms of Art Practice: The Artist Within the Community

Gitanjali Kolanad

Certain Indian art forms are not necessarily focused on excellence at the level of technique, or on producing professional artists, but rather on creating an arts practice open and accessible to all; not on the individual artist, but on the community of practice, whereby the embodied knowledge of the form is sustained and becomes a tradition. The paradigm is the kalari, the place of practice, part of the communal space of the Kerala village, where rituals, aspects of pedagogy and an engagement with the whole person generates, nurtures and strengthens this community of practice.

My paper details the ways in which the understanding of what an arts practice is, defined by India texts, specifically the Natya Shastra, and contexts, specifically the kalari, leads to the development of a unique collective of artists practising Indian art forms in Toronto. It shows how these practices engender the wholistic involvement of the participant without reference to gender, religion, caste and class. I explore in my paper how these aspects therefore make them ideal for building the community of practice, even in contexts far from their place of origin. I use examples from the work of members of IMPACT—Indian Martial and Performing Arts Collective of Toronto—several of whom were also SICI recipients, to illustrate the scope of possibilities for engagement and participation across artistic disciplines and in diverse environments.

I enrolled in Kalakshetra, the dance school in what was then Madras, in 1971. This was only possible for me because, though I looked South Indian, spoke a little Tamil and knew how to eat with my hands, I was from Canada and had a Canadian view of dance and art in general. My Indian-born parents had lived in Canada long enough that they had, not whole-heartedly, but to some limited degree converted, at least enough to allow me this choice of subject. My grandparents were horrified and frankly, repulsed in ways I could not even comprehend until many years later. One grandmother never came to see me dance on stage, the living grandfather never did, and the other grandmother attended a performance only after that grandfather died.

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Why this disgust for an art form?

What was it that fuelled my grandparents' antipathy to dance, that my parents were reluctantly willing to ignore or overlook, and that affected me not at all?

At Kalakshetra, I was told that women who originally danced in the temples of South India were devadasis, and that the meaning of that word was 'god's servants'. This, it turns out, is equivalent to saying that the meaning of 'call girl' is a young female who uses a telephone. When people of my grandparent's generation heard the work 'devadasi', the meaning it conveyed to them is the same meaning you get from 'call girl'—nothing to do with its literal meaning and everything to do with its usage, its connotations. My grandparents did not want me to learn a dance associated with prostitutes. To them, bharatanatyam was akin to pole dancing, not an art form at all.

Art is notoriously hard to define. Brian Eno, during the 2015 BBC John Peel Lecture, said, 'Art is everything you don't have to do'. It's a concise, pithy saying that has the right feel, in that it aligns with our natural understanding, especially since it comes from Brian Eno—a musician and therefore a member of the category of 'artist'. He meant that art was everything that isn't necessary, but I'm deliberately misinterpreting him, going by the exact meaning of the words, to emphasize the nature of a prevailing concept of art, especially in the West: as a choice on the part of the individual. So the question naturally arises: would it still be art if someone was forced to do it?

It is so easy to fall into the categories that we take for granted from our own culture. But once that first error of categorization is made, in which a practice is viewed as 'art', that very framing leads to a cascading series of mistaken assumptions: dance is a choice now, or in my culture, and it fits my feeling that it is an art, since it is a form of self-expression; what they are doing over there looks like dance; therefore, it must be an art; since it is an art, those people doing it must be doing it for the same reasons I do art.

Certainly, that was my limited understanding of dance when I chose to go to Kalakshetra, spending many hours every day doing everything I did not have to do. I did not start questioning my assumptions about choice in art until many years later.

It is important to remind ourselves that choice was not always or even usually the case for much of the history of what we call 'art' in many places around the world. In South India, for example, only forty or so years before I started at Kalakshetra, if you were born into a particular caste, then the very same practices that I was choosing to do in my dance classes might be what you had to do, whether you wanted to or not. That is, what was done compulsorily by a particular group of women born into or ritually initiated into a caste or caste-like designation might be recognized and categorized as art even by those who favour a definition like Eno's.

Despite problems both with the definition and with the categorization, bharatanatyam, the dance form I practised for more than forty years, became the art form it is today through the process of allowing it to be something freely chosen. The history of that process has been written and rewritten without making explicit the changing meaning and value ascribed to art and artist that was the decisive factor for

the emergence of bharatanatyam onto the stage. Before that, it was a caste/caste-like set of practices imposed without regard for personal choice and including ritual and sexual practices that have nothing to do with our modern-day understanding of dance as an art form and the role of the dancer as artist (Kolanad 2015, p. 24).

The idea of the nation-state along with the newly emergent idea of the citizen with rights and responsibilities came at a pivotal moment in history through the intersection of politics, technology and social transformation, to create an India that was new 'but required the delusion of an eternal existence' (Kaviraj 2010, p. 181). The emergence of bharatanatyam onto the concert stage as the quintessential 'Indian' dance form was both a part of and an outcome of 'this pretence of Indian antiquity [that] was entirely necessary and at the same time largely false' (Kaviraj 2010, p. 182) implicated both in the top-down and in the bottom-up analysis of that phenomena. When considered in India, while much about this interlinking of the emergence of the art form with the emergence of the nation-state will be mistaken and misunderstood, it will nevertheless be embedded there, in the living memory of participants in the process, for example, and in the institutions that are thrown up at the intersection of nation and art form, such as Sangeet Natak Akademi, and schools such as Kalakshetra.

A physical tradition is created in just this way, through lived, embodied experience, which implies understanding as well as misunderstandings. Since the dance form exists within bodies, not as text, on canvas, or carved into stone, and a defining characteristic of bodies is movement and change, it can never be fixed, in the way an object like a book can, but must be understood as qualities, practices, conventions arrived at over time. The Indian metaphor often invoked is of the river, flowing, but between fixed banks. But even within the terms of the metaphor, it is important to remember that the banks of a river are changed by its flow as much as the water is confined by the banks, and there are tributaries, streams, canals, each having an affect on the original water body.

What happens in the diaspora, to extend the metaphor, is that the water comes without its banks, the body of the dancer being the container for the limited amount of the tradition that can be held within that one body. Once transplanted, the diasporic tradition of that dance form very quickly becomes its own thing, partaking of attributes and conditions in the new place that do not affect the form at all in its place of origin. Moreover, it is free of associations that exist in the old place and can more quickly take on new meanings, new resonances. Still, it is important to remember that this ignorance comes as a double-edged sword: in not knowing what the old ideologies are, they are more likely to be adapted whole, along with the art form, embedded as they are within it.

We think of a tradition as arising over a significant period of time, at least hundreds, if not the thousands of years that is claimed for them. But if we look carefully at what is going on around us, then we can see that movement traditions arise very quickly—modern dance, developing at the beginning of the twentieth century, already developed various gharanas or banis—Limon, Graham, Cunningham—by the 1950s and 1960s; hip hop developed in the 1970s and already has a solid tradition of respected gurus, such as Boogaloo Sam and Tommy the Clown, with distinct techniques and styles such as krumping, popping and locking and electric boogaloo.

Bharatanatyam is constructed as ancient, and ballet as classical, but not old in quite the same way, yet calculated in the years of their being known in a form recognizably similar to how they look today, they are about the same age—400 years perhaps. Thus, comparing ballet in France with its various diasporic manifestations, in Russia, in Germany, in Britain, in America, can give us some benchmarks for how quickly a dance form changes and adapts to the new conditions that exist: about 80 years for a recognizably 'English' ballet to develop, with Fredrick Ashton, and even a shorter time, with George Balanchine coming from Russia to America and choreographing in the new place, New York, work that defined the look and technique of American ballet.

My own history with bharatanatyam in the Canadian context is already half that long, long enough for me to have observed and marked defining changes in technique, pedagogy and performance. To completely document such changes is not the purpose or within the scope of this paper; rather, I would like to illustrate a conceptual turn that I recognize as having taken place within attitudes to Indian dance, before referring to less-recognized paradigms and possibilities with which I have had personal experience.

Indian dance forms in the diaspora tend to take on what I call the nostalgic attitude. Nostalgia, the longing for an idealized past, is no crime; in fact, it may even be necessary because it 'places the subject within the history' (Berman 2008, p. 15), allowing the narrative of the past to be told in the particular way that allows me someplace within it. The nostalgic attitude makes the dance form itself a product of idealization, cleansing and sanitizing. Thus, the nostalgic attitude was my own first response to bharatanatyam, filled with familiar tropes: two thousand years old, from the Natya Shastra, performed by devadasis who once lived only to serve the god of the temple through dance but fell into prostitution as the power and relevance of their art form ebbed (very often the British are blamed) in modern society. This narrative is still popular among dancers such as Menaka Thakkar and Lata Pada as evidenced by their pre-performance explanations: 'Bharatanatyam is one of the 8 classical dance styles of India. Its origin is very ancient'.[1] And 'Bharatanatyam has been practiced, in one form or another, for over 2000 years… [as]part of temple ritual as a form and expression of worship… practiced by a select group of people and by the women in that community… a privilege that was apportioned to this group… to perform the dance as ritual; it was never intended to be entertainment… [in] the temple's sanctum sanctorum… which only the priests and the temple dancers were allowed to access' (Pada 2008).

But it is important to remember that nostalgia, while allowing the subject to integrate the discontinuity of past and present, refers backwards to an ideal that never existed. Negative aspects have been filtered out. The nostalgic attitude, when faced with research and historical data that foreground the reality of devadasi as sex worker, and bharatanatyam as salon dance for the delectation of a male audience, constructs her as autonomous sexually and financially, literate, keeper of an artistic

[1] Menaka Thakkar's website.

tradition.[2] Nostalgia is no longer for the two-thousand-year-old tradition going back to the Natya Shastra, but for the two-hundred-year-old heyday of 'sadir' danced in the salons of 'Black Town', as if that is somehow more worthy of reclaim. This seems to be the prevailing attitude among younger bharatanatyam dancers, such as Hari Krishnan and Srividya Natarajan, in Canada today.

Thus, their piece called 'The King's Salon' which according to a write-up in an Indo-American newspaper, 'presented through rhapsodic emotional texts and rhythmically intricate movement, was a breathtakingly beautiful ode to the devadasis, the artistes and courtesans of yesteryear, whose grace and prowess in the ancient dance form captivated royalty and zamindars alike. By drawing wide patronage, the art flourished and thrived through the ages, until colonialism and a redefinition of morality brought that era of courtly grandeur to an end'. In this nostalgic representation of the devadasi, there is no attention paid to the matter of choice: the young girl who had no choice in the matter of her initiation into the practice, nor to the fact that more than likely, her virginity would be sold to the highest bidder, and that no low caste men or even the men of her own community could ever become her lover, and that she was actively prohibited from marrying, as her wedding to the deity kept her sexually available to other men without the protections of marriage.

What this attitude implies, in either version, is the whole-hearted acceptance of the ideology embedded within a tradition or individual dance, that can only be revealed through rigorous and detailed analysis (Bales 2013, p. 194). This does not happen in the nostalgic attitude. A hegemonic, dominant Brahmanical Hindu world view[3] is swallowed along with the dance form, with its patriarchy, outmoded sexual attitudes[4] that give prominence to the male and his desire,[5] the pathologizing of

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[2](Harp-Allen 1997) 'Devadasis… were female, Hindu ritual practitioners, women who underwent training and initiation in religious-artistic practices…'.

(Hubel 2016): 'I lament that the feminists could not see the dasis for the model of professional womanhood that they were'.

(O'Shea 2007): 'Devadasis trained in dance and music and, unlike most other women of their time, learned to read and write. They travelled about freely in the outside world …'.

(Srinivasan 1998): 'For the devadasis their temple attachment granted sectarian purity and the promotional avenues to pursue a prosperous career. The economic and professional benefits were considerable'.

(Viswanathan 2004): 'Many devadasis were literate, having a level of education that women of higher social status were denied'.

[3]'Our culture is Bharatanatyam, Kuchipudi, Lavni and Kathak; this is what we should be showing to the foreigners…' Maharastra Navnirman Sena group leader Sanjay Deshpande, protesting a fashion show. Quoted in an article by Trisha Gupta, The Sunday Guardian, 22 May 2016.

[4]Varnam, the centrepiece of the bharatanatyam performance, is as a general rule addressed to either Vishnu or Shiva, less frequently to a king, in a tone of longing; padams and javalis are addressed to more human males, often perfunctorily identified with Krishna, Muruga or Shiva, but these are the voices of male poets speaking through the female nayika. It is sometimes argued that the female dancer, in enacting and imbuing these songs with emotion, is reclaiming the female voice. While that may be true for some exceptional performers, I do not see this as even an attempt in most dance performances.

[5]Thus, a padam in which a pre-pubescent girl says, 'Why should I go to him? I'm frightened' in which the male's unwanted advances are enacted—holding her hand, squeezing her breasts,

female desire,[6] stories of Rama, Krishna and Shiva that obliterate Dalit[7] and tribal values[8] while ignoring what Ambedkar called 'caste's ascending scale of reverence and descending scale of contempt'.

This is not to say that bharatanatyam does not include the same ugly baggage in India—of course it does. But here in India, there are constant antidotes to that poison, in stories that challenge that dominant Hindu world view, that appear in the newspaper, such as the recent suicide of a Dalit student at Hyderabad University, and JNU agitations, as well as performances within the bharatanatyam technique and form itself, that emphasize 'those elements or practices that challenge, ignore or eventually expand' (Bales 2013, p. 177) the tradition.

It is important to make this set of meanings around dance clear especially for bharatanatyam in the Indian diaspora. The diaspora imposes its own set of environmental conditions for the art form, which include assumptions about dance and dancers, funding and patronage opportunities, 'mainstream' dance forms to contend with, and audiences very different from those in South India. There are readymade categories of dance—classical, contemporary, modern, ethnic, world, fusion—within which the newly arrived form gets slotted without recognition of its long and troubled history, or its embedded ideologies, or its different aesthetic standards and conventions.

In India, most importantly, other paradigms of practice exist beyond what bharatanatyam offers.

First, I would like to further question the definition of art with which I began. Brian Eno said that art is everything you do not have to do—you have to wear clothes, but the beautiful decorations added to them, that are not necessary, but you do it of your own free choice, for the pleasure it gives you to make that decoration, that's the art. But this definition makes no mention of the recipient, the person buying or receiving the dress, only the maker of it. Western attitudes towards art do tend to focus on the artist. The Natya Shastra does not even discuss theatre and theatrical expression as art at all but as a Veda—scriptural knowledge. It places the relationship between dancer and audience at the very heart of the aesthetic experience, equalizing the role of the

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taking half-chewed paan from his mouth and pushing it into hers, that is, essentially describing a molestation or harassment, is made into an aesthetic event.

[6]The story of Surpanakha, where the female who expresses desire is characterized as a demon, and her nose and ears are cut off, is often enacted as part of the 'sanchari' or elaboration in varnams or kritis about Rama.

[7]The story of Nandanar is very often performed: he is a Dalit; therefore, he cannot enter the Shiva temple in Tirupunkur, but his great devotion causes the bull to move out of his way, giving him an unobstructed view of the deity. In Chidambaram, he burns his Dalit body on a funeral pyre, emerging out of it 'purified'. This has become an accepted piece in the bharatanatyam repertoire.

[8]In the Ramayana series of dance dramas choreographed by Rukmini Devi and presented all over the world, tribal lords are portrayed as falling at the feet of Rama, Lakshmana and Sita numerous times. Rukmini Devi and others also choreographed the story of the tribal devoted to Shiva, Kannappar. While this story seems to glorify the devotion of the Kannappar, it also plays on images of tribal ignorance, in that he does not know how to properly worship the Lingam, spitting on it, giving it half-eaten food, and depends at the end, like the Nandanar story, on his disfigurement, debasement and self-sacrifice.

connoisseur or rasika—a word that Umberto Eco translates as 'juice-maker—the dynamic co-creator of rasa'.

The aesthetic experience is always a shared experience, according to Bharata Muni. No definition of art that focused only on the art-maker would satisfy him. In making art a mutually fulfilling and creative experience, there must be room for active participation. If there is a way in which I do believe that the two-thousand-year-old text is relevant to modern-day practices in the performing arts, it is in articulating this aspect in a powerful and compelling way, that still resonates with us as modern-day artists. And in conceptualizing an Indian way of dancing, that has nothing to do with a particular set of movements, dress, music or story, I would say that it is here too, in which the Indianness lies—that the elusive quality of rasa exists in the in-between, not in one or the other.

The paradigm of a practice that depends on and honours shared experience is the kalari and kalaripayat. While it is a performance art much more than a martial art now, it retains its connection to fighting and warfare by a constant reference within the technique to 'what works' and 'how it works' as the defining factor for the correctness of movement and form. Moreover, it is not primarily aimed towards performance, but towards a fulfilling and sustaining daily, communal practice. Other aspects of what Bharata has to say about how rasa is created might not seem to fit so well with the kalaripayat experience. While I could attempt to place aspects of kalaripayat within the bhava, anubhava and vyabhicharibhava framework that Bharata builds, I do not think that is necessarily relevant to make my argument: that a view of art in which the experience is a shared one is viable, useful and satisfying to those who participate in it.

It may be useful to compare kalaripayat in this regard to yoga, since they intersect in many aspects: the importance of breath, the attention towards the inner experience, an emphasis on focus and concentration while moving. But their difference is crucial, because yoga is an individual practice, while kalaripayat is markedly and necessarily communal. Nor is kalaripayat the only such art form in India. silambam, gatka and banethi come to mind as three others.

Each of these forms is practised by marginalized groups as well as elites, in spaces that allow the obliteration of those distinctions. A recent survey conducted by one of my students at SNU, for example, found that most silambam practitioners at one school were Scheduled and Backward Castes, but some were not; within the space of their practice, their caste was not an issue. I noticed this when I first began learning kalaripayat alongside bharatanatyam. My bharatanatyam classes took place in middle-class and upper-middle-class neighbourhoods, with exclusively middle-class and upper-middle-class students, whose fathers and mothers were professionals or business people. They often arrived in chauffeur-driven cars, with a maid to chaperone them. This was inevitable, since the classes were so expensive. In my first kalaripayat classes, on the other hand, I found myself among a mix of students from more working-class backgrounds. The most skilled kalaripayat practitioner in that class was an auto-rickshaw driver. After our practice together, he would put on his uniform, turn on the metre and take me back to my hotel.

When I asked my kalaripayat teacher about the philosophy that allowed such an egalitarian practice space, he said, 'When you step into the kalari, you leave all your affiliations behind—caste, religion, class, gender even. When you finish, you can pick them up again as you leave'. With the organization IMPACT—Indian Martial and Performing Arts Collective of Toronto—co-founded by Andrew Suri and me in 1998, we explored the possibilities of these other Indian art forms, practised in India within the neighbourhood, across caste and religious boundaries, and without the expensive accoutrements of dance performance such as the arangetram, the maiden performance that can cost as much as a wedding, and without the embedded hierarchy of caste and dominant Hindu ideals.

We attempted with IMPACT to create the same equal space of practice. Thus, we taught classes for free in underserved neighbourhoods. Funding came from arts funding bodies such as the Toronto Arts Council, Toronto Community Foundation, Ontario Arts Council and Trillium Foundation. This model allowed participation in the art form without reference to financial ability to pay. We had students from mainly working-class backgrounds, as well as homeless youth, through our association with the organization Sketch.

We taught programs as part of the school curriculum as well as after-school programmes. Because these art forms do not have the recognition and state-sanctioned designations, they were not even necessarily recognized and marked by participants as 'Indian' art forms. This allowed participants to enter into their physical vocabularies without too much stereotyping and expectations of classicism, mythological and religious connotations and pre-conceptions. Thus, it was possible to use this vocabulary of movement to express stories from the participant's own background, be it aboriginal, Somali or any other way of being Canadian. This was a huge advantage in the very multi-cultural neighbourhoods in which we worked.

If performance is expressed as an explicit goal of a practice, then by its very articulation in those terms, the major part of the time and the majority of participants will not be experiencing it. This is equally true of not only bharatanatyam, but ballet, piano, violin and any number of other lessons that people choose to take, and I am not arguing that there is no value in the process if the goal of performance is not met.

Still I think that in art forms where the process itself is the only goal, there is a subtle or not even so subtle difference in experience. Having for the whole of my career lived with the frustration of not having opportunities to perform the art for which I daily trained, it was a relief and a great source of pleasure to partake of an experience of deep, nuanced, skilled physical training that was not geared towards performance in any way. The art form itself is more dynamic, fluid and individual, without the strict canonical interpretations of the classical Indian performance forms. Thus, the student feels and finds pleasure right away in moving through a form that becomes more refined with practice.

Bharatanatyam has become almost de rigueur for the young South Asian girl, as parents 'in the US feel that Bharatanatyam is an important means to keep in touch with their roots and to propagate Indian culture' (Ramani 2013) forcing her from a young age into a particular version of Indian femininity. This questioning of the form itself is not something that seems to be encouraged, such that this is taken to

be a compliment: 'Once considered raw and marginally passable due to their place of birth and residence, these dancers are sometimes even better than their Indian counterparts, and are more likely to preserve the authenticity of the art form' (Amin 2007).

While true that having gone through it one can then break out, it is perhaps time to not force that in the first place. Art forms such as kalaripayat and banethi do not feed on stereotypical versions of feminine and masculine, as the forms are widely practised by both boys and girls. Thus, the girl does not become the de facto repository of cultural norms and identity, but the boy is allowed into that space as well, and can claim, to whatever extent he might wish, an equal stake in the cultural space.

The pedagogy of the kalari does place the guru at the top of the hierarchy. But in practice, the student is very much responsible for their own learning, and peer-to-peer teaching happens both formally and informally. IMPACT made such pedagogical processes central to our approach and many of our students became instructors. One central aspect of kalaripayat is daily practice. This was impossible for IMPACT to implement due to lack of a dedicated space and funding for such an initiative. But in a number of short-term projects, such as involving a master teacher, going to work with First Nations youth in Thunder Bay, and in summer camps for children, we were able to recreate the daily practice model for up to two weeks.

It is important to stress that the kalaripayat experience and the attempt to share in Canada the aspects of that experience that were clearly missing in other forms of cultural training came first and the theorizing about it much later. It is only in the context of trying to understand what we ourselves had set out to do, and what we considered success and failure that we began to articulate and make explicit these aspects of the form. Of all of these, I think it is the understanding that the aesthetic experience is a shared one that is fundamental to IMPACT and the work we did through IMPACT. But this understanding is not unique, and in that regard, I will mention two other examples.

Shastri fellowship recipient Brandy Leary, member and former artistic director of IMPACT, studied kalaripayat as well as other even lesser known art forms like rope Mallakhamb. Trained first in chhau, kalaripayat became one among a number of movement vocabularies she employed, combining it fearlessly with aerial and modern dance, modern music scores and technology, in dance works that are viewed as 'contemporary'. Her recent choreographic work depends on and is electrically charged by the dynamic of artist/audience sharing the creative space of performance.

Her choreography uses unconventional spaces, like the Bata Shoe Museum and allows the audience to move around, through and under performers, such that audience members create their own performance, each one unique. Other experiments have included audience members making and sustaining a rope grid through which dancers entwine and flow. Most recently her dance company affirmed that creative role in the most positive way by creating the position of 'audience in residence' to allow the performance to grow into its fullness through and with the active participation of the rasika, as envisaged by Bharata. Another Shastri fellowship holder, Hans Wolfgramm, took part in a year-long study of kalaripayat. First a participant in IMPACT programming, he became an IMPACT instructor and performer. He

embarked on a two-month kalaripayat project in Thunder Bay, working with First Nations youth with substance abuse problems. They practised and created together, using kalaripayat not to impose Indian mythology or forms but as a fluid, flexible vocabulary to tell their own stories.

The paradigm of the kalari as the space of practice, where anyone can participate and where all who participate will share in the pleasure of that practice, offers possibilities in the diaspora that the classical art forms do not. To be an Indian art form does not mean to be ancient, classical, tied to mythological stories or to Hinduism. This goes deeper than that, into a fundamental understanding of what art is and what gives art its power and meaning. Kalaripayat in the diaspora extends the aesthetic experience in the direction of the ideal that Bharata articulated.

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Chapter 14
Feeling Well: Kalaripayat—An Embodied Practice of Insight Problem-Solving

Hans Wolfgramm

Before the sun has fully risen, the youngest students begin filtering into the kalari still rubbing the sleep out of their eyes. One by one, they enter through the thick wooden door. They descend three steps to the dugout pit of the kalari, right foot forward, touching hand to the uneven mud floor, then head and chest. Movements of practice have shaped the dirt floor over time, the way weather shapes a landscape, but instead of wind and water, it is sweat, foot movements and the impact of weapons.

When entering the kalari, all practitioners including the Gurukkal move clockwise through the space paying their respects in the same way—first to the puttara, the main shrine of the kalari, a seven-tiered structure in the south-west corner. On the west wall, pictures of the teachers and the teachers' teachers hang garlanded, next to special weapons and artefacts from previous generations of virtuosos. On the south wall, the well-worn practice weapons are stacked against each other.

After the students pay respects to the kalari—the space, the deities and previous masters—but before taking blessings from the Gurukkal, gingelly oil is self-applied. Many of the kids race through the blessings in a perfunctory, absent-minded way. The sleepiest ones take the opportunity of rubbing gingelly oil to waste time, carelessly rubbing the same part of their body until someone notices and scolds them to get on with practice.

The occasional young boy or girl who performs these rituals with care and attention stands out as unique case. Often, these are the sons and daughters of those kalaripayat practitioners who still come to practise. The parent, typically the father, chooses an arrival time that is late enough that he can practise with the more advanced students but early enough for the child to practise with the other children. These children get a double advantage: the father will give his attention to the child, taking them through advanced movements, and the child is forced to stay later and ends up watching the older students practise. Their attention wanders as they wait, sometimes, as with

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one little girl in particular, who leaves the kalari to dance in the garden. But as they get older, exposure accumulates. Their own practice becomes more advanced and details of the advanced students' practice become salient and more interesting, and if everything goes well, the process is reinforced. Sometimes, if they happen to be there at the right time, they may be invited to participate in techniques well beyond their level for no reason in particular.

There are no segregated classes, or even fixed times. The Gurukkal opens the kalari before dawn and closes the kalari whenever practice is finished: sometimes, a little earlier if the Gurukkal has a function to attend to, sometimes later if students can stay, especially on Sundays. There is no belt system, the students who arrive around the same time form groups to move through the warm-ups together. After the warm-up, these groups sometimes maintain unity as they proceed through the body control sequences; often, they break apart to some degree, as some may jump in for some exercises with a group that arrived before them, or move on to a weapons sequence with a partner while others continue with the body control exercises.

Through all of this, the Gurukkal gives verbal instructions to the groups doing the exercises, especially the novices. These verbal instructions are called the *vaitari*—a specific set of technical commands, a verbal sequence to accompany the physical sequence or *meipayattu*. The Gurukkal may add an improvised 'lower', 'faster' or 'stronger' here or there, but these stand outside of the *vaitari*. For the practitioner, the *vaitari* is to external focus as the breath is to internal focus—something to return awareness to, creating a flowing river that carries focus when it wavers. Thus, the quality of the sounds, the way the words are spoken, matters.

None of the exercises done in the kalari count up or down from a particular number of repetitions or seconds. Instead, the exercises move you through space; when you get to the end you turn around, maybe change exercises. The movement sequences, *meipayattus*, do have regular endpoints, but there are short versions and longer versions, and you can always tack on more. The Gurukkal watches the students as he gives the *vaitari*, partly to give cues for technique, but also to read their focus and fatigue. Sometimes, more advanced students move through *meipayattus* without the *vaitari* if there is another more junior group doing exercises at the same time. When these students are doing the weapons sequences, the sequences are often done without the *vaitari* as well. When the Gurukkal is the partner with whom the student practises, he may deliver the hits faster or out of timing or sequence to throw the student off.

These are the aspects of kalari pedagogy I want to focus on in my paper. These pedagogical approaches foster a different relationship to interoceptive signals, specifically pain and fatigue, than many of our contemporary approaches to physical exercise, in such a way as to refine the accuracy of the interpretation of those signals. Noe's *Action in Perception* (2004) argues that action, or what he calls 'sensorimotor knowledge', is fundamental to perception. I will extend the argument to point out that action requires skill (skilful deployment of the body and attention) and that skill acquisition requires problem-solving (specifically insight problem-solving).

Noe argues that perceptual experiences acquire contents through our bodily skills: what we know how to do and are ready to do determines what we perceive. It might

seem controversial at first to say that it takes an active process to see a tree, but that is exactly the argument Noe is making. When considering examples of perception, Noe argues that, while it is the case for the other sense modalities as well, touch more clearly illustrates how the body needs to be actively involved in order to get different kinds of information—to grab, stroke, press, for example—and how attention needs to be actively deployed in the body in order to notice the places where clothes make contact with skin.

In 'Intelligence without Representation', Dreyfus aims to give an account of intelligent behaviour, learning and skilful action that does not require mental representations[1] (Dreyfus 2002). His model of skill acquisition articulates how maxims are learned and adapted, appropriate responses are stored, and new aspects become salient. He describes how rules are acquired and refined as the novice progresses through the first two stages of his five-stage system, creating well-defined problems to facilitate learning. At the third stage, 'competence', the learner undergoes a process of engaging in more complex problems to reach the fourth stage, 'proficiency':

'The competent performer thus seeks new rules and reasoning procedures to decide upon a plan or perspective. But these rules are not as easily come by as the rules given beginners in texts and lectures. Indeed, there are a vast number of situations differing from each other in subtle, nuanced ways. There are, in fact, more situations than can be named or precisely defined, so no one can prepare for the learner a list of what to do in each possible situation' (Dreyfus 2002). By the fifth stage, 'expertise', the skilful agent has such a depth of problem-solving experience that aspects can be categorized and subcategorized to produce appropriate intuitive responses.

Insight problem-solving is characterized by two main stages—a misframing of the problem and the subjective feeling of the 'aha!' moment. When we look at some of the classic well-defined insight problems, like the Duncker candle problem, we see that there is an internal misrepresentation, and an impasse results directly from that mistaken view. The 'aha! moment' takes place not necessarily when we arrive at the solution, but before that, when we become aware of our framing in such a way that we can see the path by which to arrive at the solution (Bowden et al. 2005). But when we are faced with an ill-defined problem where the initial state and/or goal state are nebulous and open to many possible interpretations or when the possible paths to a solution are highly complex, the solution can also come by sudden insight (Bowden et al. 2005). Classical problem-solving frameworks are not very good at explaining the apparent absence of deliberative strategy (Hélie and Sun 2010).

Learning embodied skills requires solving ill-defined problems. Work on skill mastery emphasizes that the expert state is characterized by intuitive, novel and insightful responses to challenges and the resulting 'flow state' these responses can produce.[2]

[1] Whether or not skill acquisition requires mental representation is an ongoing debate in the field, but the ideas of maximal grip and intentional arc are crucial insights that may or may not require some mental representations.

[2] Flow states are states in which an agent is tightly coupled with its environment while performing skilful tasks at a high level. The agent is fully immersed, responses are largely correct and novel

Dreyfus uses Merleau-Ponty's 'intentional arc' to explain how connections between events and responses create a trajectory for the agent. Intentional arcs represent the way agents move through their environment over time, each new movement or decision constrained to some degree by the past. There is no detached place from which our decisions are made; they are largely governed by past events, always subject to our own motivations and biases. In fact, most learning is not consciously decided, and it is an embodied process of imitation and responsiveness. We would not be able to play pre-language games with infants if this was not the case. Intentional arcs articulate the way in which the agent and environment are connected through past outcomes, and the way the agent's previous experiences impact on future outcomes (Dreyfus 2002). Most of what we do happens outside of conscious awareness, our body sited in constant connection to its environment. When playing a sport or instrument we love, most of our responses come automatically; so too when walking, tying our shoelaces or making sense of inverted visual information from Kohler glasses.[3] These responses form the foundation for the intentional arc.

According to Dreyfus, modulation of connection strength between actions and consequences governs learning. He uses the idea of 'maximal grip' to explain how generalizations are made and responses checked as correct or incorrect without representation. This is happening at the level of the organism, so maximal grip most importantly governs the learning that happens outside our conscious learning, when wearing Kohler glasses, for example. Having a level of expertise allows us to 'see through' the skill, the skill itself no longer the object of attention. The skill becomes transparent, and we can do it without thinking about it, when writing or walking. In fact, when we think about it propositionally, performance worsens (Dreyfus 2002). This level of expertise affords the ability to deploy attention elsewhere. Dreyfus uses the analogy of being at an art gallery: as we subconsciously move away or towards the painting, our movement offers us the maximal grip, allowing us to see the painting in new ways and find the spot that puts it best in view. The incentive to pursue maximal grip is built into the system of learning for the organism, and so is a consistent force governing the direction of intentional arcs.

Intentional arc through the pursuit of maximal grip is echoed in Damasio's somatic marker hypothesis. The hypothesis states that somatic markers become associated

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and the challenges are at the upper limit of the agent's abilities. Not every move is the right one, but the insights to the challenges come rapidly and consistently, and when solutions aren't correct, they help rapidly restructure the problem to facilitate new more effective solutions. Athletes and musicians often refer to this experience as 'being in the zone'.

[3]Kohler glasses use mirrors to distort the visual information for the wearer, inverting top to bottom or transposing left to right. Wearing these glasses, simple tasks become unmanageable. The wearer will turn a teacup upside down when receiving a pour, for example. Crucially important to keep in mind, however, wearers do not simply see an upside down world; at first, their experience is far more distorted and confusing than that (Noe 2004, p. 8). But over time wearers of these glasses become accustomed to the new information and after a few weeks are able to perform complex tasks, even ride bicycles. We can do this, according to Noe, only because we know how to connect consistencies in the visual field with consistencies in our exploratory movement, including eye and head movements. Carl Dreyfus argues that perhaps it is by modulating connection strength between behaviours and outcomes that wearers are able to form consistencies over time.

with outcomes, and the subconscious feelings generated by these associations govern our subconscious decision-making. If the outcome is good, or bad, or just OK, that feeling the outcome generated becomes associated as a somatic marker. Depending on the extent of the outcome or the number of repetitions, the association with those somatic markers becomes stronger (Bechara and Damasio 2005). In the Iowa gambling task, subjects are given two decks of cards, one where the payoffs and risks are lower, but with a net gain, and the other with larger wins and larger losses and a net loss. Subjects choose between the two decks and over time most healthy participants learn to develop a preference for the net win deck, even if they cannot explain their rationale. Participants with brain lesions in the ventromedial prefrontal cortex that inhibit emotional learning by interfering with their ability to associate emotions and outcomes do not learn to pick the more advantageous pile and opt instead for the riskier pile (Bechara et al. 2000).

This learning system, according to Damasio, relies on two distinct aspects of perception, (1) emotion—which, somewhat counterintuitively, Damasio describes as purely the physical response to certain stimuli (such as increased heart rate, or shortness of breath), and (2) the feeling of the emotion—how we interpret those signals, the feelings we have about them (like fear, or fatigue). Emotion and feelings appear as distinct aspects of a functional sequence that begins when a situation triggers specific behaviour (which is any physiological response)—the emotion—followed rapidly by the perception of the changes related to the behaviour—the feeling of the emotion (Craig 2009). Bud Craig's insula-based model of attention offers a representationalist account that is sensitive to the insights of intentional arc and maximal grip. Damasio's somatic marker theory emphasizes the learned connections between physical states and the outcomes associated with facilitate learning. Craig argues that rather than building representations of the world, we build representations of our body, where the associations between constellations of somatic markers and their outcomes act as the common currency of cognition (Craig 2010).

So far the discussion of skill learning, perception and insight problem-solving has been in terms of an externalized relationship, agent to environment, where the agent must perform some task like play chess, see a tree or throw darts. In these cases '[T]o move one's body is to aim at things through it; it is to allow oneself to respond to their call' (Dreyfus 2002, p. 380) in order to gain mastery of these skills and in the process gain extended moments of insight that can lead to flow states. But that is describing the state of mastery of external skills. The 'through' can change as the body itself becomes the focus of attention—a transparency/opacity shift. When wearing sunglasses, we see through the glasses to the world around us, but we can make the glasses the focus of attention, like we do when we notice scratches or smudges. Vision may be our most dominant perceptual modality, but Fulkerson (2014), in *The First Sense*, argues that our sense of touch is the most basic (p. 4). As mentioned, touch sometimes requires movement, to grasp, or stroke, but it also requires an internal deployment of attention to feel for a cold draft, or count the number of mosquitoes biting you at a single time, for example (p. 7).

Touch is unique 'in displaying a duality of the proximal and the distal, since it informs us both of the condition of our own bodies and of the properties of external

things' (Fulkerson 2014, p. 77). The information about the condition of our bodies comes from various forms of bodily awareness, like proprioception, air-hunger and fullness, for example, and interpreting these sensations is a form of perception called interoception. Fulkerson makes the case that the sense of touch is dependent on bodily awareness. Fulkerson refers to bodily awareness, or interoception, as the product of different sensations like kinesthesis, proprioception and sense of agency. But defining interoception in terms of biological pathways has been fruitless. Instead, it may best be understood as one side of a proximal/distal distinction—defined in relation to exteroception. Interoception then is not reducible to information from the input of any particular set of signals; rather, it is one/half of the product of the skill of distinguishing self and other. For the individual organism, an accurate representation of what perceptual information is referring to internal states (interoception) and what information is referring to external states (exteroception) is crucial to self-preservation and maintaining homoeostasis.

As Siegel argues, 'experiences have contents, and just as the contents of beliefs describe conditions under which the belief-state is true, so the contents of experiences describe conditions under which the experience is accurate. According to this proposal, experiences are the kinds of states that can be accurate, and their contents describe conditions under which they have this status' (Siegel 2010). The same is true for interoceptive experiences, but only interoceptive awareness that can be objectively tested and trained can be tested for interoceptive accuracy. Interoceptive sensation refers to the felt intensity of bodily sensations, while interoceptive accuracy refers to the ability to accurately perceive changes in bodily states. One of the few tests we have for interoceptive accuracy is heartbeat monitoring. Subjects must count their own heartbeat without using their hands, while their actual heart rate is measured. Some perform very well on this task, while others do not, despite reporting high interoceptive sensation. Those who subjectively report high interoceptive intensity do not necessarily have higher interoceptive accuracy; thus, awareness by itself is not sufficient condition for success (Garfinkel et al. 2015).

Some aspects of these interoceptive forms of perception are available to our conscious awareness: pain, itch, hunger, satiation, thirst, tickle, etc., while others can be brought to the level of conscious awareness by training, like heartbeat monitoring, and tracking changes in one's own brain waves during meditation. Because of the emphasis on attention to the breath in particular, common to many mindfulness practices, it would seem that honing the skill of interoceptive accuracy is a crucial aspect of mindfulness practice.[4] If, as I have argued, perception is a learned skill that involves insight problem-solving, and this skill of perception requires interoception,

[4] As 'mindfulness' has established itself in the academic field, it has also impacted the conceptual frameworks to the point that now it is not controversial to say that metacognition, the skill of bringing cognitive processes into view, is available, in degrees, to anyone willing to practise. I would suggest that certain kinds of physical practices require and facilitate a type of metacognition, or meta-awareness and insight in the body. Further, in the same way that metacognitive mindfulness practices facilitate physical changes in the body by de-automatizing the relationship between emotion and feeling, it seems plausible to suggest that meta-awareness physical practices facilitate cognitive changes through the same process.

then I will have to show shortcomings in the idea of maximal grip to explain why interoceptive heart rate accuracy is often low in untrained individuals. Maximal grip dictates that this bodily awareness would continue to be refined. If as Fulkerson argues, other sensory perceptions are built on a foundation of body awareness, then by the time a person was able to generate highly veridical exteroceptive perceptions they should be masters at perceiving bodily sensations too. So then why are people not better at feeling their own heartbeat?

I insist that we are experts at interoception, but also maximal grip by itself cannot sufficiently explain skill mastery. Missing from Dreyfus' skill learning model is an explanation for how different levels of mastery can be reached. Why should some experts be more masterful than others? Are there different degrees of maximal grip? There are certainly different levels of mastery at a given skill, a phenomenon not adequately accounted for within his framework. In order to explain why some experts continue to improve and others do not, I propose that 'maximal grip' sits in tension with 'good enough to get the job done'. Instead of moving towards some external standard of a perfect grip, intentional arc dictates that maximal grip must be thought of as in relation to the agent's own purposes. A skill that satisfies the demands of the problem is good enough to get the job done—it's a solution. When a skill satisfies the demands, the response is learned and automatized, and unless the demands are refined, the individual stops looking for new solutions.

Dreyfus does well to illustrate the ways in which skill mastery involves making intelligent responses intuitive and automatic, then breaking those patterns to produce novel responses. Automatization can inhibit ideal responses, since good enough responses made automatic have already been deployed. The automatization itself, precisely in virtue of it being automatic, becomes transparent—intuitive, ineffable, no longer a choice. If this happens, mastery stagnates, which is why many traditions emphasize that the master must also cultivate 'beginner's mind' to explore and examine with fresh eyes aspects the skilful practitioner might otherwise overlook.

Unlike exteroception, where perceptions can be checked against reality to produce high levels of accuracy, interoception (aside from heart rate monitoring) is difficult, if not impossible to verify with the same degree of accuracy. Thus, we develop our interoceptive perception to the point that it allows us to perceive our environment, as Merleau-Ponty says, 'through our body'—the body becomes transparent. Typically it takes something going wrong with our perception, like non-veridical experience, or pain, for the body to become the target of perception. In these cases, we now have clear success conditions—the accurate perception of what was being misperceived or the alleviation of pain—against which we can refine our interoceptive signal detection. The pursuit of maximal grip is then restored until a solution is reached. If the solution is 'good enough', the response is automatized and we go back to perceiving the world through our bodies.

Fatigue poses an interesting challenge for the individual; when a runner 'hits a wall' and the signals are screaming 'stop', they reach an experiential impasse that forces them to either stop or find a way to change the experience. Fatigue is the product of interoceptive information about the energetic capacities of the organism, often in the form of pain. But this is not like the readings from a fuel tank on a car.

When performing the same task at a constant rate, fatigue does not build linearly over time, instead it comes in waves. Fatigue can pass, giving way to a feeling of ease, perhaps through a new way of interpreting those signals. As the connection between emotion and feeling becomes decoupled and de-automatized, new ways of responding to stimuli become possible. Rather than a mechanism in which one creates a shift in the other, they now both present entry points where responses can be restructured and reinterpreted. For example, consciously creating a change in the physical stimuli can create a change in the feeling—practising steady breath despite fatigue or fear, to facilitate the feeling of ease, or equanimity. And targeting a change in the feeling, by allowing the focus to drift elsewhere, or by exploring details of the feeling through transparency to opacity shifts, can facilitate a change in the physical response.

Let's now look at how kalaripayat practice achieves this change. As we saw from Dreyfus, skill acquisition starts with the beginner making rules and then learning eventually to break them. While that might be true, he also assumes beginners will be taught by being given rules. But what we know from implicit learning is that rule-making takes place outside of verbal instruction. We learn rules but not necessarily by being given rules. In the *vaitari* 'chadi' means 'leap', but that says nothing about how the leap should be made if you do not already know how. It is largely up to the student to figure out the details. Years later 'chadi' encodes everything about how the leap should be made, but not propositionally; it is a cue. In this method, learning movements is not some overnight process. Students can stay on the simplest leg exercises for weeks making mistakes, and many of the corrections are not given. Instead, mistakes are allowed to work themselves out over time through repetition and exposure to students who already know how to do it. As discussed earlier, this is the kind of implicit learning through imitation Merleau-Ponty is talking about, the kind that activates our mirror neuron system and associated empathy networks. As these students get better, they are not only learning new moves, but also *learning to learn*.

The salutation rituals perform many functions, but one is to act as a kind of 'hidden door' to the inner world of kalaripayat practice. By getting better at noticing, the novice child gets better: they take in details about the movements of senior students and the masters before modelling themselves doing those moves. They also get better at relating to the experience of doing the moves because of built-in empathy networks: the same networks that model others physically are the same as, or closely associated with, the networks that model others emotionally. We pick up on other people's mental states by observing changes in their physical states. As the children do this watching the weapons sequence, for example, the focus of the expert is clear and external, on the opponent and the weapon. This is easily relatable for anyone watching. But as the children do the same thing while watching the Gurukkal and the older students perform their salutations, moving slowly and with their eyes closed, their focus is internal and opaque to the observer. At a certain point, the child will wonder what they are thinking about. In the very act of thinking about it, the child will have opened the door, if only a sliver, to the inner world of practice.

Never in performing the salutations have I seen them instructed to be more respectful or deferential. In their own time, they begin to slow down their daily salutations and begin displaying outwardly a sense of respect. This change in physical expression is a product of a change in mentality. The expectation is that the shift in attitude that comes with maturity will alter the appearance as opposed to trying to force them to alter the appearance to produce the realization. As the students move around the kalari performing the salutations with these mindfulness skills that they are developing themselves through implicit learning, they are paying respects to their immediate surroundings, but also 'zooming out' in space and time—metaphysics (gods and forces in the universe), and history (virtuosos, and their teachers' teachers). Immediately after the salutations, students perform the self-massage by applying oil. The self-massage is said to prepare the muscles, and as pores of the skin open during practice, the medicinal properties of the oil are absorbed into the skin. But the massage is also doing something else: it is bringing mindful attention from the salutations to the body, a kind of zooming in. The body itself becomes the target of attention using touch. The act of rubbing the hands all over the body brings tactile awareness from the hands to parts of the body outside our visual field, precisely those we tend not to map as well.

As we saw from the skill acquisition model, skill mastery requires intuitively breaking rules developed earlier in the learning process and solving increasingly complex insight problems. Work on the underlying mechanisms of insight shows that reframing is crucial to solving insight problems since part, if not all, of the problem arises from the mistaken formulation itself: some false assumption, perhaps a previously learned rule being misapplied, is driving the confusion. The parameters need to be reformulated to yield the desired result. When associations are decoupled, features previously considered unimportant become salient; when looking past individual features, the bigger picture emerges. Becoming aware of different features requires a kind of zooming in, while seeing the big picture, the gestalt, requires zooming out. The shifting between transparency and opacity, while decoupling associations, is what goes into breaking frame, and making frame—both are crucial for insight.

Now consider the structure of kalari practice: (i) No fixed start times means no predictable end times. The students form groups with whoever arrives when they do, slightly different on different days, which separate and reintegrate as practice goes on. Who they practise with becomes an enacted process of reframing through frame breaking and frame making. (ii) Starting with the salutations at the beginning and moving through to the weapons sequences, students are continuously performing bidirectional transparency–opacity shifts. At the puttara, students first take a moment to settle their thoughts before directing attention to the space, to the pictures of old gurus, moving beyond history into the metaphysical realm of gods, goddesses and mythological stories that make up the shared tradition of practice, then collapsing that awareness back to the body when rubbing oil on each part. (iii) Since so much of the technique is left up to the student, their implicit learning skills are activated to notice details, the featural level but also to grasp the whole move, the gestalt. (iv) The structure of how they practise the moves also inhibits attachment to endpoints,

or outcomes. Without knowing how many more repetitions they will have to do, they cannot count down mentally, and there is no opportunity to fix on something like 'just 3 more to go'.

The structure of the practice reflects approaches that facilitate insight, but so too does the role of the Gurukkal. As the students allow their attention to be carried by the *vaitari*, giving them something to focus on other than their fatigue, they stop thinking about what move comes next, and move away from 'measuring' their progress through internal dialogue, i.e. 'halfway finished' or 'almost done'. Instead of placing an emphasis on breaking techniques down to incremental steps, the Gurukkal's role is to watch them and read their mental states to know when and in which ways to force his students to solve problems they can handle. Ideally, he will know when to stop them—when their fatigue is real and they are straining too much, or when to keep going—if it is mental block they are about to overcome.[5] When he senses the students are focused on the end of the sequence—they have energy but are going through the motions towards the place where the sequence usually ends—he will add another section to keep it going, thereby disrupting the student's focus on the endpoint. When practising the weapons sequences with the student, if the Gurukkal senses the student is moving on autopilot—in strict adherence to the sequence as choreography—he will disrupt the normal timing, a hit faster here or there, or throw in a hit out of sequence, to refocus the student's attention to the present moment.

Vygotsky's zone of proximal development is the space within the student's capacity to learn, but beyond their capacity to learn by themselves. There are some things they can learn, but only with help—the zone of proximal development. The space beyond that is the things they just cannot yet learn, with or without supervision. The Gurukkal helps the students reach into this zone of proximal learning, and eventually over time the students internalize the teacher so that they can reach further into that zone on their own. Instead of instructions on technique, what these students are internalizing are the mechanisms by which they improve under supervision. Whenever the student's focus becomes rigid, or automatic, the Gurukkal does something to force the student to break frame. This does not happen by telling the students to break frame, or explaining the students how to break frame; instead, he is putting the students in positions where they must break frame in order to proceed. The internalized mechanism then is intuitively how and when to break frame. What the students are internalizing is procedural knowledge; they are internalizing habits of frame breaking, not learning propositions. But even to the extent that what they internalize is propositional, such as the *vaitari*, it is not exactly propositional. Because the language has been specially chosen for kalari, the words matched with certain movements, not just through meaning but the sounds of the words themselves, and because the *vaitari* does not change, these words act as cues. The sounds of the words guide movement, and the words themselves have developed their own 'meaning' over years of practice. The meaning here is an embodied history, a cue that recovers the

[5]Every good teacher does this, but emphasis on this aspect at the expense of technical instruction is unique.

student's own years of practice. Thus, the *vaitari* acts as a verbal cue for procedural knowledge.

With these procedural mechanisms in place, the students continue to undergo a practice that fosters engagement with sensations, rather than dissociation from those sensations to the pursuit of an external goal, either in time or repetitions. These procedural skills honed through practice are also deployed during practice. These same skills could be used while the practitioner does a set of 10 as well, but the conditions that train the skill of relating to the internal signals of fatigue more accurately also provide an arena in which these skills must be deployed in order to know when to stop. The practice trains the underlying skills of insight problem-solving and provides a space for their use by generating insight problems relating to fatigue.

As Gurukkal Govindankutty Nayar explains, 'If you perform the exercises correctly and have the proper grip, then you begin to "enjoy" practice. By doing this the whole body finds enjoyment' (Zarrilli 1998, p. 41). We know that physical exercise and the feeling of accomplishment releases dopamine in the brain, creating a positive feedback loop that reinforces the practice. But the way we practise becomes reinforced too. So, if that sense of accomplishment is the product of pursuing repetitions of 100 by straining against interoceptive signals in order to reach an external goal, then not only will pleasure reinforce a sense of accomplishment through external goals, it will also reinforce pleasure from the one-sided process of straining against or ignoring interoceptive signals. If instead we practise stopping when we feel the need, then we engage with interoceptive signals for accuracy, where the signals of fatigue pose an insight problem. Thus, the act of engaging with and accurately interpreting those signals becomes reinforced through pleasure. Like all athletes, the advanced kalari student does not just stop when he or she feels fatigue. Over years of practice, they too have learned to 'enjoy' being in that moment of sensation, in that difficult problem, because it is the zone in which they can find a solution. But instead of fighting pain or ignoring it, they explore its parameters.

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Chapter 15
Sport History as an Area of Comparative Study Between Canada and India

John G. Reid

Sport history has been in recent decades a rapidly growing field of global enquiry. Sport, in forms that can range from spontaneous recreation to highly codified and professionalized activity, has characterized every human society. The study of sport history, therefore, offers key insights into social and cultural history. This is true of both India and Canada as individual societies, but also opens up comparative possibilities. At first sight, the sport histories of the two countries would appear to have differed greatly, to the point that few direct comparisons might come to mind. When considered in a way that takes account of sport diffusion and adaptation, however, at least two major forms of sport present opportunities to study both comparison and contrast. One of them is cricket, which was played extensively during the nineteenth century in both Canada and India. Yet in Canada, it declined steeply in the era following the First World War and was largely replaced as a summer sport by baseball, while in India, the twentieth century saw cricket emerge as a popular sport of enormous importance. Comparative study can help to explain each of these contrasting patterns. A second possibility lies in hockey, considered not as a single sport but as a family of sports with common origins. That ice hockey came to prevail in Canada, while field hockey became a major sport in India was obviously owed in part to environmental differences. But the respective histories of these two sports that were codified from a common vernacular ancestor and the influences of the Olympic movement on each again provide scope for meaningful comparative work. This essay, therefore, considers both as case studies in the comparative analysis of the social and cultural history of sport.

The sport of cricket has an extended past and a large historiographical literature. As part of an even larger family of bat-and-ball sports, cricket had origins in various parts of the world that went back far beyond the early modern era that saw its emergence in England as a recognizable sport. Professionalization began in the eighteenth century,

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closely related to aristocratic gambling on results, and a noteworthy milestone was the foundation of the Marylebone Cricket Club (MCC) in London in 1787. A new codification of the rules of the sport was completed by the MCC in 1788. By this time, cricket was already being played both in India and in what was to become Canada, though in ports such as Bombay and Halifax the scale was small and early records suggested English sailors as key players. Nevertheless, it is likely that cricket was played at various levels in the social scale among East India Company personnel and British residents in major urban centers of India, as well as among immigrants from the colonies that would eventually form the USA who formed an important part of the early non-Indigenous population of British North America.

In India, cricket in the nineteenth century became an upper-class sport that was both Indian and British. The sport emerged in its modern form during the 1860s, with the legalization of overarm bowling in 1864, and reciprocal tours between England and India at club level began in the 1880s. Indian cricket evolved—as noted in the important history of Indian cricket by Guha (2002)—with high-level tournaments such as the Presidency Match (originating in 1877) and its development into what was ultimately known by 1937 as the Bombay Pentangular, of which a major feature was potentially divisive competition among religious communities. Test Match cricket had commenced in 1932 and thenceforward followed the path of the history of the subcontinent through the period of independence and partition, with the first India–Pakistan Test Match series taking place in the 1952–53 season.

The second half of the twentieth century, as is well known, saw the emergence of Indian cricket as a popular sport of enormous significance and reach. The development of the Twenty20 form of the sport in the early twenty-first century then led in turn to unprecedented levels of commercialization, with the Indian Premier League becoming by important measures one of the richest sport leagues in the world. Cricket in Canada, meanwhile, had become during the interwar years a sport of limited participation, and professionalism in its previous variety of forms essentially disappeared. The sport became associated in popular terms with nostalgia for the days of empire and was widely perceived as a genteel pastime confined to British immigrants of real or imagined upper-class status. Canadian cricket has experienced a revival of sorts in the early twenty-first century, but remains exclusively an amateur sport and depends largely on players with personal origins outside of Canada, many of them South Asian.

Accounting for these two very different trajectories of development requires comparative analysis, and it may be suggested that the key lies in the literature on sport diffusion that has been developing since the US historian Allen Guttmann published his influential 1978 study entitled *From Ritual to Record: The Nature of Modern Sports*, in which he examined the trajectories of selected sports such as baseball and American football according to an approach focused on modernization, predicated on the argument that the emergence of modern sports depended on the industrialization process in Great Britain and elsewhere in Western Europe (Guttmann 1978). A process of "cultural diffusion" followed (Guttmann 1978, pp. 114–116), according to a supporting argument that Guttmann then developed much more elaborately in his 1994 study of *Games and Empires: Modern Sports and Cultural Imperialism*

(Guttmann 1994). In this work on "ludic diffusion," cricket appeared first on a list of five sports that had been diffused from European sources with the Olympic Games as a further example (Guttmann 1994, pp. 4 and passim). Guttman took a largely benign view of the diffusion process, even though admitting that it could operate in complex ways, and thus ignited scholarly debate in which opposing scholars characterized sport diffusion as a form of cultural imperialism that implied hegemonic control from the imperial center. While many authors contributed to the debate from diverse perspectives, the historian Martin Crotty summarized the arguments of the critics as forming "an analysis of sport as a hegemonic influence, used to bring imperial peoples, lower classes and the young into supporting a dominant male, middle-class and metropolitan world view" (Crotty 2004, p. 65).

As the literature in this area matured, further questions arose that bore more specifically on the operation of sport diffusion itself. These were influenced in part by approaches to social and imperial history that included subaltern studies, and the resulting debates shed new light on the way in which the spread of sports was not necessarily hegemonic but could also result in what Richard Cashman defined in 1988 as "indigenous subversion" (Cashman 1988, p. 258). Cashman's work focused especially on cricket and took the example of Australia in the late nineteenth century as an arena for contesting the norms of social class that had initially prevailed in the sport (Cashman 1988, 1995). Similar analyses followed for West Indian cricket and further refined the concept of diffusion into one that involved localized as well as imperial influences (Beckles and Stoddart 1995).

Since the turn of the twenty-first century, further perspectives have also pointed in this direction. Jason Kaufman and Orlando Patterson, writing in 2005 about cricket in a global context, identified the competing roles in imperial contexts of colonial elites and commercializing entrepreneurs. Both groups had their own reasons for promoting cricket, but the entrepreneurs were by definition most interested in professionalism and spectatorship in attaining their economic goals. Thus, the range of possibilities for the sport was wide, variable, and contingent over time (Kaufman and Patterson 2005). Maarten van Bottenburg, in 2010, though focusing more on examples of diffusion within Europe rather than in an imperial context, added the further argument that not only were diffused sports subject to local modification, but also that they were capable of being multi-directional.

A diffused and adapted sport therefore could then be re-diffused or even turned back in its modified form to the society from which the original version had issued in the first place (van Bottenburg 2010). My own contribution in 2015, in collaboration with Robert Reid, emphasized the role of discourse. Considering in a comparative context the sports of cricket and ice hockey in Canada's Maritime Provinces, we argued that also influential in local adaptation of diffused sports were cultural considerations expressed in discursive representations of such sports, and that instrumental in determining the forms in which societal complexities and local agency would operate was a process of "discursive stabilization" that gave a particular character to a sport in its local form (Reid and Reid 2015).

The foregoing is, of course, only the briefest discussion of a rich historiography, and it could easily be augmented not only in general terms but also with contributions

to the sport history literature pertaining specifically to India (Majumdar and Mangan 2005). In this paper, however, the main purpose is not to consider the historiography exhaustively, nor even to reach substantive conclusions on specific sport trajectories, but rather to raise questions in addressing which comparative consideration of Indian and Canadian sport histories may be helpful. In Canada, of course, the competing influence of the sport of baseball was a factor in cricket's decline that had no exact parallel elsewhere. Both bat-and-ball sports proceeded from common vernacular origins, and each had been diffused to North America at least as early as in the eighteenth century. While baseball emerged in its modernized form in the nineteenth century as a sport that was characteristic of the USA, cricket had also been played there extensively, and Philadelphia remained a center of the sport into the early twentieth century.

Cricket was also a major sport in nineteenth-century British North America and Canada, though its history there has been under-researched. In the Maritime Provinces, it was played in both rural and urban contexts, with elite clubs such as the Halifax Wanderers greatly outnumbered by those that were either of mixed social composition or decidedly non-elite. It also became a sport of the industrial working class, and by the early twentieth century, league teams included one made up of African-descended steelworkers who had immigrated from the West Indies, and there was also a club in Halifax (the Fenwicks) that was described by a newspaper in 1912 as "composed of colored players" ("Anticipated visit" 1912).[1] Cricket was, therefore, a significantly diverse sport in social terms.

Yet in Canada, it then declined into virtual invisibility after the First World War, while in India, it became an increasingly diversified sport and began to reflect the breadth of Indian society in a way that had not previously been the case. Why the contrast? Baseball had already begun to make substantial inroads in terms of working-class culture by the 1870s, as the historian Colin Howell has shown (Howell 1995, pp. 29–36). Yet cricket had continued to function discursively as an expression of, and indeed a performance of, the values that were integral to settler colonialism—as it did in Australia, New Zealand, and even South Africa.

Following the First World War, it may be argued that in the settler society, the need for explicit justifications of settler colonialism had receded. Such justifications were closely associated with the political imperialism that, as Carl Berger showed many years ago, was inseparable from early Canadian nationalism, but which was decisively weakened by the First World War and perished in "the disintegration of the imperial ideal in Canada" (Berger 1970, p. 265). India, however, was a very different society, in which demographic and cultural factors prevented settler colonialism from developing as understood elsewhere, along the lines of the assertion of a kind of sovereignty by settler institutions. Thus, it was understandable that cricket found a widening social role in contests that involved major religious communities

[1]The description of the Fenwicks was in the Halifax *Morning Chronicle* of 17 July 1912; the item noted that this was a new team, but implied (though it did not state explicitly) that the players were of West Indian origin by indicating that the Fenwicks club "takes the place of the Carribeans [*sic*] of former years."

and extended outwards out from the original centers of Bombay and Calcutta. The ways in which specific sociocultural patterns and localized agency had configured new forms of a diffused sport became increasingly complex and were reshaped into accommodating both elite participation at first-class level and more popular involvement at community and recreational levels. This, of course, is a cursory analysis at best, but is intended to indicate that there are key questions that can be usefully addressed through comparative analysis and reflection.

When the focus is turned to hockey, other suggestive lines of comparison may be identified. They depend in part on adopting a broad definition of hockey. In Canada, the word is invariably taken to mean "ice hockey." In India—even though ice hockey is played in northern areas, notably in Ladakh—the word signifies what most Canadians would describe as "field hockey." Meaningful comparisons, therefore, must be based on a wider understanding of hockey as a family of stick sports that would also include such other forms as shinty (primarily in Scotland), hurling (primarily in Ireland), and bandy (throughout much of Northern Europe).

As already noted, environmental considerations account in some important respects for the divergent ways in which stick sports have been diffused. Although ice hockey is most often played today, as it has been increasing since the early decades of the twentieth century, on artificial ice, it has flourished mainly in areas where playing on natural ice in the winter season is also a possibility. Bandy, with its larger ice surface, continues to be played frequently on natural ice (even though artificial ice surfaces also exist in some places), and this is true not only in its European centers but also in India, where the Bandy Federation is headquartered in the Mandi District of Himachal Pradesh (Federation of International Bandy 2016). In climates with warmer winters, such as most of India, the code of hockey that has prevailed for evident environmental reasons is field hockey, a sport that is also played in Canada as a summer sport primarily for women, but is entirely overshadowed by the much more popular ice hockey, which today is played professionally by both men and women, even though the women's form of the sport is noticeably less lucrative for players and clubs alike.

But what in a scholarly sense is to be gained by comparative study of quite different hockey sports in two such distinct societies as those of India and Canada? In part, the value lies explicitly in contrast. Hockey in all of its forms has multiple antecedents, with vernacular stick sports known on every one of the populated continents of the world. Both ice hockey and field hockey in their modern forms experienced codification in the nineteenth century, in Canada and Great Britain, respectively, but patterns of diffusion were enormously complex. They depended on not only the environment, but also the existence in some places of competing stick sports—notably the Celtic forms—and in others of similar sports (such as that played in the Indigenous territory of Mi'kma'ki prior to colonization) that coalesced with an incoming code (Bennett 2013). Thus, to trace in a comparative sense, the emergence of the primary codes in Canada and India will result inevitably in a study in contrast, and this in itself can be a significant illustration of the diversities of sport diffusion.

Yet hockey in its respective forms came during the twentieth century to embody key elements of national identity in both Canada and India. The twentieth century saw

ice hockey emerge in a cultural sense as, adopting Andrew Holman's characterization, "Canada's game" (Holman 2009). The sport became a subtle, complex, but pervasive cultural force as it revealed to Canadians "stories about the ways in which they define and perform their multiple identities, as men and women, children and adults, whites and non-whites, francophones and anglophones, businesspeople and workers, and in other ways" (Holman 2009, pp. 6–7). But the relationship of ice hockey to national identity also became deeply politicized, most conspicuously in the Challenge Series of 1972 (often referred to as the Summit Series), which saw a Canadian team made up of top National Hockey League professionals oppose and—narrowly, and with great difficulty—defeat the team representing the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. The result gave rise to widespread Canadian celebration, but in the discourse of the time, the implications went far beyond the parameters of the skills shown on the ice.

As Richard Gruneau and David Whitson put it, "Canada's ultimate success in the 1972 Challenge Series provided the opportunity for many pundits and politicians to celebrate the result as a triumph not only for 'Canadian virtues' but also for capitalist liberal democracy—a point frequently reinforced by the players themselves" (Gruneau and Whitson 1993, p. 253). Field hockey in India, meanwhile, had assumed political importance much earlier in the twentieth century, as the top levels of the sport were increasingly populated by players not drawn from the imperial elite but by Indians, and Indians who were not necessarily of wealthy backgrounds.

The prolifically scoring forward Dhyan Chand became during the 1920s and 1930s only the most conspicuous example of a broader trend (Majumdar 2010, pp. 75–80). Within India, the army team would travel frequently to meet opponents representing banks, the railways, the civil service (Featherstone 2015, p. 2). At international level, meanwhile, as independence from British colonial rule was sought and achieved, "the success of the Indian hockey teams [wrote Boria Majumdar] in beating Western teams demonstrated to the nationalists that Indians could compete on equal terms with the West. The success of the Indian hockey teams was such that after independence the Ministry of Sport, not surprisingly, chose hockey as the official 'national game' of India" (Majumdar 2010, p. 88).

Of great importance, moreover, in a related and closely comparative sense, is the influence of the Olympic movement on hockey in the two countries. One area of comparability, although shared in a global sense and so not to be considered purely as bilateral comparison, would be the role of the Olympic Games in providing new opportunities and audiences for women's hockey—field hockey in 1980 and ice hockey in 1998. More specifically concerned with India and Canada was the significance of Olympic hockey in terms of distinguishing from an imperial past and its association in the case of India with decolonization itself. The Indian men's hockey team famously won the first of its six successive gold medals in 1928, with the reigning champions, Great Britain, deciding at the last moment not to compete amid strong suggestions that they felt inadequate to meet the Indian challenge and were reluctant to risk what they would have seen as an embarrassing defeat. The first Olympic meeting between the two nations was soon after decolonization, in the final in London in 1948, and was won decisively by India.

Many years later, the Indian forward Balbir Singh (who scored two of India's four goals that day) noted that "it was really great, beating our former rulers … on their hockey field" (Beamish 2016). Canadian men's ice hockey teams, meanwhile, won five out of six possible gold medals from 1920 to 1952, the exception being in 1936 against a Great Britain team that consisted largely of players who had emigrated to Canada at an early age and had primarily played their hockey there. In Canada, it was true, the Olympic version of ice hockey was increasingly overshadowed by professionalism as the twentieth century proceeded. When the era of open Olympics began in 1998, however, the role of Olympic ice hockey as a symbol of Canadian national identity was quickly resumed, notably in rivalries with both Russia and the USA. Hockey in both codes thus assumed political and cultural importance for India and for Canada in overlapping eras.

In conclusion, therefore, the scope for comparative consideration of Indian and Canadian sport history is profoundly influenced by the more general literature on sport diffusion and adaptation, but may be exemplified by potential approaches to the study of cricket and hockey. The two countries' experiences with empire may also be compared and contrasted by using the lens of sport history, further demonstrating the ability of this field—in addition to its own intrinsic importance as a dimension of social and cultural history—also to contribute in turn to other significant areas of historical analysis.

The diffusion of sports has historically been complex and multi-directional, with the example of the twenty-first-century revival of cricket in Canada through the involvement of players of South Asian origin offering an example of onward diffusion. Sporting cultures, meanwhile, have constantly adapted to the unique characteristics, socioeconomic as well as cultural, of host societies. At the deepest level, the history of sport—like, say, the history of religion or the history of education—explores a broad element of the human experience that in some form or other has characterized every human society that has ever existed. Thus, a comparative understanding of the trajectories of sports of similar origin—such as cricket and hockey—in the differing contexts of two countries—such as India and Canada—can provide unique insights into the nature of each sport and each country.

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Chapter 16
Training in the Homeland: Negotiating Artistic Travel in the Transnational Field of Indian Classical Dance

Sitara Thobani

It is often assumed—not just by local dancers or teachers, but by landlords, *rikshawallas*, storekeepers, and anyone else one might encounter on their study trip to India—that if a 'foreigner' (diasporic or otherwise) desires to learn Indian classical dance, they must be interested in all things 'culturally' Indian. In a slightly ironic inversion, this mirrors (mainstream) assumptions in multicultural societies such as Canada, the US and the UK that non-South Asian (predominately white) dancers must be attracted to Indian culture as a whole for their interest in Indian classical dance. The fact that a penchant for this artistic practice is interpreted as a fascination with other forms of cultural knowledge—including Indian languages; familiarity with philosophical, religious, and/or mythological traditions; or a taste for Indian fashions, aesthetics, and indeed culinary practices—is a testament to how deeply entangled Indian classical dance and cultural identity are perceived to be in the transnational context.

In India, this entanglement signals the success of long-standing narratives of Indian dance that bind its mythic and historical origins to the country. Indian classical dance is today emblematic of national cultural heritage and tradition, as can be seen in the prominent representations of dance/dancers in the airports, tourist centres, marketplaces, television shows and advertising campaigns across the country. It is no surprise then that so many of the dance festivals organised annually in various parts of India are state sponsored and bear the logos of various tourism and national branding campaigns. This prominence represents the very success of the nationalist reformation and 'reconstructive' projects that led to the construction of Indian classical dance in the mid-twentieth century and secured its place in the sanitised realm of 'high' art.

In multicultural societies on the other hand, the practices and performances of 'Other' cultures are routinely overdetermined such that they are made to represent the

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entire culture, history, traditions and practices with which they are associated, no matter how diverse or conflicted these may actually be. Even when Indian classical dance is performed on the mainstream 'professional' stage in multicultural settings, its performance enables the celebration of cosmopolitan transnational identities—not necessarily of the 'Indian' (diasporic) dancers themselves, but of the non-Indian dancers and audiences who are seen to partake in the diversity 'Indian' dancers enable. It is through such performances—or rather through the consumption of 'ethnic' practices such as Indian classical dance—that societies such as Canada can prove to the world and themselves that they are indeed 'multicultural'. Indeed, the increasing recognition of Indian dance forms in Canada—be it through national and provincial Arts Council awards and funding; performances at prestigious and/or mainstream venues and events (including those celebrating the 2010 Winter Olympics in Vancouver, B.C.); coverage in mainstream media outlets (including in the national newspaper, The Globe and Mail); festivals dedicated entirely to Indian classical dance; or the plethora of dance schools, many of which have now been established for more than three decades—suggests the extent to which Indian classical dance has come to play a role in the Canadian multicultural imaginary. Indian classical dance is thus doubly culturalised in the transnational present, first in alignment with nationalist (Indian) discourses, second as a result of the multicultural politics of representation.[1] In other words, the re-production of nationalist narratives linking Indian classical dance with antiquity, cultural purity and tradition works in tandem with multiculturalist discourses to further essentialise this dance in the present. As I will show, although the nationalist imperatives that shape/d dance performances in India and the multicultural politics that frame performances of 'ethnic' art in the present are indeed distinct, they nonetheless come together in the transnational field of contemporary Indian classical dance performance and shape this field in turn.

Importantly, the popular usage in the transnational context of the umbrella term Indian classical dance—a category that in fact refers to eight styles of regionally, stylistically and historically distinct dance forms—presents one example whereby dancers and audiences abroad contribute to the production of a coherent and unitary image of a national identity with a distinct character expressed in its arts, culture and tradition. It is in this term and its attendant discourses that I am interested in this paper precisely because of its productive function and general applicability to pan-Indian formations. It is also in relation to this term, and the construct of 'India' it facilitates, that the various identities I trace here are produced. While I remain mindful of how my very usage of the term—along with my use of categories such

[1] These politics are not of course limited to Canada, but manifest in other multicultural contexts I have studied as well. In maintaining this point, it is not my intention to treat these various multicultural locations—from Canada, the US and the UK, to elsewhere in Europe and Australia—as synonymous, for the multicultural policies and practices of each of these states are historically, socially and politically distinctive. Instead, tracing the similarities between different multicultural contexts draws attention to the transnational network in which Indian classical dance is presently practised, and the extent to which it is impacted upon by various multicultural (racialising) narratives. In other words, the Canadian context is shown to be part of the larger global circulation of Indian classical dance in the transnational present.

as diasporic and non-diasporic, South Asian and white, Indian and Western—serves to once again affirm such generalisations and suggest their stability, this is not my intention. Rather, my purpose in this paper is to trace the very construction of these categories through contemporary performances of cultural and artistic production.

Indian classical dance is today practised in the context of transnational mobility, diasporic settlement and multicultural engagements with 'Other' cultures as more and more dance schools are set up in small towns and large cities across North America, the UK and other parts of Europe. This is especially the case for Bharatanatyam, Kathak and Odissi, the three most prevalent styles of Indian classical dance practiced outside of India.[2] Despite this transnationality, India remains the undoubted 'home' of Indian classical dance. This association is true not only for dancers themselves, but for Indian and non-Indian audiences, critics and funding bodies as well. And yet this very fact means such 'national' arts are now being negotiated, and indeed defined, transnationally. In short, it is in the transnational context that essentialised constructions of India are further cemented, leading to the strengthening of ideas regarding the coherence, uniformity and impermeability of Indian national culture. At the same time, the travel between the perceived centre (homeland) and peripheries of Indian classical dance also bind together India and the various diasporic/multicultural locations in which dancers are located. As a result, just as the performance of Indian classical dance serves to construct certain ideas of Indian nation-culture in the transnational context, so too does it contribute to the formation of national identities perceived as multicultural. My interest then is in how contemporary dancers actively produce—and not simply repeat—this relationship between dance and nation-culture in the present, all the while producing constructs of multicultural identity as well.

In this paper, I focus on the diversity of people participating in the transnational field of Indian classical dance. By placing these various actors and the social locations they inhabit in one analytic field, I draw attention to the convergences and divergences between their different subject positions. So doing, I highlight the cultural and racialised contours of this transnational network, centred on India as the unequivocal 'homeland' of Indian classical dance. I begin by first examining the place of India in the transnational dance imaginary to show how Indian classical

[2]This is not to say that other forms of Indian classical dance are not present in the diaspora but that these other styles are less visible and have fewer practitioners relative to Bharatanatyam (from South India), Kathak (from North India), and Odissi (from East India). While I unfortunately do not have the space here to go into detail about why dancers choose the particular style(s) of Indian classical dance that they do, accessibility—that is, which schools/teachers are available in a given location—is a major factor. For diasporic dancers, familial connections to the regions associated with particular classical dance forms may also be a factor, but this is not always the case; indeed, many diasporic dancers practise styles of Indian classical dance associated with regions to which they have no familial relation. Socio-economic status does not appear to factor in the specific selection of one classical dance style over another, although practitioners of Indian classical dance more generally, especially amongst those in the diaspora, do tend to come from middle and upper-middle class backgrounds. This class privilege is reflective of the association between Indian classical dance and middle-class respectability achieved through the twentieth century nationalist reconstruction of these dance forms in India.

dance continues the nationalist project of binding the dance to Indian nation-culture. I then explore the similarities and differences between the diasporic and non-diasporic (white) subject positions of dancers, first by analysing their status in India and later their locations in the multicultural context. Doing so enables me to highlight ways in which Indian classical dance performances are shaped by, and help produce, particular constructs of race as much as culture. My research draws on my experiences as an Indian classical dancer based in Canada, but trained in the USA and India, as well as on my ethnographic fieldwork on Indian classical dance in the transnational and multicultural context. While much of my research was conducted in the UK, the largest site of Indian classical dance production outside India, the parallels between the British and Canadian contexts are significant and enable the theorisations I begin in this paper.

16.1 Constructing the Homeland of Indian Classical Dance

Now contained under the rubric 'classical', dance practices in India underwent significant 'reconstruction' in the heyday of twentieth-century anti-colonial politics reliant upon the nationalist claim of a cohesive and stable 'Indian' cultural identity. These reconstructive movements, as a number of scholars have already observed, delinked the practice of dance from its hereditary performers—namely women associated with the temples and courts, seen to have fallen into disrepute—to sanitise it as 'national' artistic heritage (Walker 2014; Morcom 2013; Meduri 1988, 1996; Srinivasan 1985). Such 'restoration' of prestige to a supposedly denigrated cultural practice offered a positive 'artistic' counterpoint to alleviate nationalist anxieties regarding the purity of the nation and the uniqueness of its identity; reclaiming dance traditions supposedly rooted in a 2000-year-old history offered one site for the expression of an unadulterated Indian identity that predated colonisation, while redeeming the dance's 'essence' as high art served to disprove normative claims regarding Indian incivility (see Walker 2014; Soneji 2012; Srinivasan 2011; Chakravorty 2008; Meduri 1988, 1996, 2005, 2008; Coorlawala 1993, 2004; Allen 1997; Srinivasan 1985).

It is not my intention in this paper to rehearse this history, which has been discussed in detail by the scholars cited above. However, important to my project are the ways in which this history marks a major moment in the culturalisation of Indian classical dance that I am tracing.[3] The narratives that resulted from the nationalist revival ground contemporary discourses that frame Indian classical dance as emblematic of the nation-culture. However, these narratives are not static relics waiting to be repeated; as I demonstrate, they are continually under production, highlighting the extent to which the tying of dance to nation is an ongoing project. India, I argue,

[3]The place of Indian dance and the Indian dancer in colonial discourses marks another point in the constitution of this relationship between dance and essentialised Indian identity. Although I discuss colonial representations of Indian dance/rs elsewhere (Thobani 2017), this discussion is beyond the scope of the present paper.

is produced as the homeland of Indian classical dance not only as a result of the efforts of nationalist revivalists who saw in the dance a restoration of India's cultural traditions and prestige in the first half of the twentieth century; this construction of India as the homeland is also the result of the sustained efforts of dancers who continue to identify travel to India as necessary not only to their artistic advancement, but their personal and cultural development as well. Indeed, as South Asian arts—especially music and dance—gain increasing prominence in transnational settings, travel to India for artistic training has become a major milestone for both amateurs and aspiring professionals. An Indian classical dancer's credibility and sense of accomplishment is often premised upon whether or not she/he has travelled to India for training; those who have spent extended periods of time there as well as those who travel frequently and maintain personal contacts with teachers there are considered especially proficient. Part of this has to do with the fact that more often than not dancers will apply for and receive some sort of funding—be it Arts Council funding or fellowships offered by institutions such as Shastri Indo Canadian Institute (SICI)—to mitigate the cost of travel, boarding, and training.[4] A dancer's success in securing funding further lends an aura of professionalism and serves to validate their work.

More central to the importance placed on studying in India is the assumption that the quality and intensity of training is in fact different there. To be sure, upon travelling to India students will often find themselves in daily dance classes as compared to the weekly ones they might take at home. Furthermore, the training is seen as more holistic; it is expected that foreign students will participate in the group technique exercises in which dancers go through the core strengthening exercises that one first learns as a beginner. These exercises will often be forgone abroad, where a limited amount of class time means that teachers and students must move quickly through choreographies and do not repeat the basic exercises to the same gruelling degree. Many 'foreign' students—as diasporic and white dancers are often collectively referred to in India—will also take advantage of the opportunity to study music and theory in order to complement their dance training, further establishing important connections with musicians with whom they or their teachers might later work. It is also on these trips that the practicalities of procuring costumes, buying and repairing jewellery and *ghungrus*, and making provisions for recorded music are made for the dancer to take back for their performances at home.[5]

[4]That dancers apply for and receive funding does not detract from the fact that the mobility of dancers indicates their relative class privilege; indeed, such funding is often insufficient and has to be supplemented by personal income. Furthermore, dancers must be in a position where they can afford to take off extended periods of time from work or school to travel and pursue an already expensive hobby.

[5]While detailed analysis of the economic impact of this transnational market on Indian producers is unfortunately beyond the scope of the current paper, it is interesting to note that enterprising businesses have begun to offer tailoring services and other goods related to Indian classical dance costumes for online purchase, indicating the extent to which dancers abroad are seen to constitute a new and likely lucrative market for producers in India. The convenience of this transnational online shopping comes at a (premium) cost, for items are sold at prices higher than one would expect to find if one were purchasing these items in India. This transnational circulation of goods via online

Training and the practicalities of acquiring specialty supplies are not the only purpose of this sort of travel. These trips are generally perceived as providing a deeper cultural education that will help contextualise the dance and its origins, making dancers not only more proficient in terms of their technical and artistic abilities, but making them more cognisant of the full national cultural significance of the 'traditions' they now claim. As part of this effort to provide a more far-reaching cultural education, Indian classical dance teachers located in the diaspora will often take their students on field trips to India so that they can better 'understand' the dance, an activity that at once engages transnational links and yet relies on the specificity of locatable—rootable—culture. Historic monuments such as temples and palaces, museums and marketplaces, villages known for handicraft production, these are some of the highlights of these tours. 'India', a construct realised through the nationalist reconstruction of Indian classical dance as well as through the work of 'foreign' dancers, is found in the specific locations to which dancers travel, even as these locations are generalised to metonymically represent the nation as a whole.

These trips are not, however, meant to invoke a desire for return to India in students—most of whom are either second- or third-generation South Asians or Westerners with no familial links to India whatsoever. Rather, such trips are a way of tying diasporic and multicultural dance practices to the pan-Indian culture of the subcontinent, enabling dancers to perceive of and perform them as one and the same *once they return* to their multicultural/diasporic locations. In short, these trips help turn the dance student into the supposedly bona fide cultural representative they are assumed/made to be as practitioners of Indian classical dance in the multicultural context. The cultural education they acquire is thus inseparable from, and validation of, their artistic commitments and abilities. Such travel between India and various diasporic/multicultural locations, including Canada, demonstrates one way in which 'imaginary homelands blend into their real homelands without the subjects realising that transmutation' (Khondker 2009: 139). The very fact that travel to India is seen as necessary to the advancement of a dancer indicates the central location the construct of India enjoys in the transnational dance imaginary. Moreover, the ways in which such trips are articulated as 'travel to India'—and not, for example, travel to Orissa (state), Bhubaneswar (capital) or Puri (city)—suggests the extent to which ideas of pan-Indian culture and tradition are given priority above more specific—and arguably less abstract—localities.

India is a construct produced, and arguably 'discovered', through this process of tourism education that helps sustain the transnational Indian classical dance network. Importantly, India is identified as homeland by both Indian (diasporic) *and* non-Indian (white) dancers. Thus, my discussion here is not simply one of India as a generic diasporic homeland, but rather as a cultural and artistic homeland as well. As such, this homeland is made possessable, not only by those with diasporic claims but by the various subjects who identify as Indian classical dancers—albeit in different ways. For example, one dancer of Eastern European descent who participated in this

platforms is an extension of the previous generation of diasporic dancers who would order costumes through family and/or known community members who happened to be travelling to India.

transnational circuit of Indian classical dance described her first journey to India in an interview I conducted:

> I remember the first time that I came there [sic]; I came with a friend, also a girl from my dance studio. And when we just went out of the aeroplane – and you can smell the air in Delhi, which is actually very dirty – I felt like I was at home.

For this dancer, her artistic acumen allows her to claim India as home, just as her journeying to India allows her to claim a deeper relationship to her art. However, the experiences of homecoming are not always the same. As I now turn to discuss, the specific construction of the actors that inhabit this transnational field and the relationality to the dance they are able to claim, in India and abroad, differ in important ways. In constructing varying levels of local specificity and global traversability dancers, I argue, produce categories of belonging and non-belonging, of rightful ownership and access to a homeland, through the acquisition of Indian classical dance (and its accompanying cultural knowledge) as cultural capital. The diaspora space (Brah 1996) of Indian classical dance is home to many subjects indeed.

16.2 Constructing Categories of Foreignness in India

While various dancers—diasporic or otherwise—travelling to the homeland are referred to as 'foreign' in contrast to those born and trained in India, this is not to suggest that diasporic and other Western dancers are regarded as exactly the same. Commenting on diasporic identity, Brah notes that individual subjects can simultaneously occupy both 'majority' and 'minority' positions in the diaspora space that brings together 'diasporic', 'native' and 'national' subjects (1996: 189). This observation is also apparent in a wider analysis of the interlocking processes of subject formation (via intersections of race, class, gender, religion, etc.) and can therefore be applied to the larger transnational analysis at hand. In the case of Indian classical dancers training in India, diasporic 'foreign' dancers might be in the minority relative to 'native' dancers; however, when compared to their non-Indian counterparts, diasporic dancers have more access to, and are expected to understand better, the cultural resources that facilitate dance learning, such as language, knowledge of Hindu mythology and belief, and an understanding of cultural norms and etiquette.

That diasporic dancers experience and benefit from increased cultural access compared to their white colleagues places the former in a majority position in this instance. At the same time, however, white[6] 'foreign' students benefit from their closer association with the West and are thus placed within a larger majority of globally hegemonic communities. Their expected lack of knowledge of Indian culture and traditions can

[6]While on fieldwork in India, there were a number of foreign dancers from elsewhere in Asia who were there to train, however the overwhelming majority of non-South Asian students I encountered who practise in, and travel from, North America and Europe are white. My focus on Western multicultural societies limits my analysis to this second group.

engender greater oversight if they make mistakes while their demonstrated proficiency in learning about these cultural traits can be celebrated even more enthusiastically for having supposedly traversed a greater cultural divide. The two categories of 'foreignness' thus revolve around notions of race and ethnic identity, demonstrating the blurring culturalisation of race and racialisation of culture in everyday practices (Baumann 1997; Banks 1996; Gilroy 1992). What becomes important then is not only to look at how South Asian origin and non-diasporic Western dancers occupy both minority and majority positions simultaneously, but to interrogate the genealogical trajectories of power that inform these subject positions and therefore attempt to understand better their very production—a point that is a running theme throughout my larger project (see Thobani 2017).

So tied to Indian culture is Indian classical dance in the eyes of teachers, students and audiences that the extent and nature of one's foreignness is understood through one's dance proficiency and in turn informs opinions about how one's dance is received. For example, while on fieldwork in Orissa, I performed at an annual award festival in Bhubaneswar. Each year, a young and upcoming dancer in one of the forms of Indian classical dance is given a prestigious award and invited to perform alongside eleven other young soloists over the course of the three-day festival. The recipient that year was a young South Asian woman from California who lives half the year in Chennai to further progress her professional Bharatanatyam career. By all accounts, the awardee appeared to have made the transition between life in India and the US smoothly, likely facilitated by her class privilege that enables easy mobility. Whether in Bhubaneswar or Chennai, every time I met and saw her engage with other people, often locals, she would speak in unmistakably American English. As such, she might be seen as part of a new generation of internationally mobile dancers as distinct from earlier generations of foreign dancers who moved to India and 'went native'.[7] Indeed, upon returning to London and telling a young Bharatanatyam dancer based there wishing to embark on a professional career about meeting this dancer, I was told how great a role model she is for proving to the conservative and puritan Chennai dance scene[8] that an 'outsider—especially one as LA as [her]'—can become a successful Bharatanatyam soloist.

[7]There is historical precedent for dancers, mostly from America and Europe, moving to India permanently for dance and adopting various aspects of the 'Indian lifestyle' including, dress, language, cooking skills, eating habits and other local craft activities. The practice of 'going native' was of course not specific to dancers, having been preceded by some of the earliest arrivals of the East India Company (Hutnyk 2000: 91).

[8]The Chennai dance scene is notorious for its exclusive nature and authoritative claim in assessing Bharatanatyam, both within India and abroad. One British South Asian dancer captured this in her interview:

'Chennai is undoubtedly the home of Bharatanatyam. So there is a root and something very grounded about that… I'm hopefully going to perform there this December. It will be my first time performing in Chennai; I finally feel ready after however many years of dancing. And it's going to be scary. Undoubtedly…it's going to be a scary process because, I mean when I go to India, I feel like I can perpetually be a student there because all the grand old masters are there. They'll always be there, because if they're not there, they'll be replaced by the next generation. And so there's always that aspect to it as the centre of the Bharatanatyam universe'.

Her introduction by the Oriya emcee on the opening day of the festival did not, however, make the slightest attempt to capture the nuances of her identity, describing her instead as 'basically a Chennai girl, but her family relocated to LA'. Taken alone, this remark may not signal much. When placed in a wider field of analysis, however, the emcee's blithe observation stands in a long line of attempts to 'Indianise' non-native classical dancers whose dance is to be appreciated. Similar tactics are also apparent in the routine compliments paid to dancers for appearing 'Indian' in their performance. Most often, such praise is articulated in reference to one's ability to convey certain mannerisms and characteristics imagined to be intrinsic to Indian culture. Take as another example this excerpt from an interview with a (white) American Odissi dancer who now lives permanently in India to study and perform:

> I obviously don't look Oriya, but when I do *abhinaya*, the main compliment I get is, I get a surprised good comment, which people don't expect, is 'you looked totally Oriya, your expression was totally Oriya'.

I know of many other dancers, including myself, who have interpreted (or used) such audience reactions as confirmation of a successful performance. Other examples of celebrating dancers by Indianising them include descriptions of celebrated American Odissi dancer Sharon Lowen as 'an American Jew [who] possesses startlingly Indian looks. With dark hair, a pair of large eyes, and typical oriental features she has the looks of an Indian dancer. She has imbibed the spirit of Odissi and is a serious exponent of the form' (Kothari and Pasricha 1990: 130). Noticeable in this account is the extent to which 'Indianising' entails racialising. Written by a leading dance critic in India, this account was clearly intended as a compliment, but it raises questions as to the priorities for assessment regarding a dancer's skill and commitment, not to mention the multiple and symbiotic levels of Orientalism that are in play in this construction.

When a dancer is appreciated for their work, their foreignness can be cited as an asset. Foreign dancers are more technically meticulous and hardworking; I have heard several Indian teachers say both in India and abroad. Such descriptions evoke a stereotypical binary of the West as technical and the East as emotional; foreign dancers work hard but cannot do good *abhinaya* is the common assumption, for they are too closed emotionally and think rather than feel. Hence, experience in India—a way to learn first-hand its emotions and its colour—becomes all the more necessary in order to balance out the cerebral approach that, while beneficial, can prevent a fully 'authentic' performance.[9]

At the same time, when a dancer is not perceived as hardworking or dedicated to their training, their foreignness can prove to be a disadvantage. While on fieldwork

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Note how this dancer slips between Chennai and India (although this does not diminish the role of Chennai in the 'Bharatanatyam universe'), as well as how she constructs Chennai/India as timeless by stating that 'the grand old masters' will 'always be there' even when they are 'replaced by the next generation'. See Thobani (2017) for more on the implication of particular constructions of historical narratives in contemporary dance practices.

[9]Elsewhere I examine the cultural cues that are cited by dancers in order to make their dance more 'authentic'. Notably, the ability to capture the *lajja*, grace and coyness associated with Indian femininity is seen to be the greatest indicator of one's success in this respect.

in Orissa for example, I heard various accounts from different people about how foreign students, mostly novices, would cause trouble in the neighbourhoods where they stayed by drinking, going out with strangers and wearing short clothes in public. Landlords were becoming increasingly wary of renting rooms to foreigners for fear of the problems this might cause. These were not the foreigners dedicated to learning the dance but were rather out for an adventurous romp in an exotic land. Theirs was a debauched and undesirable kind of foreignness, one of excess and impropriety. These kinds of foreigners it seemed were the opposite of those who were dedicated and hardworking, those who prioritised and valued the dance they had come to learn. In short, they were not foreign dancers, but simply foreigners.

16.3 Constructing Categories of Belonging in Multicultural Contexts

In contrast to the situation diasporic and other Western dancers encounter in India, in the multicultural context rarely are diasporic and non-diasporic dancers perceived to inhabit shared subject positions. Diasporic dancers are assumed to be more closely related to their art as a result of the cultural proximity they supposedly enjoy, by audiences as well as other (non-Indian) dancers. Such presumptions regarding the greater cultural capital of diasporic dancers ride on constructions of Indian culture as both static and inherently linked to racial/ethnic identities. For example, one non-diasporic dancer who regularly travels to India for training recounted how she felt that:

> It was definitely harder for me than say people born in India or in the Indian, the South Asian community. Because, when I came to India for the first time, to learn, I could very clearly see the difference. Because even if you are practicing for a long time, but if you are kind of not within this environment, if you don't really have Indian teachers, Indian performances, if you don't come to performances often, then you kind of – you're basically on your own… You can't really develop as fast as people who have good teachers, who are in the right environment. That's probably the most important thing.

The specificities of the different pedagogical approaches of teachers in India are here generalised so as to be deemed inherently familiar to 'people born in India *or* in the Indian [diasporic] community' (emphasis added). This dancer, reflecting popular sentiments in multicultural societies that perceive everything Indian as *essentially* Indian, presents a clear demarcation between her non-Indian (non-diasporic) identity and her more generally 'Indian' counterparts. While the diasporic dancer is granted greater cultural authority and is easily placed in the role of cultural ambassador in such an equation, this casting serves to underscore their ethnic/racial identity, marking them as different from the (white) mainstream. The fact that Indian classical dance is featured much more regularly at community venues and in celebration of religious and cultural holidays—such as Diwali and Indian Independence Day—in the multicultural context furthers this association between the dance and ethnicity. When performed for more diverse audiences, Indian classical dance is featured as part

of multicultural showcases in which entire cultures are essentialised (see Thobani 2015). These are not showcases of Indian classical dance as performance art, but as the epitome of Indian history, heritage, religion and philosophy. These performances now provide the multicultural audience in attendance a different kind of cultural education, one that exoticises India and reaffirms its status as homeland of the dance, even if in more mythical/stereotypical fashion.

Part of the easy correlation drawn between diasporic dancers and cultural knowledge is the difficulty that white dancers can face in securing performances and teaching positions abroad because of their perceived lack of authenticity compared to South Asian dancers. For example, according to one South Asian Bharatanatyam dancer:

> If I was teaching a workshop and I couldn't do it, I would sub-out to someone who was not Indian because those are the people that I know do it best. And I don't see that [amongst other dancers]. But they [white dancers] will still have problems, both here and [in] India, because they're not Indian and this idea of authenticity comes up. So I feel, and I get some flack about authenticity because I'm not from India, but not as much as those people [white dancers].

The South Asian dancers with whom I conducted research did not speak of their 'authenticity' being questioned as acutely as was the case of non-South Asian (white) dancers, despite the fact that their families often came from regions different than those with which their dance is associated, did not necessarily speak any Indian languages, or were second- or third-generation diasporic subjects. Hence, it appears that racialised identity overrides the acquisition of cultural knowledge and bodily training in this instance for it is on the basis of racialised assumptions that dancers are or are not offered opportunities and their dance practice taken seriously. Intensive training and travel to India can make better dancers; however, the markers of race and ethnicity are also key points of validation in the multicultural context.

Amongst some dancers too, categories of national and cultural identity—euphemisms for race—are regarded to be determining factors in securing one's relative position and proximity to the dance. Take for example another excerpt from an interview with a first-generation diasporic dancer I conducted in London:

> I think when you are Indian, you're really lucky because – as [a renowned Odissi dancer] once said – if you are Indian you have the natural rhythm of India. If you are Western, I don't know, depending on how early you learned as well. Because you know, as you're Indian, you're born in the Indian family, you have the Indian rigour, the Indian way of life, you have the praying, the language, you listen to music. If you're Western, and when you learn the dance and then you go back home, you're very Western again. Your parents don't have that kind of thing. But [the dance is] for everybody. Everybody can learn the dance. What I'm trying to say is, classical Indian dance – like [names a white dancer] for instance, she's a wonderful dancer but there's *no dance* [speaker's emphasis], there's no soul in it. It's just movement. Because she doesn't have that rhythm, that attunement [sic] with the classical Indian music. For example when you dance [to me], you can tell you're at one with the music because you can feel it…You can see in [her] that's lacking. She's very English. She wants to do [her style of dance] but she does [it] using… well, she does her *bhangi* quite nicely but you don't see the *bhangi* has an Indian thing any longer, you see [her] dancing [her dance style] with a *bhangi*.

Race of course is a social construct; it is produced through its articulation in the act of differentiation (Fanon 2008; Balibar 2004; Banks 1996; Hall 1996; Hall 1991a, b; Gilroy 1992). Elsewhere in our encounters, this dancer presented their regional Indian identity as primary over and above a pan-Indian identity; their more generalised reference to me as Indian in this instance is thus indicative of the extent to which the slippage between regional and national permeate interactions between dancers. We cannot be sure what the distinguished Odissi dancer the speaker cites meant by the comments they attribute to her; what is important is how this dancer has interpreted them. Although it must be noted that many other diasporic South Asian dancers insist that no such difference exists between them and their white counterparts, and that even this dancer goes on to say 'we should be open to everybody… As teachers and givers, we have to give them [white students] 110% of it', this dancer nonetheless expresses opinions of cultural/racial difference that exist amongst many in more subtle ways.

Even as the white dancer is excluded in instances such as the ones described above by having to constantly prove their credibility as an Indian classical dancer, the ultimate outcome is the overall racialising of Indian classical dance. In other words, any questioning of the white dancer's ability rests on, and cements once more, the assumption that Indian classical dance is first and foremost tied to a racialised Indian identity as the culturalisation of the dance comes full circle. Indeed, the interview quoted above mirrors the assumptions of the white dancer presented earlier in the paper who stated that Indian dance students, diasporic or otherwise, were better positioned to understand the pedagogical approaches of Indian teachers. The two excerpts are articulated by two very different subjects, yet the effect of both is to essentialise Indian culture, reducing it to a question of inherent 'nature'. Although the subjectivities that are at play in the transnational field of Indian classical dance are diverse, the complexity of their formations is obscured by the foundational assumption of Indian classical dance as racial/national culture.

16.4 Conclusion

By analysing the experiences and perspectives of the different actors brought together in the transnational network of Indian classical dance, I have traced in this paper the relationship between the construction of a coherent pan-Indian national culture, the politics of multiculturalism and the formation of racial/ethnic identities. So doing, I have argued that constructs of nation—whether in line with Indian nationalist discourses, or multicultural and cosmopolitan ambitions—are produced in the transnational context through culturalised practices such as Indian classical dance. Race and culture are indeed social constructs. In the diaspora space of Indian classical dance, these categories are slippery and changing. Furthermore, they are performed into being, as both diasporic and non-South Asian dancers construct particular subjectivities *as* Indian classical/South Asian dancers. That the cultural efficacy of the dance—so strongly associated with a codified and coherent Indian culture even in

attempts to escape cultural essentialism—carries over so succinctly when performed transnationally is both telling of the will to appropriation of multicultural society as well as this society's methodology of culturalising certain performances. The tying of national culture and Indian classical dance, crucial to the twentieth century project of the nationalist reformation of the arts, remains ongoing in the transnational present.

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Chapter 17
Building Bridges Across Canadian and Indian History: Interrogating the 'Twin Disasters' of Indo-Canadian Migration Through Literature and non-Fiction Representations

Urmi Sengupta

> The category "Canadian" clearly applied to people who had two things in common: their white skin and their European North American (not Mexican) background. There were two colours in this political atlas- onea beige-brown shading off into black and the other white. These shades did not simply reflect skin colours- they reflected the ideological, political and cultural assumptions and administrative practices of the Canadian Stat…A "Canada" constructed on this basis contains certain notions of nation, state formation and economy. Europeanness as "whiteness" thus translates into "Canada" and provides it with its "imagined community". (Bannerji 2000, p. 64)

The words of Professor Himani Bannerji, as articulated in *The Dark Side of the Nation: Essays on Multiculturalism, Nationalism and Gender* (2000), throws light on the stance that the Euro-Canadian society has maintained not only towards the immigrant population who do not partake of the privilege of 'whiteness' but also the indigenous communities of Canada, from the years of Confederation to the present age of multiculturalism. Such 'assumptions' about certain racial and ethnic groups on the basis of their 'visible minority' status form the basis of racism as Peter S. Li states in *Race and Ethnic Relations in Canada* (1990). This stance is no doubt responsible for shaping the official discourse of history in Canada as a singular monolithic entity that harps only upon the history of the 'founding nations' (the English and the French) without taking cognition of the multiple histories that inform the lives of its racially and ethnically diverse population. Some of the most significant chapters of such deliberately excluded, even repressed, histories are those that encapsulate the pain of colonial battering—the appropriation of hunting-fishing-gathering rights, loss of land and language, cultural genocide and the ban on traditional ritualistic practices—that has been an integral part of the existence of the Inuit, Metis and the First Nations People of Canada for the last five hundred years. Other such neglected strands of

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histories are largely concerned with the issues of migration, identity, belongingness and citizenship of Canada's diasporic community of non-European origin. From being the victims of the racially selective exclusivist immigration policies of the government of Canada to being discriminated against by the mainstream 'white' population once they have been granted entry to the 'Land of promise', their lives have often been informed by transnational and transcultural events that have exceeded geopolitical boundaries to have far-reaching effects on both their 'homeland' and the 'new country'.

This paper would highlight two such chapters in the history of Indo-Canadian migration—the KomagataMaru Incident of 1914 and the Air India Disaster of 1985 which the so-called neoliberal, non-racist, multicultural Canada would like to push under the carpet, in the light of certain works of fiction and non-fiction that not only strive to build bridges across Canadian and Indian history but also address and thereby interrogate the racial exclusions that have long been an integral part of the nation-building process of Canada. These works include two non-fiction research-based representations of each of the 'twin disasters' of Indo-Canadian migration: one is the award-winning documentary film *Continuous Journey* (2004) by the Indo-Canadian filmmaker, writer and a professor of Film Production (in York University) Ali Kazimi (b. 1961–) while the other is project entitled *The Sorrows and the Terror The haunting Legacy of the Air India Tragedy* (1987) undertaken by Bharati Mukherjee (b. 1940–), an American writer of Indian origin (formerly a member of the Indo-Canadian diaspora) and a professor of English in the University of California, Berkley, and her husband, the English-Canadian writer Clark Blaise (b. 1940–). The paper would further look into a literary representation of the two incidents as found in Indo-Canadian writer Anita Rau Badami's (b. 1960–) novel *Can You Hear the Nightbird Call?* (2006). How do these works explore the intricacies and implications of events that remain largely unexplored within the mainstream academic and administrative paradigm, in their own unique ways? How has the representation of these incidents been shaped by the different mediums of expression that inform the three texts? These are some of the issues that the paper strives to address.

17.1 The KomagataMaru Incident: Immigration and Exclusion

> The KomagataMaru was described as an incident, but it was not incidental to the immigration policy of that time. It was part of a continuum of creating Canada as a white settler state. The notion of 'white' Canada was repeated over and over again in public discourse. It was in the handset records, parliamentary debates. It was clearly enunciated in all the immigration documents. It [Canada] has had a policy of creating a European settler state…. It is only after we get over this denial that real conversation can start. (Simon Fraser University 2012).

It is this 'denial' on the part of the Euro-Canadian society that Ali Kazimi refers to in his interview entitled *KomagataMaru: Continuing the Journey—York Professor and filmmaker Ali Kazimi* which rendered the making of a film like *Continuous*

Journey relevant and even necessary nine decades after the KomagataMaru incident actually took place. Since the late nineteenth century, the aspiration to build Canada as a 'white-man's country', the concern for maintaining racial homogeneity harboured by Anglo and French Canadian nationalists, churches and social service providers and the fear of appropriation of job opportunities of the 'white' workforce, led to the introduction of the racially discriminatory regulations, into Canada's immigration policy towards the aspiring 'non-white' immigrants. 1905 onwards British Columbia saw a steady influx of immigrants from India, mostly Punjab, who had been recruited to work in the steamship companies and other industrial projects therein. It is with a ship full of such aspiring immigrants from Punjab, a north-western province of India—340 Sikhs, 24 Muslims and 12 Hindus—that the Singapore-based Sikh entrepreneur Gurdit Singh arrived at the Burrard Inlet on 23 May 1914 only to be deemed unsuitable to enter Vancouver for not abiding by the Continuous Journey Regulation (1908) and not fulfilling the 'Landing money requirements' expected of 'East Indians'. It is this systemic and systematic racism on the part of the government, the court of law, the immigration officials, port authorities and even the erstwhile mass media that Kazimi brings to the forefront through a digital enhancement of vintage photos, archival footages and newspaper reports and also through the interviews of historians and the descendents of the victims. He frames the entire film by his own voice-over, harping upon his subjective position of an immigrant who has been born and brought up in India, and who feels strongly connected to both the nations. Kazimi's preoccupation with the KomagataMaru Incident and his emotional attachment to the project at hand lends the film a tone of intimacy that prevents it being reduced to a mere presentation of the facts and the evidences that prove their authenticity. In the very first frame, as the camera focuses on the Pacific waters of the Vancouver harbour, the filmmaker confides to the audience how his personal struggle to curve a niche in Canada as an immigrant from India helps him identify with those aboard that doomed ship, thereby striking a perfect balance between the objective and the subjective:

> As an immigrant from Canada to India, I find myself fascinated by the story. Maybe because in this harbour the history of Canada and India directly collide, maybe because few know that people like me have been shut out for decades, maybe because the story helps explain why Canada looks the way it does and maybe because I am trying to understand how I fit in (*Continuous journey* 2004)

Kazimi delves deep into the probable causes that intensified the already existing Euro-Canadian hatred towards the potential 'East Indian' immigrants: when Vancouver emerged as one of the major centres for the consolidation of what has been known as the Sikh-Gadar movement (1907–18), often hailed as 'the first declared India freedom war fought by majority international Sikhs' (Mann 2013 p. 1), the (majorly) British colony of Canada felt a greater need to exclude them from the nation-building process of the country. Kazimi highlights in his film how an ideal opportunity to carry out this act of exclusion came in the form of a report on Oriental labour by Mackenzie King in 1908 which harped upon the inability of the 'East Indians' to adjust to the Canadian climate (Canada Department of Labour 1908, p.7),

thereby paving the way for a hike in the landing money requirements of the 'East Indians' from $50 to $200 while it remained just $25 for the immigrants of European origin. The nomenclature of the film is a deliberate, conscious and sarcastic attack on the infamous Continuous Journey Regulation (1908) which gave the Minister of Interior, Frank Oliver, the authority to prohibit the entry of East Indians 'unless they came to Canada from the country of their birth or citizenship by a continuous journey on through tickets purchased before leaving the country' (Kelley and Trebilcock 1998, p. 148), a regulation which was rendered more rigid by a later amendment in the requirement of a continuous journey from the country of origin of the potential immigrants. The regulation appeared to be fair and unbiased except for the order issued by the government to Canadian Pacific Railways (CPR), the only shipping company to offer direct passage from Canada to India, not to sell any tickets to Canada from its Indian outlets. The fact that the apparent legislative equality was nothing but eyewash is further enunciated by Kazimi by drawing the audience's attention to the instructions issued by Frank Oliver to his officers:

> Please bear in mind that the newly issued order-in-council regarding the clause of 'continuous journey' is absolutely prohibitive in its terms but that it is only intended to enforce it strictly against the really undesirable immigrants. You will understand therefore that a great deal is left to your discretion with regards to the application of this particular order (Mehta 1973, p. 140)

The fact that the passengers of the Japanese steamer that had travelled to Canada from India via Hong Kong were forced to stay cooped up inside the ship and left to starve just outside the Vancouver harbour for two whole months summed up 'white' Canada's approach towards the number of veterans of the British Indian Army aboard the ship. In the words of Sharon Pollock as found in her play *The Komagatamaru Incident* (1978): 'We don't mind them dying for us, we just don't want them living with us' (p. 10). This stance was articulated in the mainstream media reports as well, clippings from which find place in Kazimi's film. *Vancouver Sun* one of the leading dailies goes to the extent of describing the passengers on board as the 'Hindoo invaders' in its report on the arrival of the KomagataMaru (dated June 23, 1914), thereby associating the value-loaded term 'invasion' with the simple act of immigration. In order to highlight the dichotomy of the situation, such reports have been consciously and deliberately juxtaposed with snippets from letters written by members of the KomagataMaru passenger committee to the Editor, Daily New Advertiser, Vancouver where they spoke about the misery of being held 'prisoners' inside the ship. The film posits Gurdit Singh as a hero, who champions the cause of his countrymen to the best of his abilities, by showcasing excerpts from letters written by him to the minister of Interior with a request to allow him to disembark and sell the coal the steamer was carrying in order to meet the landing money requirements of the passengers or to allow him to present himself in the court of law to defend the cause of the aspiring immigrants onboard, but in vain.

Kazimi uses the montage technique to present rare photographs of the eminent members of the Punjabi community, who irrespective of their religious affiliation assembled in a gurdwara to find out ways to help their compatriots. He delves into the

archival papers to bring out the petitions filed in the court in favour of the passengers by the lawyer Edward Bird, who had been appointed by these men. An interview with his grandson Richard Bird reveals the harsh criticism and ostracism that the lawyer had to face from the members of his own community for helping the 'Hindoos' (Kiefer 2012). As Justice McPhilip's dismisses the pleas of the 'people of non-assimilative races'(Kelley and Trebilcock 1998, p. 150), the passengers lose all hope. Kazimi incorporates the archival footage of the incident that acted as a final nail in the coffin for KomagataMaru—that of the warship HMCS Rainbow gearing up for mid-sea confrontation with KomagataMaru by the orders of Prime Minister Robert Borden—which finally forced the ship to set sail for India. The conversational and self-reflexive tone of the voice-over backed up by thorough research and interesting filmmaking techniques, especially the montage of photographs and letters, helps unfold an incident which had been at the verge of disappearing from the larger Canadian consciousness. The image that remains with the audience is that of the proud Gurdit Singh standing dignified and determined (along with his son) even as the outline of the ship looms large in the background. The bewildered passengers stand huddled on the deck.

In the interview conducted by Fanny Kiefer in 2012 on Kazimi's book *Undesirables: KomagataMaru and White Canada* (2012), Kazimi harps upon the necessity to take cognition of the 'Indian chapter' of the KomagataMaru incident, one that hardly finds a place in his film except in an interview of the nephew (himself a Canadian citizen) of one of the potential immigrants on board. At Budge harbour, many of the physically and mentally weakened passengers perished when the British Indian Police, who fearing them to be rebellious, opened fire on them. Those who survived were scarred for life. It is with a peek into the psychological trauma of such a survivor that the Anita Rau Badami begins her novel *Can you hear the Nightbird Call?* In an attempt to fictionalize a real historical event, the author uses retrospection as a narrative strategy. Snippets of the tragedy that befell Harjot Singh and his fellow passengers are offered to his infant daughter Sharanjeet through his reminiscences. More than what is said, all that is left unsaid evokes the horror of the child and reader alike; the plight of the man speaks more than a words:

> He rarely spoke, never left the house and always looked lost as if there was something that he had forgotten and he could only lie helplessly in the cot, staring off into the distance until it came back to him… In his mind his was continents away in a green and blue city called Vancouver, which he had once seen from the deck of a ship- a place that had turned him away from its shores as if he were a pariah dog (Badami 2006, p. 10).

The depression finally culminates in him leaving his home one fine morning, never to return. His deep unfulfilled longing for Canada sets the foundation of the novel in which many of the major characters, including two of the protagonists, Bibiji and Leela, immigrate to Canada and try to curve their own diasporic identity therein. For a woman born and brought up in India who has spent much of her adult life in Canada, this novel emerges as an attempt to highlight 'this baggage of history' that has become an integral part of the Indo-Canadian diasporic identity. The very structure of the novel, which connects the KomagataMaru incident and the Air India disaster through

the lives of its major characters, is a conscious and deliberate attempt at foregrounding the state of perpetual non-belongingness of the immigrants/potential immigrants from India who aspire to make Canada their 'home'. Even after Canada officially became a multicultural nation in 1971, the government refrained from acknowledging the injustices done to the passengers of KomagataMaru till August 2008 when the erstwhile Prime Minister Stephen Harper offered an apology in the Gadri Babian de Mela event in British Columbia and announced that the National Historic and the Community Historic programs would take initiatives to commemorate the incident and make the future generations aware of it. Present Prime Minister Justin Trudeau has finally come forward to offer an official apology on behalf of the Government of Canada for their role in the incident, in the House of Commons on 18 May 2016—an event that truly promises to be one of historical significance in Canada.

17.2 The Air India Disaster: Transnational Histories and the Politics of Identity

> Politically the tragedy (Air India disaster of 1985) was "unhoused," in that Canada wished to see it as an Indian event sadly visited on these shores by uncontrollable fanatics, and India was happy to treat it as an "overseas incident" with containable financial implications… Like India, Canada does not welcome the scrutiny of its communal difficulties. Both Canada ("the peaceable kingdom") and India ("the world's largest democracy") pride themselves on their images in the world. (Blaise and Mukherjee 1987, pp. IX–X).

The fact that both Canada and India tried to shrug off their responsibilities in the context of an incident in which a bomb planted by a Sikh separatist group of Khalistanis operating from Vancouver caused Air India Flight 182 *Kanishka*, which was flying from Toronto and Montreal to New Delhi, to crash into the Atlantic Ocean (110 km off the coast of Ireland) claiming the lives of 327 passengers and crew on board most of whom were Canadian citizens, not only exposed the fissures within their respective multicultural and democratic societies, but also condemned the victims of the disaster and their bereaved relatives to a state of non-belongingness which was disturbing and at the same time traumatizing for them. According to the government of India, the phenomena of both the facilitators and the (majority of) victims of the disaster being Canadian passport holders diluted their claim to have been effected by the 'Indian affairs'. On the other hand, the fact that they were Canadians of Indian origin somehow made them less 'Canadian' in the eyes of the mainstream Euro-Canadian society. Therefore, while Bharati Mukherjee and her better half Clark Blaise try to understand and analyse this tragedy in the light of the imbrications of Canadian and Indian history in their work *The Sorrow and the Terror: The Haunting Legacy of the Air India Tragedy*, they also take cognition of the fact that though Canada has come a long way from the KomagataMaru Incident of 1914, 'the continued exclusion of immigrant citizens from full participation in the Canadian sense of justice suggests that multiculturalism in Canada is still an incomplete project' (Gustar 2016, p. 112). Mukherjee, whose day-to-day experiences of racial discrimination during

her decade-long stay in Canada result in her disillusionment with Canada's multicultural policy, calls for a critical examination of the same referring to it as nothing but 'the corner stone of Canada's eternally agonized self-definition' (p. X). Badami's novel *Can You the Nightbird Call?,* on the other hand, chooses to interrogate the causes and consequences of the disaster through the intertwined narratives of the three protagonists whose lives testify to the fact that 'the effects of historical events cannot be geopolitically contained' (Gustar 2016, p. 105). While trying to go deep into the probable cause(s) of the mid-air bomb blast in Air India Flight 182, eighteen months after the tragedy takes place, Blaise and Mukherjee study the government documents, transcripts and back-files of newspaper and attend trials to find much of its roots in the colonial history of India, more specifically in the largely unfulfilled desire of the Sikh community for an independent nation in the form of Khalistan. The plantation of the bomb was a part of a process of 'ongoing, self generating, self justifying vengeance' (Blaise and Mukherjee 1987, p. XIX) which began with the Operation Blue Star of June 1984 that claimed the lives of not only the extremist separatist group of Khalistanis who had taken shelter in the Golden temple in Amritsar but also that of many innocent pilgrims. The relationship between the Sikhs and Hindus in India deteriorated for the worse when Mrs. Gandhi was assassinated by her Sikh bodyguards on 31 October of the same year and the moderate Sikhs had to bear the brunt of the actions of the extremist in the ensuing riots. The Air India disaster was planned by the Khalistanis operating from Vancouver under the leadership of Talvinder Singh Parmar as a counter-revenge on the government by inflicting severe losses (financial and otherwise) on one of the major Indian government installations (Air India) functioning in Canada. The point was to send out a strong message on the month of the one-year anniversary of 'Operation Blue Star' that the Khalistanis could go to any extent to preserve their *izzat* (honour) and fulfil their dream of an independent land for the Sikhs.

Badami interrogates the causalities of this string of violent incidents through the lives of the protagonist, Bibiji, Leela and Nimmo, as their day-to-day existence and even their basic sense of identity undergoes a transformation in the tumultuous circumstances. The shifting chronotope takes the readers across continents and often back and forth in time, thereby exploring how certain apparently India centric phenomena had affected Canada in more ways than one. Though a primarily third-person narrative, the three sections of the novel named after the three women strives to look at the series of events from their (geopolitically, socially and ideologically differential) perspectives. While Bibiji, a Canadian citizen of Indian origin, loses her husband Pa-ji—a moderate Sikh who does not endorse the cause of Khalistan in any way—in Operation Blue Star, the family of her niece Nimmo, who resides in India, falls victim to the anti-Sikh sentiments brewing in the country post the assassination of Mrs. Gandhi. The character of Dr. Randhawa who comes to Vancouver to encourage young impressionable men like Jasbeer, the eldest son of Nimmo and the foster child of Bibiji and Pa-ji, to engage in a blood for blood revenge through his passionate speeches, represents the basic principles of the separatist Khalistani movement:

> Lately it seemed to Pa-ji that there were far more immoderate than moderate people in this community. These days whenever he opened his mouth to object to the politics of power and violence that seemed to be taking over their temple, he was angrily shouted down. At the temple, a visiting preacher from India had delivered a fiery speech about an independent Sikh state. He had ended his speech by passing around a box for funds to set up this state. When the box came to him, Pa-ji had shaken his head…."What I am not wishing to do is to interfere in the business of another country. I am Canadian, why should I pay for more partition of India?" (Badami 1987, p. 182)

Not only had the invasion of Golden Temple begun to wedge a gulf between the moderate and extremist Sikhs settled in Canada, but also had created a Hindu-Sikh divide within the Indo-Canadian diaspora which would reach new heights with the Air India disaster. Jasbeer plays an active role in bringing about the tragedy in which one of the closest friends of his foster mother, Leela, loses her life. Though Bibiji gets a prior indication about the catastrophe, she does not bother to intimate her Hindu friend, who once she had truly cared for. It is interesting to note that the Air India disaster happened way before Badami had emigrated to Canada and when as she herself admits in her interview with *Canadian Living*: 'Canada wasn't even a part of my imaginative world' (2006, p. 1) while she was residing in India. The only way it had affected her was that one of her neighbours had been a passenger in the plane and had lost his life therein. In fact, it was the Hindu-Sikh riots in North India following Mrs. Gandhi's assassinations that had touched her more deeply because of her first-hand experience of it on her way back to Chennai from her honeymoon via Delhi. It is only after she moved base to Vancouver in 1991 that she was able to identify how the repercussions of certain historical incidents move beyond the boundaries of nation and nationalities in the light of the deteriorated relationship between the Hindus and the Sikhs in Canada:

> I started thinking about how immigrants of all stripes manage to carry this baggage of history, of loss, of anger along with them, even while they are trying to leave behind that place where all this history occurred ….How long do we carry this attachment to that other place? How long does this history stay with an immigrant, before that immigrant starts to learn that, okay, I no longer belong to that place, I belong to this place. (Canadian Living, p. 2)

But while Badami's novel ends with individual narratives of the three women culminating and coming together in the Air Indian Disaster, Blaise and Mukherjee continue to explore its aftermath by meeting the bereaved families and chronicling the experience of these encounters in their research-based project. Certain lesser known (and hardly acknowledged) causes of the tragedy get revealed too. As they delve deep into how the baggage containing the explosives made its way into the doomed flight, they uncover the fact that though violence unleashed upon the passengers aboard *Kanishka* on 23 June 1985 at 3.14 am EDT (and also on the two baggage handlers at Narita Airport, Tokyo fifty-five minutes before it) was closely connected with the contemporary sociopolitical and religious turmoil in India, Canada too had its share of responsibilities in the disaster, which it is yet to come in terms with, for the terrorist attack had been planned on the Canadian soil. In spite of having certain information about the incident, the Canadian Security Intelligence Service (CSIS) chose not to take it seriously. In spite of the Indian High Commission's request to

the Royal Canada Mounted Police (RMCP) and Transport Canada to provide the Air India flights leaving from Canada to India with extra security during June 1985, lapses in the process of security checking in Toronto and Montreal airports were responsible for the tragedy to a great extent. But the biggest shortcoming perhaps lies in the way in which 'white' Canada dealt with the aftermath of the Air India disaster. The fact that Canadian Prime Minister Brian Mulroney expressed his deep condolences to the Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi in the morning of 23 June 1985 for the loss of lives of the passengers, 280 of whom were Canadian citizens, invites an interrogation of Canada's multicultural policy that reinforces differences in the garb of fostering and endorsing ethnic diversity. Moreover, the mainstream society branded all Sikhs residing in Canada as 'terrorists' without taking cognition of the fact that the violence had been facilitated by only a certain section of the Sikh community, the Khalistanis. Perceiving the entire incident as 'their' tragedy instead of 'our' tragedy, the government of Canada and even the Canadian embassy in Ireland continued to treat the shattered and bewildered relatives of the victims with aloofness as is revealed through their interviews. They felt abandoned by their country in such a time of crisis:

> The press followed the relatives to the hospital. How well have Canadian officials handled this tragedy? On camera, one or two men blew up at what they perceived as consular callousness or white-Canadian coldness. "Where are those bastards?", one relative demanded. "Are they sitting tight in cozy chairs?"….The Canadian High Commission, some said, had not only refused them (the relatives from India) visas but had behaved badly, had treated them with unnecessary rudeness. They said that the Canadian visa officers had acted suspicious, as if these were not families rallying in time of monumental tragedy, but just one more immigration scam to sneak into Canada (Blaise and Mukherjee 1987, pp. 74–75)

These interviews elevate the work from a mere analysis of facts, figures, dates and causalities as the couple allow the readers a peek into the personal history of some of the victims and the families torn apart by the disaster. While the sudden and violent end to the dreams and aspirations of the dancing prodigy Lita Sarangi or the newly wed Vijaya Thampi throws light upon the pathos of the entire situation, the grievances of Rakesh Bedi, who had lost his whole family in the tragedy, highlight how the racial biases lurking within 'white' Canadian consciousness prevented the Euro-Canadian officials from providing the right human touch that the situation demanded. The business-like attitude with which the Canadian officials offered monetary compensations or urged the relatives to go through sessions of counselling paled in comparison with the sensitivity displayed by Gardai Siochana (Irish Police) and the members of the Regional Cork University of Ireland. Mukherjee later narrativises this situation beautifully in one of her short stories entitled 'The Management of Grief'(2008) through the conversation between one such unfortunate 'relative' Mrs. Bhave and Judith Templeton who emerges as the perfect example of this alleged insensitivity of the government on this issue:

> "In the textbooks on grief management", she replies "there are stages to pass through: rejection, depression, acceptance, reconstruction." She has compiled a chart and finds that six months after the tragedy, none of us still reject reality, but only a handful are reconstructing…How do I tell Judith Templeton that my family surrounds me, and like creatures in

> epics, they have changed shapes? She sees me as calm and accepting but worries that I do not have a job or career. My closest friends are worse off than I. I cannot tell her my days, even my nights, are thrilling. (Mukherjee 2008, p. 170)

It is ironical that these lapses identified by the scholar couple as early as 1986 were finally 'discovered' and acknowledged in the report of the Commission of Inquiry into the Investigation of the Bombing of Air India Fight 182 called *Air India Flight: A Canadian Tragedy,* twenty-five years after the incident. It is in this report that the commissioner Justice John Major accords the incident the status of a national tragedy: 'I stress that this is a Canadian Atrocity' Major said in releasing his report, 'For too long the greatest loss of Canadian lives at the hands of terrorists has somehow been relegated outside the Canadian consciousness' (Smith 2010). Canada's differential treatment of its immigrant population who belong to the 'visible minority' status has indeed surfaced in the long drawn court case which has largely failed to provide justice to the victims and their relatives even after a lapse of 31 years since the Air India disaster. Till date, Inderjit Singh Reyat, the auto electrician from Duncan who had made the explosives, whom Blaise and Mukherjee had identified as one of the chief suspects, remains the lone convicted criminal in this trial (Dhillon, 13 March 2014). His perjury has allowed his accomplices to walk free. The words of Justice Mary Saunders, who dismissed Reyat's appeal against the charges of perjury in January 2016, opened up fresh debates over the sincerity and integrity of Canada's judicial system in dealing with a tragedy which primarily concerned her immigrants of non-European origin:

> Mr. Reyat's false testimony, by which he hid the extent of his knowledge of the conspiracy alleged in the (Ripudaman Singh) Malik/ (Ajaib Singh) Bagri trial concerning this most serious mass murder, is a stain on the Canadian trial process, leaving the record in that singular case incomplete. No case before has considered false professions of lost memory in circumstances of such scale, (Milewski, 27 Jan 2016)

The victims are yet to get their equal share in Canada's sense of justice; it is only after the publication of Justice John Major's report that Stephen Harper offered a formal apology for all the legal and institutional failures and social harassments the victims and the relatives had to suffer, in the twenty-fifth anniversary of the tragedy. For twenty years after the disaster, the memorial monument erected in Ahakista in the Irish coast in 1986 remained the only one of its kind that commemorated the victims. It is as late as 2006 that the first memorial monument was erected upon the Canadian soil (in Vancouver), which was closely followed by others in Toronto, Ottawa and Lachine, bringing some consolation to the bereaved.

17.3 Conclusion

Not only do the fictional and non-fictional representations of the KomagataMaru Incident and the Air India disaster strive to understand the Indo-Canadian diasporic identity in the light of the overlapping episodes of India and Canada's history that

hardly finds a place within the official discourse of history writing in Canada, in their own unique ways, but they also highlight the disjunctions within the 'multicultural mosaic' of the nation. While the formal apologies offered on behalf of the government are perhaps the first step towards Canada's ability to come in terms with certain shameful chapters of her history for what they are, the 'twin disasters' of Indo-Canadian migration continue to highlight the necessity of a more inclusive approach of mainstream Canada towards its 'non-white' immigrant population.

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