WORKING TOWARD THE DEVOTIONAL IDEAL: GANDHI ON THE NON-IDEAL STATUS OF LIBERAL INSTITUTIONS AND VALUES

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Abstract: Gandhi’s relationship to liberal political philosophy has recently become a source of controversy. On the one hand, advocates for a virtue-based reformed liberal interpretation of Gandhi are inattentive to the devotional aspects of his political thought. On the other hand, advocates for a Tolstoyan and Hindu devotional interpretation are equally inattentive to those aspects of his political thought embracing liberal institutions and values. However, I re-interpret the devotional Gandhi’s relationship to liberalism in light of a distinction between ideal and non-ideal theory. This re-interpretation acknowledges Gandhi’s profound disagreement with liberal ideals of justice in both domestic and international politics. Nevertheless, it also acknowledges his acceptance of liberal institutions in non-ideally facilitating progress toward his devotional ideal of enlightened anarchism by which humanity’s spiritual progress renders the lawful uses of state violence unnecessary.

Gandhi’s relationship to liberal political philosophy has recently become a source of controversy. On the one hand, Nicholas Grier (2003) and Sanjay Lal (2016) argue that Gandhi was a reformed liberal. Indeed, both interpret Gandhian non-violence as a civic virtue. They contend their interpretation of Gandhi resolves a dispute in contemporary Western political philosophy between liberals and communitarians. On the other hand, Grey and Hughes (2015) argue that Gandhi saw non-violence not as a liberal civic virtue, but rather as a devotional practice of Truth-seeking. To this extent, they do not base their interpretation on an engagement with any contemporary dispute in political philosophy. Instead, they base it on a close textual reading of Gandhi himself. In particular, they emphasize his early influences from Tolstoy concerning experimental paths to God/Truth and later influences from Hindu philosophy and theology concerning the individual self and its universal interconnectedness. Moreover, they contend their devotional interpretation substantially contradicts any reformed liberal interpretation of Gandhi. On their analysis, he was not “merely attempting to reform liberal political institutions.” At most, Gandhi was a “friendly critic of liberal democracy, with the implication that he was not a supporter of those institutions” (Grey and Hughes, 2015, 391; my italics).

In this paper, I argue that the difference between the liberal and devotional interpretations of Gandhi are, in some large part, the function of an equivocation within

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the latter interpretation, as well as in Gandhi himself, between separate ideals of state order, one anarchist and the other constitutionalist. Indeed, advocates of the devotional interpretation deny that Gandhi is a supporter of liberal institutions because his political ideal is one of ‘enlightened anarchism’ and strict compliance with non-violence. In other words, his ideal of state order is one in which all coercive uses or state power — or lawful violence — are unnecessary. Violence is unnecessary because individual selves and nations have experimentally followed their various paths to apprehending the Truth of non-violence in God and the interconnectedness of all humanity. Nevertheless, Gandhi’s enlightened anarchist ideal contradicts the liberal ideal of state order grounded in justice as strict compliance with publicly justifiable terms of state violence or coercion exercised in the interest of keeping the peace. This is an ideal of state order based on an appropriate distribution of the coercive power from local to federal levels of citizens’ participation in legislative and judicial activities. Moreover, advocates of the reformed liberal interpretation rightfully claim that participation in such dispersed civic activities requires the virtue-based politics they attribute to Gandhi. Consequently, Gandhi would appear as much a ‘civic constitutionalist’ concerned with the rightful uses of political coercion and lawful violence as enlightened anarchist.

Such an equivocation of enlightened anarchism and civic constitutionalism poses an unresolved problem in the most recent literature on Gandhi’s politics. Did Gandhi entertain two contradictory political ideals, one anarchist and the other constitutionalist? One possible solution to the problem of ‘two Gandhis’ is to say that Gandhi was ultimately a political pragmatist, willing to separate his private devotional aspirations from his public efforts to create a new liberal constitutional order in India. Indeed, this is the view taken by Anthony Parel (2008 and 2007). However, this view of Gandhi as willing to reach political compromises with Indian liberal nationalists is impossible to square with the considerable textual evidence that Gandhi was no pragmatist. Consequently, I propose a different kind of solution, appealing to Rawls’ distinction between ideal and non-ideal theory. In particular, I argue that there is no equation between two separate ideals, but rather a relationship between anarchism and constitutionalism as ideal and non-ideal. This kind of relationship has the advantage that it avoids attributing to Gandhi a pragmatic view of politics he clearly did not hold. While demoting liberal justice to non-ideal status, it also assigns to liberal institutions and values an important role in facilitating diverse spiritual paths towards Gandhi’s distinct religio-anarchic ideal.

I proceed in the following steps. In the first section, I discuss the reformed liberal interpretation of Gandhi as a resource for mediating the liberal/communitarian dispute, along with certain difficulties it encounters regarding Gandhi’s Hindu influences. In the second section, I discuss the devotional interpretation’s challenge to liberal appropriations of Gandhi, especially in light of his Tolstoyan and Hindu influences. However, I also note the equivocation in the devotional interpretation (and Gandhi himself) between the ideal of state order as anarchist and constitutionalist, respectively. In the third section, I discuss this equivocation in light of Parel’s pragmatic interpretation, but dismiss this interpretation based on Gandhi’s stated views concerning the necessity of lawful violence. In the fourth section, I adapt Rawls’
distinction between ideal and non-ideal theory for reconciling the anarchist and constitutionalist Gandhis. I conclude that the reformed liberal interpretation of Gandhi is properly an expression of non-ideal theory, concerned with facilitating progress towards strict compliance with non-violence grounded in devotional purity.

I. The Reformed Liberal Interpretation of Gandhi

Both Grier and Lal appeal to Gandhi primarily as a resource for addressing a contemporary dispute between liberals and communitarians. Communitarians contend that liberals are committed to an ontologically false conception of the self as unencumbered by social attachments. Indeed, this conception of the self underwrites “a morally neutral procedural liberalism” (Grier, 2003, 72). Such a liberalism is neutral with respect to the values, ends, and aims of individuals as socially unencumbered selves. However, it fails to take into account that to a considerable degree the values, aims, and ends of those communities of which they are members constitute individual selves. According to communitarians, cultivating the values and virtues specific to their communities empowers and constitutes selves as individuals. Nevertheless, procedural liberalism lacks any substantive account of the importance of civic virtues and their relationship to core liberal values like “individualism, diversity, and tolerance” (Ibid, 88). Consequently, its commitment to neutrality leaves individual selves morally disempowered and cast adrift, vulnerable to dissipation and violence.

Grier sees this analysis as consistent with Gandhi’s critique of the modern West as especially “unstable and violence prone” (Ibid, 83). Drawing from Bhikhu Parekh’s (1989) seminal work on Gandhi’s political philosophy, Grier argues that Gandhi saw the modern liberal emphasis on proceduralism, stripped of any substantive account of civic virtue, leading only to “hedonistic dissipation or the clash and mutual cancellation of personal and national.” (Grier, 2003, 83). Grier thus advocates a reformed liberalism that attributes “axiological primacy to the virtues” over “rights, as abstractions from virtue” (Ibid, 75). Giving primacy to civic virtue, this reformed liberalism is not “morally neutral” (Ibid, 72). Indeed, for them to be morally empowered to realize liberal values, individuals must first learn self-disciple by cultivating entirely general civic virtues, such as patience, moderation, and courage. As learned in the context of diverse community traditions, these general virtues become the basis of “personal appropriation” by which individuals turn their “participation in social practices into performances expressive of … individuality” (Ibid, 87). More important for Grier’s argument, general virtues are also the basis on which individuals personally appropriate the “nexus of public justification, tolerance, and moderation … central to liberal virtue” (Ibid, 89).

He argues a range of contemporary Western liberal thinkers, including Stephen Macedo (2003), William Galston (1995 and 1991), and the later John Rawls (1994) endorse some version of this position. Each of them vary in their specific approaches to bridging the liberal-communitarian divide, but each emphasizes the importance of civic virtue for the realization of liberal values. According to Grier, however, Gandhi is also a reformed because non-violence, _ahimsa_, is itself a liberal civic virtue that enables individuals who have learned self-restraint by appropriating the general civic virtues of

*Journal of East-West Thought*
their particular communities to be “persuaded by debate and fortified by education to become open to the views of others” (Grier, 2003, 89). To this extent, non-violence aligns with the fundamental liberal ideal of “peace through toleration” (Ibid). Indeed, non-violence is not an “optional personal virtue but a required civil virtue” (Ibid, 93; my italics). Hence, we might say that, on Grier’s reformed liberal interpretation, Gandhi’s ahimsa is the functional equivalent of Rawls’s liberal virtue of civility. Indeed, the his (1994) Political Liberalism, the later Rawls argues that civility requires citizens to exercise discipline and restraint in formulating shared public reasons as justification for peaceful terms of social cooperation.

In this respect, both Gandhian ahimsa and Rawlsian civility are alternatives to the “fact of oppression” (Rawls, 1994, 53) in which impatient, immoderate, and intolerant social antagonists struggle to impose terms of cooperation onto one another embodying only their particular comprehensive doctrine of the Truth. Absence of restraint and moderation in formulating a shared basis of public justification, across multiple conflicting doctrines of the Truth, necessarily results in violence. It does so because the antagonists must resort to coercion in the interest of maintaining forced adherence to their belief-system. To be sure, this is an imperfect alignment of Gandhi and Rawls. Rawls’ liberalism is non-neutral regarding the virtue of civility, but it is committed to a strict ideal of state neutrality regarding competing doctrines of Truth. However, as I shall discuss shortly, Grey and Hughes’ devotional interpretation of Gandhi regards non-violence as a non-neutral political practice of individual devotees seeking Truth through diverse paths.

This is an important point. Reformed liberalism rejects moral neutrality regarding general civic virtues as enabling non-violent civic participation, and this is consistent with and Rawls’ endorsement of civility. Nevertheless, political liberalism is neutral regarding conflicting comprehensive doctrines of the Truth as opposed to entirely general virtues like patience and moderation in formulating public reasons. According to Rawls, liberalism should thus detach itself from all ideas of the whole truth, or truth with a capital ‘T,’ and instead commit to establishing a civil peace based on an overlapping consensus of comprehensive doctrines. Such a politically liberal overlapping consensus should be “freestanding” or independent of all such doctrines of the whole Truth. As a reformed liberal, Rawls thus combines non-neutrality regarding virtues enabling non-violent civic participation with neutrality concerning Truth. This combination of commitments by the liberal state to maintaining separate domains of non-neutrality and neutrality reveals a potential weakness in Grier’s analysis that becomes apparent in Lal’s effort to give it “greater substance” (Lal, 2016, 31).

In this regard, Lal appeals to Gandhi’s “avowed identification with Hindu philosophy” and, in particular, “the central Hindu emphasis on a Universal Self,” atman (Ibid, 31). Consistent with Grey and Hughes, Lal interprets Gandhi as positing an Atman or self that is “distinct yet connected to [all] other beings within the broader world” (Ibid, 381). Indeed, as “equivalent to Truth,” the Universal Self is realized only by each individual self experimentally working out its own path to Truth. Consequently, “life’s purpose” for each distinct yet connected self is the “actualization” of this Truth/Universal Self. We each work out our own path to the Truth of universal interconnectedness as “both our final end and goal” (Ibid, 35). By

Journal of East-West Thought
appealing to \textit{atman}, Lal reinforces Grier’s interpretation of non-violence as a civil virtue insofar as the self-discipline required for such non-violent experiments in Truth must first be learned by diverse individual selves “in a way specific to traditions of a particular community” (Ibid, 40).

However, he also inserts Gandhi’s notion of Universal Self or \textit{atman} into the political project common to liberals of peacefully reconciling a multicultural diversity of conflicting beliefs about Truth. This inevitably pits the reformed commitment to non-neutrality regarding the virtues against the commitment to neutrality regarding comprehensive doctrines. Indeed, despite their reformed non-neutrality regarding the virtues, political liberals see the ‘path’ to realizing this ideal through state neutrality towards any one or other conception of the ends and purposes of life. Consequently, they would reject Gandhi’s endorsement of the whole Truth of ‘universal interconnectedness’ as the \textit{one final end or goal} sought through non-violence. Lal intends his appeal to \textit{ahimsa} to show that “there is ample room in Hindu philosophical tradition to sense of Gandhi as a reformed liberal” (Ibid, 31). Nevertheless, his appeal to \textit{atman} clearly reveals an aspect of Gandhi’s political project opposed to reformed liberalism’s continued neutrality concerning life’s purpose and Truth.

II. The Devotional Interpretation of Gandhi

In marked contrast with the reformed liberal interpretation, Gray and Hughes’ devotional interpretation of Gandhi is not an attempt to engage any contemporary political issue. \footnote{Contrary to Gray and Hughes, Puri (2009) argues that Socrates was an early influence on Gandhi. This establishes an engagement by the younger Gandhi with the Western tradition of political philosophy, if not modern Western liberalism.} Indeed, based on close textual readings, they advance the view that Gandhi advocated and practiced a form of devotional, \textit{bhakti}, political philosophy. According to them, this devotional philosophy is derivative of Gandhi’s early engagement with Tolstoy’s ideas about the relationship between truth and non-violence, as well as his later innovative engagements with the Hindu philosophic and theistic traditions. On the one hand, they argue that Gandhi took from Tolstoy the idea that the “only way to know the truth of a doctrine is through experimentation and experience, not through abstract rational proofs” (Gray and Hughes, 2015, 378). Tolstoy grounds this experiential understanding of Truth in both Christianity and Hinduism: the “experienced truth of Christ or Krishna is that God is love” (Ibid, 379). Likewise for Gandhi, “God is truth, and truth is intimately connected to love” (Ibid).

On the other hand, Grey and Hughes argue, “one cannot simply reduce Gandhi to a restatement of Tolstoy” and that his “reading of the Gita refines and modifies his Tolstoyan concepts” (Ibid 378). Gandhi not only fuses Tolstoy’s concepts of truth and love with \textit{Ahimsa}: “To follow truth, the only right path is non-violence” (Ibid, 379). He also fuses Tolstoyan religion with a further range of Hindu concepts, including \textit{Atman} and, especially, \textit{bhakti} or devotion.

As regards the Hindu concept of \textit{atman}, Grey and Hughes emphasize its universally connected and “socio-relational” (Ibid 381), which Lal sees as the basis of...
Gandhi’s “synthesis” of liberalism and communitarianism. Nevertheless, their emphasis falls in a quite different place. They stress not the sources of self in community, but rather an “inner politics … between the higher (Rama, atman, buddhi) and lower (Ravanna, manas, indriyas) parts of ourselves” (Ibid, 392). One might think this stress on an inner politics -- in which the higher parts order the lower parts of the individual self -- contradicts the notion of an interconnected, socio-relational self. In Hindu thought, the individual Atman ontologically precedes community: transmigrating “after death … it is usually asleep within us and needs to be reawakened” (Ibid, 381). One might also think this is precisely the ontologically false conception of the individual self as decried by Western communitarians. However, Lal could insist that awakening an ontologically prior, indeed reincarnated, self depends on first learning general community norms, thus empowering it to discipline its higher and lower parts. Only then can it embark on its particular experiments with Truth through experiential learning.

As far as Gray and Hughes are concerned, however, this fails to ‘save’ the reformed liberal interpretation of Gandhi from Grey their devotional interpretation. The problem here is they interpret Gandhi as saying that “the self and individual agency” is primarily a function of “our relation to God” (Ibid, 383), and not to other individual selves. Indeed, we come to the realization of our universal interconnectedness in a wider world, not through community or civic participation, but our apprehension of God. To be sure, experiential learning, experimenting with various devotional paths to God/Truth will inevitably have some basis in community traditions. Nevertheless, community has diminished significance for Gray and Hughes' devotional interpretation of Gandhi. Faith alone “helps us to cultivate inner knowledge, self-knowledge, and thus leads to inner purity” (Ibid, 383). As realized through religious devotion and faith, such purity is essential to establish a “proper soul order.” This is a “spiritual and existential condition” in which self-discipline and self-rule (Swaraj) is “ultimately subservient to and aims towards Ramarajya” (Ibid, 388) or the rule of righteousness. Indeed, righteous soul order “must precede state order … as the state of our politics will ultimately reflect the state and order of our souls” (Ibid, 384).

Here, the implication of Gray and Hughes' interpretation is that entirely general norms and virtues -- like patience, moderation, and courage -- are insufficient for the ideal state order sought by Gandhi. Even if Grier is right to say they are enabling conditions for central liberal virtues of toleration and respect for different belief systems, they do not necessarily entail any relation to God/Truth. Likewise, as already noted, Rawls' deliberative virtue of civility requires neutrality on ultimate questions of life’s purpose and meaning. Of even greater significance for the contrast with reformed liberalism, however, Grey and Hughes detach Gandhi’s ideal state order not only from these distinctively secular liberal values, but also “civic activity as such” (Ibid, 309). Indeed, as an “activity that begins in the atman, self, or soul” of the devotee, “politics is not primordially a pubic or civic matter.” It thus follows from their devotional interpretation that “any positive civic effects” of inner purity and righteousness are merely “felicitous consequences” (Ibid, 392). In other words, these effects are not the result of Gandhi’s purported reformed liberal commitment to virtue-based civic participation.

Journal of East-West Thought
Grey and Hughes further stress that “if one takes Krishna’s (or God’s) teaching seriously and devotedly follows the path of duty that points towards truth … this will then render national politics and state-operated mechanisms unnecessary” (Ibid 387). To this extent, Gandhi’s ideal state order is not any form of liberalism at all, but instead a form of religiously “enlightened anarchism.” In this respect, they quote Gandhi himself saying that in this “state [i.e. of ‘enlightened anarchism] everyone is his own ruler. He rules himself in such a manner that he is never a hindrance to his neighbor. In the ideal state therefore there is not political power because there is no state” (Ibid, 387). After all, there is no need for political power, in the form of coercive legal authority wielded by the state, if anarcho-religious devotees are never hindrances to their neighbors. Consequently, enlightened anarchism is also radically pacifist. Indeed, it is consistent with the answer Gandhi once gave to the question of whether it is ever possible to administer violence “in a spirit of love:” that is, an emphatic “No. Never” (Gandhi, 1949, 141). However, Gray and Hughes go on to argue “Gandhi’s ideal is that it is village-centered, with power most authoritative at the small community level where panchayats (small, popularly elected bodies in charge of running village affairs) had legislative, executive, and judicial power, and weakest at the federal level” (Gray and Hughes, 2015, 387). Clearly, though, this emphasis on exercises of legislative and judicial power contradicts their characterization of Gandhi’s ideal of state order as anarchist and pacifist.

To this extent, I argue that Gray and Hughes equivocate between what appear to be two quite separate political ideals in Gandhi. In contrast with the first ideal rendering coercive ‘state-operated mechanisms unnecessary,’ the second ideal looks a lot like a distinctively liberal ideal of civic constitutionalism. Here, there is political power and, as such, legal coercion, but appropriately de-centered and distributed across multiple levels of participation in self-governance and, particularly, distributed to the smallest units of civic activity. In other words, the power to define the terms of legal coercion is constitutionally separated and distributed instead of rejected as unnecessary, in light of the spiritual progress of religious devotees. Moreover, any positive civic effects, say, in terms of maintaining necessary public order, when neighbors become hindrances to one another at the panchayats level, are not mere consequences of inner purity and righteousness. Instead, these effects on public order are functions of institutional design and de-centered power relations. This equivocation between anarchism and constitutionalism is not simply an exegetical error on the part of Gray and Hughes. Indeed, textual evidence shows that Gandhi himself moved between these religio-anarchist and civic constitutionalist commitments at different stages in his own complex, life-long experiments with Truth.

Having now laid out both the reformed liberal and devotional interpretations of Gandhi, I return to the question I posed in the introduction to this article: ‘Did Gandhi entertain two contradictory political ideals, one anarchist and the other constitutionalist?’ I first consider this question by considering Anthony Parel’s attempt to reconcile these two seemingly opposed sides to Gandhi by interpreting him as, above all else, a political pragmatist.
III. The Pragmatist Interpretation of Gandhi

Unlike Grier and Lal, Parel (2008 and 2007) does not appeal to Gandhi as a resource to address a contemporary dispute between Western liberals and communitarians. Instead, he sees Gandhi’s political thought as resulting from his engagement with liberal political actors in India. Interpreting Gandhi as pragmatic Indian liberal constitutionalist, Parel argues that he came to acknowledge a “clear difference” between “non-violence as creed and non-violence as policy” (Parel, 2007, 122). On the one hand, as a form of “heroic non-violence,” the former is “an option available only to exceptional individuals” (Ibid). On the other hand, as a form of “civic non-violence” the latter is what Gandhi “expects from the average citizen” (Ibid). Moreover, such civic non-violence “permits the lawful use of violence for the sake of the public good, such as the maintenance of public order and the exercise of the right of self-defense” (Ibid). To this extent, the heroic/civic distinction is inconsistent with the first ideal of state order, in Gray and Hughes’ equivocation, as a state of enlightened anarchy in which no one wields coercive political power over anyone else. Nevertheless, it is also consistent with the second ‘ideal’ as entailing only a claim about the proper distribution of political power across different levels of the national constitutional system.

According to Gray and Hughes, Parel sees thus Gandhi as “engaged in his own private spiritual journey of heroic acts of non-violence as an exceptional individual” while, at the same, “engaged in a separate act of moderate reformation of the increasingly liberal-democratic political institutions of India” (Gray and Hughes, 2015, 391). If Parel’s pragmatic interpretation is correct, then his political philosophy looks much more liberal that Gray and Hughes are willing to acknowledge. Nevertheless, they brush aside what they see as Parel’s “misreading” of Gandhi as an Indian liberal constitutionalist, arguing that his “entire discussion … lacks any reference to Gandhi’s written or spoken word” (Ibid, 391). However, this is surprisingly hasty for avowed textualists.

Indeed, the heroic conception of non-violence in Gandhi is not unique to Parel. For example, Vinit Haksar emphasizes the “high moral qualities” (Haksar, 1976, 153) necessary for those devotees who, as Satyagrahis, hold fast to Truth in performing acts of non-violent civil disobedience, passive resistance, or non-cooperation in imperial British India. Indeed, such acts “must only be resorted to by those individuals qualified to embark on [them]” (Ibid, 151). Moreover, Haksar quotes Gandhi repeatedly stressing the “suffering of the extremist character willingly undergone” by heroic Satyagrahis: “the greater our innocence the greater our strength” (Ibid, 156). Here, there is no explicit endorsement by Gandhi of civic non-violence. Nevertheless, one might reasonably take the implication of his words to be that the heroic non-violence of the most committed devotees is not for the average citizen.

As for civic non-violence encompassing lawful uses of violence by the state, Parel does actually ground this in Gandhi’s own words. In this respect, Grey and Hughes are simply mistaken in their assertion that he fails to provide any such textual grounding. Indeed, Parel references Gandhi’s anti-imperialism and his engagement in questions of international relations. Gandhi denied that states could invoke national self-interest “as their supreme law of conduct” (Parel, 2008, 50). Nevertheless, he acknowledged that
they could not only use power for internal order but also “external security” and “self-defense” by “military means, if necessary” (Ibid, 53). In Gandhi’s own words, the world needed not “absolutely independent states warring one against another but a federation of friendly interdependent states” (Ibid, 51). Parel references Gandhi’s participation in the 1931 constitutional conference held in London in which he asserted that any state lacking the ability to defend itself “could not be a responsible state” (Ibid, 53). According to Gandhi, self-defense is “the essence” of a state’s existence (Ibid, 53), within the framework of a just international federation of states. In this respect, his anti-imperialism and global vision make no appeal to an enlightened international anarchism in which states are never hindrances to one another. Instead, in Gandhi’s ideal international state order, non-violence is a function of states limiting violence -- internally and externally -- to its uses for public order and self-defense.

Further, Gray and Hughes completely ignore numerous discussions of Gandhi’s claim that there is sometimes a need to inflict violence in self-defense or to protect innocent third parties and that it is worse to be a coward than to use violence for such ends (Haksar, 2012; also see Grier, 2003, and Gruzalski, 2001). Noting his ‘No. Never’ response to the question of whether violence is ever justified, Haksar quite plausibly contends that Gandhi was “sometimes unaware of the complexity of this own views” and a fallible “interpreter of this own philosophy!” (Haksar, 2012, 303). Indeed, he argues Gandhi also made it clear violence is “always wrong” and heroic “non-violence as creed” is always opposed to “convenient policy or expedience” (Ibid, 304). Hence, expediency “in the sense of necessity never justifies” violence. However, it can sometimes “excuse or pardon” the use of violence (Ibid, 304). Bart Gruzalski echoes this line of interpretation when he contends, “Gandhi’s preference for violence … reflects his view that cowardice makes non-violence impossible, not a view that violence is justifiable” (Gruzalski, 2001, 16).

That said, however, I wish to point out that his view of violence as pardonable but not justifiable reveals an important difference between Gandhi’s defense of violence for public order and national security and liberalism’s ideal of justifiable state violence. Indeed, Gandhi could not endorse a liberal justification of state violence, even granting the heroic/civic distinction. This effectively forecloses any possibility of reconciliation between the liberal and devotional interpretations of Gandhi on the question of justifying violence. Nevertheless, this is small comfort for Gray and Hughes. The irreconcilability of Gandhi’s political thought with liberalism on this question does little to reinforce the devotional interpretation. After all, that interpretation of Gandhi radically diminished the importance of ‘civic activity as such,’ reducing its positive effects – the internal and external security of the state – to felicitous consequences of inner purity and righteousness. Nevertheless, as I have shown, Gray and Hughes are simply mistaken in their assertion that the heroic/civic distinction lacks textual grounding. Moreover, the non-heroic, civic dimension of his political thought attributed to Gandhi by Parel and Haksar is a plausible response to the complexity of his views.

To be sure, Parel’s pragmatic interpretation of Gandhi as engaged in a constructive dialogue with liberal political actors in India’ does not withstand scrutiny in light of Haksar and Gruzalski. At any rate, it does not withstand scrutiny if Parel believes this pragmatic process of compromise and accommodation to liberal
institutions led Gandhi to embrace a liberal justification of state violence. Clearly, it did not. Instead, Gandhi’s principled commitment to non-violence is fully consistent with Gray and Hughes’ devotional interpretation with its emphasis on Tolstoyan and Hindu religious thought. As for his view of the pardonability of necessary state violence, I submit that we may best understand this complexity within Gandhi’s views concerning such violence — as simultaneously unjustifiable and pardonable — by revisiting the two separate ideals of state order considered earlier.

IV. Ideal and Non-Ideal

I want now to re-interpret the two separate ideals equivocated by Gray and Hughes, as enlightened anarchist and liberal civic constitutionalist respectively, in light of a distinction between ideal and non-ideal. Indeed, Rawls distinguishes between, on the one hand, “strict compliance” with liberal principles of justice and, on the other hand, conditions of “non-compliance” (Rawls, 2001, 4). Here, strict compliance means that “(nearly) everyone” abides by the principles of justice. According to Rawls, however, ideal theory must refer to “realistic utopia” that involves “taking men as they are and laws as they might be” (Ibid, 11). In other words, it must refer to a condition that humanity can achieve if only over the due course of time, so that it is not “utopianism in the sense that it would be impossible to achieve” (Ibid). As realistically utopian, ideal theory establishes the long term goal for non-ideal theory. Indeed, the latter considers how this long-term goal “might be achieved, or worked towards, usually in gradual steps” (Ibid, 12). In this respect, non-ideal theory refers to a “process rather than an end point” (Ibid). Nevertheless, this does not mean that “political pragmatism” prevails over principles. It means instead that any moral or political philosophy “that does not take into account the non-ideal world” it attempts to “influence and address” is thereby normatively deficient (Ibid).

At first glance, Rawls’s distinction between ideal and non-ideal theory might not appear especially promising applied to Gandhi. Indeed, some creative adaptation is required to apply the ideal/non-ideal distinction to Gandhi. Rawls advocates using a thought experiment to identify ideals of justice both domestically and internationally: the original position with a veil of ignorance. On the one hand, in the domestic case, representative or ‘average citizens’ select principle of justice subject to informational constraints on their personal characteristics, such as sex, race, and class. On the other hand, in the international case, representatives of national peoples select international principles of justice subject to informational constraints on key characteristics of their people, such as population, territory size, and the availability of resources within a territory. In both cases, however, representatives select principles as if they were ignorant of those characteristics, personal or popular, that would bias selection in their own favor. Nevertheless, Rawls’ thought experiment is clearly no devotional ‘experiment in Truth’ in Gandhi’s Tolstoyan sense. After all, as a hypothetical, it is utterly detached from any actual experience of living in the world. Moreover, as concerned only with eliminating personal or popular biases from the selection of domestic or international principles justice, it is utterly detached from any Hindu-
influenced concern with apprehending the whole Truth of humanity’s interconnectedness.

How, then, might the ideal/non-ideal distinction apply to Gandhi, granting the devotional, Tolstoyan and Hindu, character of this political thought? My claim is that Gandhi’s ideal is one of enlightened anarchism as strict compliance with non-violence. Dispensing with lawful uses of state violence, devotees identify this ideal through their various experiments leading them to apprehend the Truth of universal interconnectedness. To this extent, Gandhi’s ideal is not a subject of selection by abstract rational choice, but something devotees come to see and feel in their lived experience. Devotionally inspired enlightened anarchism, however, is realistically utopia in Rawls’ sense that it is achievable in the end. As Gray and Hughes point out, Gandhi believed his “devotional politics is equally available and practicable for everyone” (Gray and Hughes, 2015, 391). To be sure, not everyone has followed, or has not followed yet, their own devotional, experimental path to the point of apprehending this Truth. Consequently, they are not yet in strict compliance with Gandhi’s ideal, but they are capable of finding their own path there.

This condition of non-compliance, however, is a concern for non-ideal theory as addressing the separate question of how best to facilitate the long term goal of working towards a realistic utopia of enlightened anarchism. In this respect, liberal civic constitutionalism fulfills the requirements of what I now call ‘Gandhian non-ideal theory.’ At any rate, it does so on Grier and Lal’s reformed liberal model in which the distribution of legislative and judicial powers is balanced and combined with an appropriately ‘communitarian’ focus on learning general civic virtues. In other words, constitutional arrangements are not morally neutral according to the pure procedural model of liberalism, which Grier and Lal rightly point out Gandhi would reject. Instead, the communitarian focus on civic virtues, such as moderation and self-restraint, in the context of such arrangements is the precondition for realizing liberal values of toleration and respect. Indeed, encompassing virtue-based toleration and respect for diverse experiments in Truth, civic constitutional arrangements take average citizens, as they are, while holding open the possibility of gradual, processual spiritual growth towards Gandhi’s devotional ideal of Truth.

I propose, then, a way to re-interpret the relationship between Gandhi’s devotional philosophy and liberalism that effectively demotes the liberal ideal of constitutional justice to non-ideal status. In this respect, Gandhi is clearly not a political theorist who gives a full-throated endorsement of liberalism. Nevertheless, contrary to Gray and Hughes, there is an important sense in which he is ultimately a supporter of liberal institutions. He is a supporter of those institutions to the extent they offer the best available answer to the question asked by non-ideal theory in a Gandhian timbre: how can we facilitate gradual movement towards the ideal of state order in which lawful state violence become increasingly unnecessary, domestically and internationally. Indeed, I submit that this re-interpretation gives content to Gray and Hughes’ description of Gandhi as ‘friendly critic’ of liberalism.

He is ‘friendly’ towards the reformed liberalism attributed to him by Grier and Lal. The cultivation of entirely general civic virtues of moderation and self-restraint serve a dual purpose in equipping citizens for both civic activity and their pursuit of a
devotional path to God/Truth. In this respect, civic activity is not separated from Gandhi’s devotional concerns as expression of his private, heroic spiritual journey. Instead, his heroic acts of non-violence are an expression of his non-pragmatic civic concern with how to get from the non-ideal world -- in which average citizens are -- to an ideal state in which neighbors are never hindrances to one another. After all, failure to address this civic concern would signify the normative deficiency of Gandhi’s political vision overall. In this respect, however, he is also a ‘critic’ of reformed liberalism’s civic commitments to lawful state violence, for purposes of internal security and public order, as justifiable as opposed to pardonable. Reformed liberalism is a non-ideal condition from which average citizens should be encouraged to develop their own devotional paths. He is equally ‘friendly’ towards a conception of international relations generally endorsed by liberals in which states and peoples are free and independent of imperial domination. Nevertheless, he remains a ‘critic’ of liberal-endorsed international relations for the same reason as before. That is, he rejects international state violence, for purposes of external security and national self-defense, as justifiable as opposed to pardonable.

That said, however, a question remains as to liberalism’s relationship to Gandhi. Are liberals equally friendly critics of Gandhi, despite having their ideal of domestic constitutional justice demoted to non-ideal status? The answer appears to be yes. After all, liberals are bound by civility to tolerate and show respect for Gandhi’s ontological and metaphysical assumptions regarding self and Truth, as long as devotees tolerate and show respect for the rights of others to pursue alternate paths. That, however, is precisely what these assumptions require of devotees, in terms of non-ideal theory. Consequently, devotees and liberals can agree substantively on protecting the individual autonomy rights of average citizens, despite disagreeing profoundly about the ideal or non-ideal status of civic constitutional arrangements. As for international

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2 Here, I say ‘generally endorsed by liberals’ because Rawls insists that the ideal of international relations does not require that every state and people to be liberal according to the strong domestic ideal of constitutional justice he favors. In the international arena, the liberal values of toleration and respect demand that states recognize one another’s independence to pursue alternate paths of popular self-determination within the parameters of international law and human rights.

3 I also note the bearing of my re-interpretation of Gandhi on Amartya Sen’s influential critique of ideal theory. Sen (2006) argues that many cases of blatant injustice do not require an ideal theory of justice before one can take justice-enhancing measures. Hence, we don’t need an ideal theory of justice to know that children who suffer severe malnutrition, when there is enough food to go around, are treated unjustly. Further, he argues that an ideal theory of justice is too demanding; it does not allow us to remain silent on some issues where we believe the ideal is unrealizable. However, Sen’s arguments are directed against an ideal theory of justice, whereas Gandhi’s devotional ideal is post-justice. Nevertheless, Sen might still argue that Gandhi’s post-justice ideal is unrealizable. Gandhi, though, would disagree based on his egalitarian view of humanity’s potential for spiritual progress. Indeed, civic participation in constitutional arrangements suitably dispersing political power holds open this potential for each individual self to experiment with Truth of heroic non-violence.

Journal of East-West Thought
relations, if they are indeed committed to national independence, then Gandhian devotees may prefer civic constitutional arrangements. That is, they may prefer these arrangements, not as ideally just, but as the best, or most efficient, means to facilitate individual experiments in living and apprehending Truth. Nevertheless, as anti-imperialists, they are also bound to tolerate and respect different peoples in pursuing independent paths to national self-determination, within the broad framework of international human rights law.

In this respect, Grier is surely right to remark, “it is difficult to believe Gandhi would have rejected the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) as an appropriate framework” (Grier, 2003, 9). It is difficult to believe this insofar as the UHDR grounds Gandhi’s avowed commitments to anti-imperialism. However, I wish to reinforce Grier’s remark with Haksar’s claim that Gandhi was not always the best interpreter of his own philosophy. Indeed, taking into account the complexity of his political thought (and those features of it overlooked by Gary and Hughes), I contend that Gandhi should have embraced the UDHR as an ‘appropriate framework’ of non-ideal theory. Fundamental human rights to freedom from subjugation, to freedom of movement, conscience, dissent, and so forth, may not dictate the radically de-centered distribution of political, legislative, and judicial powers Gandhi himself non-ideally preferred for Indian independence. Nevertheless, human rights are the minimal precondition for internationally protecting diverse experiments in Truth, whether by national peoples, individual devotees, or average citizens.

Conclusion

I have argued for a re-interpretation of Gandhi’s political vision in terms of an adaptation of the distinction between ideal and non-ideal theory. This re-interpretation captures what is true about the reformed liberal interpretation of Gandhi — that he embraced and supported liberal institutions and values — but at the level of non-ideal theory. It also captures what is true about the devotional interpretation — that he sought state order beyond the need for political power and lawful violence — but at the level of ideal theory. To this extent, the re-interpretation solves the problem of the two Gandhis, constitutionalist and anarchist respectively, contradicting one another. The contradiction is resolved by distinguishing between non-ideal and ideal aspects of his overall political vision. Grounded in civic virtue and participation in legislative and judicial activities, the non-ideal, reformed liberal aspect to Gandhi’s vision avoids falsely attributing to him a pragmatic view of politics he clearly did not hold. Instead, it offers a normatively sufficient account of how liberal institutions and values might facilitate average citizens working from the acceptance of power and lawful violence to the Truth of non-violence and universal interconnectedness.

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JUSTITIUM VS. JUSTITIA: A DEBATE BETWEEN RAWLS AND SEN

Kanti lal Das

Introduction

The concept of justice is a matter of apprehension from the antiquity. It was John Rawls who all the way through his enduring dedication introduced the mainstream theory of justice in a radical manner. He was vocal against the classical utilitarianism. Utilitarianism, Rawls opines, cannot offer a satisfactory account of basic rights and liberties of citizens as free and equal persons. It allows unacceptable trade-off among persons. With the influence of Kant’s deontological approach, Rawls offers the idea of justice as justitium. Noble-laureate Prof. Amartya Sen is indebted to Rawls while developing his contemporary idea of justice. He brings a new interpretation of justice that goes against Rawls. Rawls’ idea justitium is rule-based and deontological in nature, whereas Sen’s idea of justitia is consequential in nature. Rawls developed his idea of justice by invoking deontological approach of morality whereas Sen develops his idea of justice by invoking consequential approach of morality. Thus, the debate between Rawls and Sen is fascinating. They not only develop two polar concepts of justice but equally take support from two classical theories of morality, such as, deontological and consequential approaches of morality.

Rawls interprets his idea of justice as fairness. Fairness is a demand for impartiality deeply associated with the idea of original position. Original position is the appropriate initial status quo that ensures everything as fair. Thus Rawls, while developing his idea of justice as justitium, emphasizes more on just institutions rather than just societies. Sen, on the other hand, emphasizes more on just societies rather than just institutions. In this regard, Prof. Sen refers the two main characters of the great Indian Epic Mahabharata. In the Gita of Mahabharata, there we witness a fabled debate between Krishna (God) and Arjuna. Krishna talks in favour of justitium and differs from Arjuna who favors justitia. According to Sen, Arjuna is a prudent consequentialist because being a Khatriya, his virtue (svadhrama) is to take part in war. However, as a prudent consequentialist, he seriously thinks about the consequence of the war. He presumed that many more innocent peoples including his dearer and nearer would be killed in this great war. Rawls’ idea of justice as justitium is at par with the role of Krishna and Sen’s idea of justice as justitia is at par with the role of Arjuna. Rawls theory of justice as justitium actually hinges on two basic principles of justice which emphasise on the original position and impartiality preserved in terms of veil of ignorance. In this regard, Rawls voices in favor of institutional form of justice and

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denies the possibility of global distributive justice. Rawls focuses on social primary goods, which society produces and which people can use. On the contrary, Sen, focuses more on the capability approach what people are able to do. Thus, Rawls’ theory of justice as *justitium* has been developed in terms of measuring primary goods. Contrary to this, Prof. Sen develops his idea of justice in terms of measuring capabilities of the individuals. Thus, the debate between Rawls and Sen regarding justice is enthralling in contemporary aspect. The main strategy of this paper is to explicate and examine the debate between Rawls and Sen from global perspective. The paper, at last, attempts to explore with critical outlook whether the debate actually creates a substantive gulf between Rawls and Sen as far as their theories of *justitium* and *justitia* are concerned.

I

Although the concept of justice has taken a dramatic turn in postmodern era, there is nothing wrong in assuming that the contemporary idea of justice is the outcome of a perpetual revision of the concept of justice from Greek tradition. In the editor’s forwarded of The Concept of Justice of N.M.L. Nathan, W. D. Hudson said, “To arrive at a correct understanding of justice has been the aim of moral and political philosophy from Greek antiquity to our own day.” (Hudson, 1971)

I think the root of the system of modern justice, in some sense or other, finds its foothold in Hebrews, carried through the Greeks and Romans and in turn subsequently transmitted in the West and the other parts of the world. In fact, we find a comprehensive idea of justice in Plato’s Republic. In Book 4, 434c, Plato says, “Justice is harmony” and again in his Book 4, 443b, he says, “Justice is doing one’s own job.” More importantly, Plato conceived justice both in terms of soul as well as in terms of state. Plato says, “Justice exists in an individual as well as in terms of state. Plato says, “Justice is harmony” and again in his Book 4, 443b, he says, “Justice is doing one’s own job.”

More importantly, Plato conceived justice both in terms of soul as well as in terms of state. Plato says, “Justice exists in a state as well as in an individual, because a state is simply the lives of its citizens ‘and if we find that society in a natural expression of men’s natures, we may conclude that social justice is the natural expression of the justice in men’s soul.’” (Plato, 1961, xxxi) Justice, for Plato, is a human virtue that eventually makes a society internally harmonious and good at large. Justice, being an assemblage of elements, indeed reveals a degree of integration and unity on account of the integrity of a neighborhood. In this sense, there is nothing wrong to claim, of course, from a general perspective that justice is a map of that neighborhood. (Schmidtz, 2006, 3)

Justice means what is just and it has something, of course with certain exception, to do with treating like cases alike and hence is associated with the principle of generalization. Aristotle says, “Justice is thought to be equality; and so it is, but for equals, not for everybody. Inequality is also thought to be just; and so it is, but for unequal, not for everybody.” (Aristotle, Politics, 1280a9) Aristotle, of course, emphasized proportionate equality based on the principle of treating ‘similar similarly and dissimilar dissimilarly’. Having said this, the contemporary debate between Rawls and Sen regarding the very nature of justice is philosophically absorbing. Therefore, in the subsequent sequels, we propose to develop, in order, Rawls’s theory of justice as *Justitium*, then Sen’s idea of justice as *Justitia* and finally make a comparative study.
between Rawls and Sen in my own rationale towards preconceiving whether the gulf as presumed between *Justitium* and *Justitia*, is at all fundamental in nature or not.

II. Rawls’ Theory of Justice as *Justitium*

Even though the impact of the idea of justice of Plato, Socrates and Aristotle is colossal on the modern interpretation of justice, but honestly speaking, it was John Rawls who indeed introduced the *mainstream idea of justice*. Rawls’ idea of justice is groundbreaking because while developing his theory of justice as *justitium*, he denies utilitarianism as the criterion of justice on one hand and affirms deontological approach as the criterion of justice on the other. In the form of an admiration, Rawls’ Harvard colleague, Robert Nozick says, “A theory of Justice is a powerful, deep, subtle, wide-ranging, systematic work in political and moral philosophy which has not seen its like since the writings of John Stuart Mill.” (Nozick, 1974, 183) In fact, it was John Rawls who in his book *A Theory of Justice* has ingrained the ditch of modern interpretation of the idea of justice. His idea of justice is a cascade of illuminating ideas, integrated together into a lovely whole. Rawls’ theory of justice as *Justitium* is guided by his two basic principles of justice. These are as follows:

**The First Principle of Justice**

Each person is to have an equal right to the most extensive total system of equal basic liberties compatible with a similar system of liberty for all (the principle of equal liberty).

**The Second Principle**

Social and economic inequalities are to be arranged so far they are both:

(a) *Attached to offices and positions open to all under the conditions of fair equality of opportunity* (the principle of fair equality of opportunity).

(b) *To the greatest benefit of the least advantaged, consistent with the just savings principle* (the difference principle).

The first principle is the principle of equal liberty which, according to Rawls, is a must for all without exception. The second principle contains two parts. The first part of the second principle is known as the principle of fair equality of opportunity. It is concerned with the institutional requirement of making sure that public opportunities are open to all irrespective of caste, race, religion, etc. The second part of the second principle is known as *Difference Principle*. It is concerned with distributive equity as well as overall efficiency and it is particularly taken care of the worst-off members of the society.

The main contention of Rawls’ theory of justice as *justitium* is to secure a higher level of intellecation on the basis of generalization in Locke, Rousseau and Kant. In this regard, Rawls intuits a well-ordered (just) society as the basic structure in the initial (original) position which is purely hypothetical in nature. A just society, Rawls intuits, is a basic platform of human association where every person comes to know what he actually is; it is a kind of society based on shared conception of justice along with the underlying promise of civil friendship. Everyone enjoys equal liberty without exception in the original or initial position. Any agreement that would be made in the initial position would be fair in terms of equality what Rawls termed as justice as fairness.
This is made possible because the principles of justice are chosen behind the veil of ignorance. As a result, ‘no one in the original position knows his place in society, no one knows his class position or social status, nor does anyone know his fortune in the distribution of natural assets and abilities, his intelligence, strength, and the like.” (Rawls, 1971, 12) Thus, the veil of ignorance of Rawls would certainly be an effective means in the original position as it removes differences in the original position and in turn making justice as justice as fairness. As a result, the original position is supposed to be the most philosophically favored interpretation of a hypothetical status-quo in which fundamental agreements would be fair. The parties of the well-ordered or just society in the original position under the veil of ignorance are mutually disinterested as they are, so to speak, neither philanthropic, nor resentful. Thus, Rawls’s main objective is to show in what sense the well-ordered (just) society in the initial or original position can function under the veil of ignorance through fair agreements. The theory of justice as justitium is guided by universal and unconditional rules and principle in the line of deontology of Kant only with the exception of Difference Principle which deals inequalities within the constraint of justice. Further, Rawls’ theory of justice as justitium is absolute in the sense that it represents, in some sense or other, transcendental institutionalism with the perception of arranged-focused view of justice. It states that there will be a unanimous choice of a unique set of two principles of justice in a hypothetical situation of primordial equality where parties’ vested interests are set aside under the veil of ignorance.

III. Sen’s Idea of Justice as Justitia

Amartya Sen, even if is obligated to Rawls, introduces the idea of justice as justitia and in this regard, Sen affirms utilitarianism (consequentialism) at length and denies deontological approach as the foundation of justice as justitia. Sen develops his idea of justice as justitia as an alternative approach by way of criticizing Rawls’ theory of justice as justitium. While developing his idea of justice as justitia, Sen, at the very outset, departs from Rawls on two important accounts just by criticising his contractarian or transcendental approach of justice.

First, Sen criticizes Rawls’ idea of transcendental institutionalism of justice that has been developed within the background of Kantian deontology; and secondly, he equally departs from Rawls’ view of just institutions and rules. As far as transcendental institutionalism is concerned, Sen finds two problems in Rawls’ theory of justice. First, he thinks that there is no reasoned argument in transcendental approach of justice as justitium even though Rawls imposes some stringent conditions, such as, impartiality, open minded scrutiny on the nature of just society in the initial position. Thus, for Sen, Rawls’ transcendental institutionalism lacks reasoned viability in the initial position of a well-order society what Rawls terms it as “just society”. The other problem is the problem of redundancy crafting from the attempt of transcendental solution that indeed is not transcendental at all. Sen, then, terms these two problems as the problem of feasibility and redundancy. The second departure of Sen from Rawls is primarily concerned with the position that unlike Rawls, Sen does not emphasize on just institutions and rules, but to effort mainly on actual realizations and accomplishments.
Sen, then, attributes Rawls’ transcendental institutionalism as an *arranged-focused view of justice* and his own position has been termed as a *realized focused view of justice*. He then relates the dichotomy between ‘an arranged-focused view of justice’ and “a realisation-focused understanding of justice”. (Ibid. 10) According to Sen, an arranged-focused view of justice is the outcome of *justitium* whereas his realisation-focused understanding of justice is the outcome of *justitia*.

Sen further contends that Rawls’ position of *justitium* in the form of arranged-focused view of justice guided by two unique set of principles of justice in the initial position under the purview of veil of ignorance actually hinges on mistake. Sen, in this regard, goes on to say that one should not overlook the differences of distributional equality on one hand and overall or aggregate enhancement on the other. Now, as far his development of arranged-focused view of justice is concerned, Rawls gives prominence on transcendental identification just by focusing on the lexicographic maxim rule (Ibid. 11) among many other available convincing alternatives for achieving impartial attention in the initial position of the well-order society. However, in doing so, Rawls, Sen opines, sets aside, without giving sufficient reasons, many other supposed reasoned differences associated with his two principles of justice. Interestingly, while developing arranged-focused view of justice in the initial position, Rawls indeed does not rule out the available possible alternatives, but to set aside everything in the initial position by imposing the metaphor ‘the veil of ignorance’. This, in fact, I think, is a matter of temporary suspension of the alternative possibilities in the just society, because after conceptualizing initial position in the just society Rawls introduces his second principle of justice of which the second part, being a *Difference Principle*, acknowledges the possibility of inequalities on the basis of merits, talents, least advantage, better-off, etc. The difficulty, Sen reveals, I do believe, in Rawls’ position is to find out whether the plurality of reasons for justice as fairness would, in fact, allow one set of principles of justice to surface in the original position of just society. If it does and the possibility is very much there, Sen claims, then Rawls’ position of transcendental institutionalism as an arranged-focused view of justice would be at stake at its introduction.

Though, Rawls intuits the possibility of a unique transcendental promise in his theory of justice as fairness, but Sen expresses serious reservation about its unique impartiality. In this regard, Sen gives us an illustration of a flute of three children. Anne, Bob and Carla are three children who are involved in a quarrel of taking hold of a flute on the basis of Rawls’ principle of justice as fairness. Now, Anne claims that she deserves the flute because she alone knows how to play it. As the very objective of a flute is to play, she deserves it prior to others. In an alternative situation, Bob claims that he deserves the flute as he is poorer (least-off) than the others and the flute should give the poorest or least advantageous to play. In another set up, it is Carla who claims that she deserves the flute because she has been working industriously for a considerable period to make the flute with her own effort. Now, Sen’s position, at this juncture, is that if anybody would take note of the standpoint of Anne, Bob and Carls separately, then, of course, even within the purview of Rawls’ theory of justice as *justitium*, he would think that their respective entitlement is justified and indeed strong enough in seizing the flute in their own stride. However, theorists of different
inducements perhaps may take their own standpoint to identify the right person. From economic egalitarian perspective, Bob certainly deserves the flute because its main objective is to minimize gap in the economic means of people. From libertarian perspective, Carla, being a maker of the flute, certainly deserves it. Again, from the utilitarian hedonistic point of view, Anne certainly deserves the flute because she is the only one who can play the flute and by virtue of doing it she gains happiness.

I think the egalitarian position of Bob has well been supported by the Difference Principle of Rawls’ in which preferential treatment can be justified on the ground of economic condition. Out of these three perspectives, such as, economic egalitarianism, liberalism and utilitarianism, liberal for Sen, is unconditional as, like utilitarianism, it does not pay attention on individual happiness; rather unlike utilitarianism, it pays attention on person’s right. Sen, however, thinks that it would indeed be difficult to show how Rawls fulfils the possible plurality of competing principles as non-transcendental alternatives as discussed in the case of flute can be accommodated within the straight jacket of his transcendental approach of justice. Transcendental alternative, Sen claims, in any sense of imagination, does not offer ‘a solution to the problem of comparisons between any two non-transcendental alternatives’ (Sen, 2009, 13).

According to Sen, Rawls’ theory of justice, being a transcended institutionalism, does not bear any concrete sense on comparative assessment. In fact, apart from intellectual interest, it does not endure any undeviating significance to the problem of choice. On one hand, Rawls intuits transcendental institutionalism and on the other hand, he talks in favor of social justice with the inducement of Difference Principle that deals with inequalities. Sen, in this regard, says that it would not be possible to choose between a Picasso and a Dali, one cannot make it out even in the transcendental institutionalism simply for the reason that the ideal picture of the world is neither a Picasso nor a Dali, but Mona Lisa. Sen says, “If a theory of justice is to guide reasoned choice of politics, strategies and institutions, then the identification of fully just social arrangements is neither necessary nor sufficient.” (Ibid. 15) Even though it would be interesting to hear, but the very fact, Sen reveals, is that neither of this picture belongs to the world. I think the anxiety of Sen actually hinges on the very question: Does transcendental institutionalism of Rawls indeed being capable of identifying transcendental alternative? If it does, how do we realize it? According to Sen, Rawls’ theory of justice actually fails to identify even transcendental alternative because any forms of alternative are measured in terms of their respective closeness to the perfect choice with the hope that even transcendental identification indirectly gives rise to a ranking of alternatives. Thus for Sen, Rawls’ theory of justice as justice as fairness falls short on two important accounts as it is neither confined to the choice of institutions as it has been promised to be; nor to satisfactory with regard to the identification of ideal social arrangements. A theory of justice, in the true sense of the term, must be accountable to humans. Rawls’ theory of justice, being a transcended institutionalism, fails to do this as it is indifferent to the lives of people. Rawls’ gives emphasis more on the institutions, but the fact is that human lives, experiences and realizations cannot be augmented by institutional rules and principles.

**Sen’s Concrete Proposal of Justice as Justitia**
While delineating the subtle distinction between an *arranged-focused* and a *realisation-focused* view of justice, Sen invokes an old fashioned distinction between *niti* and *nyaya* from classical Indian Sanskrit literature. In classical Sanskrit literature, both the terms *niti* and *nyaya* stand for justice. According to Sen, the ethical term *niti* (principle) has been conceived as the weapon of organizational decorum and behavioural correctness and hence is associated with arranged-focused view of justice. On the contrary, *nyaya*, being an ethical term, is linked with the comprehended world and thus is associated with the realisation-focused view of justice. In this regard, Sen invokes the relevance of the metaphor *matsyanyaya*. The metaphor *matsyanyaya* actually means ‘justice in the world of fish’ where the big fish of the pond can nip the small fishes of the pond. If it does, then how do we control the will of the big fish of the pond? Like the big fish of the pond, there are many big guys in our society who can exploit, extinct and subjugate in manifold of ways the marginalized people, the disabled, the down-trodden even within the regulating system of the state. Thus, the fundamental objective of justice is to resist the will of *matsyanyaya* in our society in order to make sure that the justice of fish cannot overrun the world of human beings. In this regard, Sen voices in favor of *nyaya* because he feels that “realisation of justice in the sense of *nyaya* is not just a matter of judging institutions and rules, but of judging the societies themselves”. (Ibid. 21) Having said this, if there remains the possibility in our society where a big fish could still nip a small fish at will, then, of course, it would be a patent violation of human justice as *nyaya*.

In this regard, Sen refers two important characters of Krishna and Arjuna of the great Indian epic *Gita of Mahabharata*. Here Sen intuits the role of Krishna as a deontologist and the role of Arjuna as a prudent consequentialist. As a deontologist, Krishna (God) advises everything in accordance with rules (*Dharma*). Now, on the eve of the battle when the unconquerable worrier, Arjuna being a Kshatriya, expresses serious reservation of taking part in the battle by conceiving it prudently that the consequence of the battle will lead many killings of his dearer and nearer, Krishna, being a mentor, persistently insists Arjuna that being a Kshatriya he (Arjuna) should take part in the battle because it is his *Svadharma*, i.e., the essence of every Kshatriya. As far as *niti* (principle/maxim) is concerned, Arjuna, being a Kshatriya, should take part in the battle and as far as *nyaya* is concerned, he should think of the consequence of the battle. Thus, considering the two forms of justice at random, Arjuna falls in a dilemma. (Ibid. 22) While delineating his idea of justice as *justitia* in the line of prudent consequentialism, Sen here makes a stunning contrast by characterizing Krishna as a deontologist and Arjuna as a prudent consequentialist. Krishna, being a deontologist, accentuates on uninfirngeable moral maxims (*nitis*) which are universal, absolute and supreme in nature. On the contrary, Arjuna, being a prudent consequentialist, thinks about the consequence of the battle in terms of reasoned or ground reality (*nyaya*). In this regard, Professor Sen Says, “The ground debate is often interpreted as one about deontology verses consequentialism, with Krishna, the deontologist, urging Arjuna to do his duty, while Arjuna, the alleged consequentialist, worries about the terrible consequence of the war.” (Ibid. 23)

Even though both *niti* and *nyaya* stand for justice in classical Sanskrit, but according to Sen, *nitis* (principles) are organizational or institutional property and are
being used for behavioral correctness. On the contrary, *nyaya* stands for ‘a comprehensive concept of realized justice’. (Ibid. 24) For Sen, realization in the sense of *nyaya* is a matter of judging the societies themselves and if a big fish goes on oppressing a small fish at will just like the case of *matsyanyaya*, then it must be a patent violence of justice as *nyaya*.

**Observation**

The on-going debate between Rawls’ theory of justice as *justitium* and Sen’s idea of justice as *justitia*, I think, is philosophically relevant in the sense it reflects the socio-eco-political issues of our surroundings. Rawls’ theory of justice as *justitium* bangs more on the role of institutions. In this regard, Rawls denies utilitarianism and favors deontological approach. Sen, on the other hand, repudiates deontology in the strict sense of the term and favors consequentialism in the form of welfarism where individual prudence takes the upper hand. Now, the pertinent question that needs to be taken care of at this juncture is that whether there underlies any substantive gulf between Rawls’ understandings of the theory of justice as *justitium* and Sen’s understanding of the theory of justice as *justitia*. Are these two approaches mutually exclusive in nature? Even though the outlook of Rawls and Sen is different as far as their respective interpretation of the idea of justice is concerned, but certainly they are not mutually exclusive. Rawls, being a socio-political philosopher, has emphasized more the institutional form of justice, and in this regard, he gives more importance to rules and principles along with the line of the deontological approach. In this regard, Rawls has been influenced by Kantian deontology. On the other hand, Sen, being a moral philosopher of welfare economy, stresses development ethics and in this regard, he emphasizes the practical aspect of the concept of justice. As a proponent of ethics and economics, Sen takes the insight of utilitarianism in the form of consequentialism. He then claims that his interpretation of utilitarianism would be a prudent one, and in this regard he has mentioned the role of Arjuna of *Gita of Mahabharata* as the model of prudent consequentialist.

There is no question of doubt that Rawls’ theory of justice as *justitium* is deontological in nature. In this sense, Rawls was indebted to Kant and others as well. I believe Sen’s anxiety regarding Rawls’ theory of justice as *justitium* actually hinges on its practical inapplicability. If it does, and perhaps if I am not wrong to read Sen properly, then Sen’s position would really be unfair to Rawls. In fact, Rawls in his later writings, particularly in his *The Laws of People, Political Liberalism* etc., offers us many aspects that would be useful as far as our understanding of social justice is concerned. Of course, Sen is right in sensing Krishna as a deontologist in the sagacity of Rawls and Arjuna as a prudent consequentialist in his own intellect, but the very fact is that when the tussle arises between a deontologist and a consequentialist, in our case between Krishna and Arjuna, the ultimate winner would be the deontologist, but not the consequentialist as it had happened in the *Mahabharata*. Perhaps Professor Sen agrees with me that in India we have too much *niti* and too little *nyaya*. Unlike *nyaya*, *niti* endures enormous appeal as it encompasses all. In the *Gita of Mahabharata*, Arjuna’s doubts should not be dismissed in the way Krishna dismissed them. However, Krishna, being a deontologist (*niti* person) did not make Arjuna’s fight as a war or battle and kill people. The war was plunge on the *Pandavas* because justice has been denied for them.
In fact, Krishna answered the doubt of Arjuna in the logical and spiritual way. The doubt of Arjuna were not on the issue of whether to fight or not; rather it is primarily concerned with how he would feel when he would be killing people with whom he grew up with, people who taught him so much in his life etc. Having said this, Sri Krishna repeatedly pointed out to Arjuna that it was his duty to fight for justice; otherwise intimidators would have had a field day in terrorizing the people as it would happen in the case of matsyanyaya.

Now, let me remind Gandhi in this regard. Apparently, Gandhi was a deontologist in the sense that he introduced the theory of Sarvodaya which includes all without exception. In fact, Gandhi severely criticized the utilitarianism approach on the basis it denies the interest of the minorities in proportion, and it is very much the same as Rawls does against utilitarianism. Thus, the position of Rawls and Gandhi about the limitation of utilitarianism would remain the same. The point which haunts me the most is: how does Gandhi support Krishna who has insisted Arjuna to engage in a battle leading towards violence (himsa)? Gandhi’s concept of Sarvodaya is based on the concept of non-violence or ahimsa in the true sense of the term. Now, if Sen would read the battle of Mahabharata in terms of severe conflict and violence, then certainly, Gandhi could not support the position of Krishna of Gita of Mahabharata. But the very fact is that Gandhi supported Krishna in this regard. Does it then lead us to assume Gandhi had made a mistake in supporting Krishna? If we stand with Sen, then perhaps the answer is yes, as Sen puts emphasis more on ground reality. On the contrary, if we stand with Rawls, then the answer would be negative, because in such a case everything would be determined in accordance with moral rules and principles. As we all know the Gandhian concept of justice is at par with his very concept of truth (sat/satya). Thus, for Gandhi to fight for justice is to fight for truth (truth=justice).

Now, if Krishna insisted Arjuna realize the war of Mahabharata not as a mere war or battle, but a means to fight for justice, then there is nothing wrong on the part of Gandhi to take the side of Krishna. If it does, then how do we retain Gandhi’s concept of non-violence (ahimsa) in the battlefield of Mahabharata? We can perhaps tackle this problem by bringing the Vedanta’s concept of Maya (illusion) and Brahman (reality). We can then say that in appearance it would seem there is a serious conflict and violence in the battlefield of Mahabharata. Yet, in the real sense, it is an illusion, because it is not a battle, but a means and the only means to fight for justice (truth) where there is no conflict or non-violence.

What then can I embrace regarding Rawls and Sen? Do I mean to say that Rawls is right and Sen is wrong or vice-versa? I think as far as their development of the theory or idea of justice is concerned, they invoke different outlooks. Even though Rawls’ theory of justice is deontological in nature, but his main intention was to establish a well-ordered society in the initial position on the basis of the principle of equal liberty. Sen’s main objection against Rawls is that as a theory of justice as justitium, Rawls’s theory of justice like Kantian morality is absolute, ideal, transcendental lacking practice utility in solving social-economic inequalities happening in our surroundings. I think Sen perhaps is wrong in this regard. Rawls, I think, while developing his theory of justice, intuits at the very outset a well-ordered society in the original position under the veil of ignorance where the basic liberty to all is ensured. This was Rawls’
conceptual vision or conceptual structure at the starting point of his theory of justice at the original position in a well-ordered society. As a theory there is nothing wrong. Therefore, it would not be prudent or fair to nullify the relevance of Rawls’ theory of justice as *justitium* by tagging it with the notion of *absolute transcendentality*.

According to Sen, even though Rawls’ theory of justice as *justitium* being a *transcendental institutionalism* is primarily concerned with reason or rationality in the real sense of the term, but there is indeed lacking reasoned viability in Rawls’ *transcendental institutionalism*. We think this is also unfair. By denying the position of Rawls’ theory of justice as *justitium*, Sen actually rips to pieces so many other well-established humanitarian and classical ethical theories, such as the *deontological approach* of Kant and the *Sarvodaya* concept of Gandhi. Interestingly, Gandhi while developing his theory of *Sarvodaya* denies utilitarian principle: “Greatest good of the greatest numbers”. As a moral philosopher and welfare economist, Sen has a point to say in favor of utilitarianism in the articulate manner of “prudent consequentialism”. In fact, there is no available moral theory at out hand that may cohere with welfare economy except utilitarianism. However, as a moral philosopher, Sen is much harsh and antagonistic in evaluating Rawls’ theory of justice as *justitium*. Sen perhaps overlooks the social implication of Rawls’ second part of second principle known as “Difference Principle”, which we think has a close proximity to Sen’s vision of welfarism. Even we do not find anything wrong in conceiving Rawls’ difference Principle as much as close or at par with Sen’s welfarism in terms of prudent consequentialism. The very objective of utilitarianism in general and Sen’s prudent consequentialism in particular will remain obscure so long it has not been delimited by deontological view of justice. If it does, then the gulf between Rawls’ theory of justice as *justitium* and Sen’s idea of justice as *justitia* is minimum. They are mutually inclusive. Their theories then should not be accentuated as the two sides of the same coin.

References

FEMINIST PHILOSOPHICAL THOUGHT IN COLONIAL INDIA

Archana Malik-Goure

Abstract: Savitribai Phule, Pandita Ramabai, Tarabai Shinde, Dr Anandibai Joshi, and Ramabai Ranade, the greatest women produced by modern India & one of the greatest Indians in all history, the one who lay the foundation for a movement for women’s liberation in India. Their goal was freedom from Indian tradition, freedom from religious practices and rituals. Despite coming from diver’s diverse social backgrounds they talk about individual development. They wanted to introduce practical philosophy of human being. In their philosophy they are talking about individual growth, care and humanism as virtue, they emphasizes on self-reliance and wants to interpret Indian tradition in their own way. They fought against the tradition and fought for human rights, rights of education and rights of human development. They took a very revolutionary stand in their life in the history of India. Like Pandita Ramabai rejected Hinduism on gendered ground. She rejected traditional practice forced by so called traditions. On the other hand Savitribai was the teacher who educates all females and all underprivileged peoples of India. The truly liberating moments for Indian women happened in and through the life of Savitribai, who chose to walk tall, in step with her husband ahead of her time by centuries. The historic disadvantages of caste and gender filed to keep her down in the nineteenth century. In her writings she constantly emphasizes the importance of education and physical work for knowledge and prosperity. She felt that women must receive an education as they were in no way inferior to men; they were not the slaves of men. This paper is an attempt to discuss Savitribai Phule as feminist philosopher in colonial India. She raised the problem of women’s oppression and her thoughts on resolving women’s domination through their own efforts and autonomy makes her join the company of other nineteenth century male feminist Philosophers. In this small work I would like to focus on feminist philosophical aspect of her thought through her writings with special reference to Kavya Phule, moral values given by Savitribai will compare with Aristotle’s moral theory/virtue ethics and will conclude with remark on contemporary relevance of her philosophy of feminism.

These fragrant flowers I offer thee. Strung in a garland of rhymes...
Each poetic blossom is full of glee. Their fragrance brings peace sublime. Advice that is amusing. Easy to understand and charming ....
Simple moral education Knowledge that appeals to emotion....

----Savitribai Phule (Kavya Phule)

Savitribai Phule (3rd January 1831-10th March 1897) was a social reformer of nineteenth century India (Maharashtra), capable teacher, leader, thinker, writer, and

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Journal of East-West Thought
committed companion to her husband. Savitribai Phule is credited with being the first native teacher of girls in Maharashtra. She also happens to be the first modern, radical, Marathi poet. For her work for women education many people called her as Jananajyoti (Flame of education) and Krantijyoti (Flame of Revolution). Savitribai’s poems reflect the anger of the newly-emerging Indian woman who wanted to be treated as a human being and not just an object of male lust. Savitribai Phule, along with her husband Jyotiba Phule, played an important role in improving women’s rights in India during the British rule. Phule pioneered the campaign for women’s education, starting the first school for girls at Pune in 1848. Savitribai was the first biographer of Jyotiba Phule. She was probably one of the first published women in modern India, and was able to develop her own voice and agency at a time when women of all classes were still treated as less than human, with title to hope for, except to be married as children themselves, bear more children, and live a life of servitude to their husbands. This paper introduced Savitribai Phule as first feminist philosopher and teacher in colonial India and discusses the relation between women’s education and a humane, society based on equality by taking Savitribai’s radical philosophy with special reference to her collection of poems “Kavya Phule” as its point of departure. It argues that her perspective and her literature are still relevant in a world where education has not reached the girl child across caste and class barriers at a mass level. This paper begins by examining the relation between ethical values, education and women’s lives. It proceeds to explore Savitribai’s philosophical arguments in this context and concludes by saying that she is a first Indian feminist philosopher in colonial India and arguing for her contemporary relevance.

Introduction

Savitribai Phule was probably first feminist philosopher in colonial India. She was not a typical passive Indian woman who blindly followed her husband. She is a Mother of women Education and vision of her philosophy is to give freedom to woman from so called Indian tradition. She was a courageous woman who stood by her husband and supported all his radical initiatives. She was a major figure of her time and a revolutionary in her own right.

Savitribai Phule’s Writings:

- **Kavya Phule** – (1854) (Poetry’s Blossom) it is a historical document of the time. She consciously chose the traditional form of writing like abhang, which called a folk form. Her language is simple and effective. While some of her poems are basically nature poems, in others she engages with the themes of education and caste system, exploring people to throw away slavery. No wonder she is regarded as the pioneer of modern Marathi poetry.
- **Bahvan Kashi Subodh Ratnakar** (1891) (The Ocean of Pure Gems): Biography of Jyotiba Phule published in 1892. Savitribai’s biography was as much

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1 Marathi is a one of the regional languages in India (Maharashtra).
about the Maratha history as it was about her husband.

- She also edited four of Jyotiba Phule’s speeches on Indian history in 1856. Savitribai’s three letters to Jyotiba spread over twenty years is also a precious and rare piece of literature as women rarely wrote letters in those days, leave alone to their spouses. She discussed social issues in her letters. Savitribai’s correspondence is also remarkable because they give us an insight into life and into women’s experience of the time.

Karz (Debt) her essay on Karz, she condemned the idea of celebrating festivals by borrowing money and thus being burdened by heavy debts. She realized the poor find themselves helpless and unable to change the realities of their lives, either accepted blind faith or got trapped in different ways. She also wrote on addiction, explaining how it ruined the lives of the addicted and their families: themes that are still relevant in the 21st century. (Dhara, 2011, 29)

Savitribai’s literature expressed the pain, ambition and feeling of the modern, liberated Indian woman. While her contemporaries were busy re-constructing the images of the mythological pativrata (faithful to husband) women such as Sita-Savitri module, in contrast, she expressed the passion of modern Indian literature. She was able to develop her own voice and agency at a time when women of all classes were ruthlessly suppressed and lived a secondary-human being existence. She was actively supported and constantly encouraged in this endeavor by her husband and mentor Jyotiba Phule. She was an exemplary role model for the Indian woman during her lifetime and she is and will be a role model for future woman. M.G. Mali her biographer rightly noted her as “the mother of modern Marathi poetry”. (Mali, 2008, 56)

A broad analysis of her poems in Kavyaphule (1854) reveals that Savitribai had many sides and shades to her nature and personality. Poetry is one way of expression. Poetry (Kavya) is a piece of writing in which the expression of feelings and ideas is given intensity by particular attention to diction (sometimes involving rhyme), rhythm, and imagery. The word poem from Latin poëma, from Greek, variant of poiēma something composed, created, from poiein to make. Poetry is a way of expression; it has emotional values but also has cognitive values. Savitribai Phule’s poems express both kinds of values. In her poems she addresses social issues like getting an English education, fighting against caste and gender discrimination, and the problems of untouchability.

The influence of Jyotiba’s thought on Savitribai is quite clear in her writings. She had internalized Phule’s thought and had the intellectual capacity to understand its significance in society. She seems to be the first person who had understood and assessed Phule’s pioneering role in the liberation of the exploited masses. She categorically states in her last poem “Dialogue at dawn” that Jyotiba is the new dawn on the untouchables’ horizon. (Dhara, 2012, 11) Her writings were important both as the strength and product of the social culture of nineteenth century India. On the opinion of Savitribai Phule a woman has right to become intellectual and only through education woman can become intellectual. Savitribai visualized the dream and philosophy of Phule and became dedicated supporter of his work. In her literature she has repeated the distress, aspirations, and feelings of
modern, liberated women of India. Her composition also reflects the anger of the new emerging women of India who want to be treated as human beings and not just as objects of male-desire.

I. Jyotiba Phule Father of Indian Social Revolution

Jyotiba Phule was one of the most important creators of modern India. Phule, one of the “Mahatmas” (Great Soul) of India, occupies a unique position among social reformers of Maharashtra in the nineteenth century. He was first teacher of oppressed, critic of orthodoxy in the social system after Buddha and a revolutionary. Dhananjay Keer, his biographer, rightly noted him as “the father of Indian social revolution.” Women were always at the centre of Phule’s thought and action. His philosophical thinking on social and political issues was influenced by Christianity and American thinker Thomas Paine’s ideas of “Rights of Man”. Phule worked towards the abolition of untouchability and started educational institutions for untouchables in the second half of the 19th century. When Pandita Ramabai\(^2\) converted into Christianity, Phule defended her right to conversion. This had a gender aspect to him. He does not seem to have been particularly in favor of conversion as such but he certainly was in favor of any movement against Brahmanical orthodoxy. That a woman had asserted her right to move away from Brahmin orthodoxy and tyranny was important for him.

In the philosophy of Phule the place of equality and humanity was the most important. He, to develop the qualities of justice, through education wanted equality, freedom and fearlessness. Phule took education for the oppressed and women. It also essential, that it should create the feeling of unity. He experience that women have not got the self-dependence due to the lack of education. He was of the opinion that the development made in society is judged by the extent of education made available to women in society. He was in favor of giving compulsory education to women. Phule fought for the rights of women and work for their emancipation.

Phule saw women as the victims of the oppressive, caste-based and rigid hierarchical social system. He believed that socio-cultural forces artificially construct

\(^2\) Pandita Ramabai was a high caste Hindu women, was great scholar of Hinduism and also studied Christianity. She was an eminent Indian social reformer and activist. A well known scholar and humanist, “the greatest woman produced by modern India & one of the greatest Indians in all history --- the one to lay the foundation for a movement for women’s liberation in India. She was a poet, a scholar, and a champion of improvement in the plight of Indian women. As a social reformer, she championed the cause of emancipation of Indian women. A widely traveled lady, she visited most parts of India, and even went to . She married to Bipin Bihari Medhavi, non-Brahmin a Bengali layer. And this created a stir in the orthodox circle of Hindu society. After a great loss of her husband’s death shortly thereafter, she found herself unable to play the role traditionally reserved for upper caste Hindu widows, and converted to Christianity an action which created a scandal even in liberal Calcutta. More liberal verdicts have also bemoaned her conversion as unnecessary.

*Journal of East-West Thought*
gender relations, especially by Manusmriti and Hindu tradition. As Simone De Beauvoir observed, “Women are made, they are not born”, Phule also raised the question, “Why tradition dishonored woman? In ancient India the position of women does not appear to have been a very happy one. Usually women appear to have been looked upon as inferior to men. And, at times they were considered to be on the same level of the śudras, the lowest of the four castes. Their freedom was extremely restricted. Right in the earliest portions of the canon women is looked upon as something evil that enticed innocent males into a snare of misery. They are described as “the greatest temptation,” “the cause of all sinful acts,” “the slough,” “demons” etc. this mentality regarding women is due to ignorance. Ignorance creates the problems in society. He shows the importance of education in his thought and writings. According to Phule ignorance means darkness and education means sun-light. He realized that for social change education is the effective method and he decided to open the door of education for women and oppressed caste people. Jyotiba has worked for the masses and women made them aware of education as a vehicle for social change. Jyotiba said, “Without knowledge, intelligence was lost, without intelligence morality was lost and without morality was lost all dynamism! Without dynamism money was lost and without money the śudras sank. All this misery was caused by the lack of knowledge.” (Phadke, 1991, 253) For him Education is a tool to achieve liberation from ignorance, which is the reason of all sufferings. Jyotiba’s philosophy is synthesis of Indian and western thought. Humanism is the lead note in Jyotiba’s philosophy and religion. His philosophy is not repetitive but critical, progressive, revolutionary and formative. One of his writings he said: “Jichya Hati Padnyachi dori tich sansare sambhali”{Who holds (Mother) string of baby’s cradle, maintain life of family as well as life society} On his opinion woman educated means whole family educated because she nurtured whole family. Phule made a sever attack on tradition which denied genuine rights of women. Phule started a school for untouchables as early as 1848. He started a school for girls in Pune. Women’s education was given ample stress in these schools. The main inspiration to raise the women question in India during this period was from the “First wave feminism”, which was characterized by the demand that women should enjoy the same legal and social rights as men. Its expression can be traced in many feminist works. Phule perceived education as a means for a movement for self-respect and self dependence, and social peace. He made significant efforts to lead the society on the path of Liberty, Equality and Fraternity. Phule believed in the strength of women and their role in the process of social change and social peace. His initiatives have influenced various spheres of life and transformed the way India today looks at socio-economic policies, education and affirmative action through socio-economic and legal encouragement. Jyotiba developed a critique of the interrelationship between women’s question and patriarchy. He visualized equality and mutual permission as the basis of the man-

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3 Manusmriti is a text in the Hindu religion believed to be written by Manu (is an author of Manusmriti which lays down the Hindu code of conduct and is believed to be composed in around 1,500 B.C.) which lays down extremely rigorous and discriminatory social norms and dictates for the untouchables ad for women.
woman relationship.

II. Savitribai Phule First Female Teacher and Feminist Philosopher

Phule and his wife Savitribai Phule were pioneers of women’s education and empowerment in India. Savitribai internalized the vision and way of life of Phule, and was a constant devotee of his work. In the philosophy of Phule the place of equality and humanity was the most important. She, to develop the qualities of justice, through education wanted equality, freedom and fearlessness. She also experiences that women have not got the self-dependence due to the lack of education. She was of the opinion that the development made in society is judged by the extent of education made available to women in society. Therefore she gave her absolute support to her husband who was in favor of giving compulsory education to women. The influence of Jyotiba’s thought on Savitribai is quite clear in her writings. She said that

…Let knowledge be your God, pursue it all the way
With determination attain success, don’t let your mind sway
Knowledge is so precious; it is the greatest gift of all
One with a treasury of knowledge, a wise person people do call. (Dhara, 1991, 67)

It was the fact that women in nineteenth century India was leading the life of a subordinate human being. She was considered an object of male-longing. In 19th century education of women & the lower castes, Phule believed, deserved priority. Hence at home he began educating his wife Savitribai & opened a girl’s school in August 1848 in Pune. The orthodox opponents of Jyotiba were furious & they started a vicious campaign against him. He refused to be unnerved by their malicious propaganda. As no teacher dared to work in a school in which untouchable were admitted as students, Phule asked his wife Savitribai to teach the girls in his school. Though, she was previously uneducated, she was encouraged and motivated by Phule to study. Later on she became the first lady teacher of India in the school started by her husband. A building was found in Pune to house the school which started in 1848, with nine students and Savitribai as it headmistress. Phule couple faced sever oppositions from almost all sections of society. Savitribai was subject to harassment everyday as she walked to school. Stones, mud and dirt and dung were fling on her as she passed. She was often abused by groups of men with orthodox beliefs who opposed education for women. She braved this onslaught for many weeks. Her response was, God forgive you. I am doing my duty. May God bless you?” But letter fed up with constant harassment and vicious opposition she almost gave up. But Phule gave her hope, love and encouragement. She went to school wearing an old sari, and carried an extra sari with her to change into after she reached the school. Finally, the pressure on her eased when she was compelled to slap one of her tormentors on the street, after which she was left alone. Later, a peon was employed to escort her to and from the school. (Dhara, 2012, 27) Savitri’s courage in withstanding opposition, even physical discomfort, to achieve her goals made her a true life-partner of Jyotiba Phule.
As mentioned in previous section Phule was a visionary who understood the value of education in the empowering of women. He started by sending Savitribai to school and then training her as a teacher to run schools for girls from oppressed communities. In her poem *Go, Get Education* (Ibid, 36-71) she just expresses the importance of education for women and society and also trying to motivated women in her possible way. As, she is expressing in one of her composition……

Be self-reliant, be industrious  
Work, gather wisdom and riches,  
All gets lost without knowledge  
We become animal without wisdom,  
Sit idle no more, go, get education  
End misery of the oppressed and forsaken,  
You’ve got a golden chance to learn  
So learn and break the chains of caste.  
Throw away the Brahman’s scriptures fast.

One of her composition she described the good human being. According to her, “one who looks after his family with care and responsibility, one who is always industrious and inquisitive, who has quest for knowledge, one who is worship of freedom, one who is compassionate towards family, one who is caring, sacrificing and dedicated is truly a good man”. In Savitribai’s thought, Phule was good human and husband and he precisely passed the mission of humanism.

To attain self-reliance let us pledge  
And accumulate a wealth of knowledge  
Without learning, life is an animal existence, a waste  
Don’t rest, get an education, make haste  
The outcasts can wipe away their woes if they wish  
Here’s a golden chance to learn English  
Learn English and do away with caste discrimination  
Cast away the tiresome tales of the Brahmins to damnation (Ibid, 36-71)

She also tries to explain the reason of sufferings of Indian women and underprivileged class that is ignorance. She said “Work hard, study well, and do well”. She constantly underscored the importance of education and physical work for knowledge and prosperity. She felt that women must receive an education as they were in no way inferior to men; they were not slaves of men. She said in one of her composition…

Just one enemy do we have today  
Let’s thrash him and drive him away  
…Ignorance!

She also offered one composition where she is giving the message of social peace and also provides the possible way for social harmony. Moral teaching is important as
she said in her poem “Offerings”. Her poem has emotional values like love, care and sharing, sacrifice etc but it also has cognitive values, which helps to provide peace in society. Her writings were an independent expression. Her poetic zeal and literary merits are also beyond any doubt and debate. Her writings demonstrate the influence of folk songs, Bhakti poetry (devotional poetry) and the Shairi (ballad literature) form. Though she selected traditional forms of writing, she constantly propagated modern values such as humanism, liberty, equality, brotherhood and rationalism through her writings. Her composition Kavya Phule reveals moral teaching where she is offering ethical values emotional as well as cognitive values listed as follows...

- Love
- Care
- Respect (Father-Mother)
- Worship
- Knowledge
- Freedom
- Equality
- Oneness
- Courage
- Self-reliance
- Opportunity
- Compassion / kindness
- Non-Violence
- Simplicity
- Humanity
- Social Harmony

Here I would like to compare moral philosophy Savitribai with moral philosophy of Greek philosopher Aristotle. Aristotle has discussed virtue ethics in his literature on ethics. Virtue ethics as discussed by Aristotle focus on three essential concepts; they are virtue, moral wisdom and happiness. Aristotle has talked about the practical virtues of social life, List of virtues given by Aristotle as follows: (Bourke, 2007, 46)

- Courage
- Temperance
- Liberty
- Magnificence
- Magnanimity
- Proper ambition
- Good temper
- Truthfulness

“Offerings” is one of her composition which I have quote in the beginning of this work. Kavya Phule is a compilation of almost 41 poems written by Savitribai Phule.
In Aristotle’s ethics, where he describes a virtue unknown to us, but which he regarded as one of the highest. As Aristotle talked about courage, liberty, friendliness and so on in his literature on ethics Savitribai also accept courage, liberty, friendliness, modesty, wisdom in her list. If life is to be worth living, he argues, it must surely be for the sake of something that is an end in itself i.e., desirable for its own sake, is Happiness. If we study moral values given by Aristotle and Savitribai Phule we can see similarities. Moral values of human life given by both Savitribai and Aristotle have only one final goal of life that is social peace, harmony in society. Their moral philosophy is human centric and their vision of ethical philosophy is humanism. So we can see Savitribai was also influenced by western ideas of ethics and morality.

III. Savitribai Phule: Social Reformer

Savitribai not only worked as an educational reformer but also worked as social reformer, especially for women. She was not only great teacher and philosopher of India but also true companion and great supporter of her husband Jyotiba Phule who made this endeavour possible for women and underprivileged class people of India to get education use the principles like equality and freedom and fight for our own rights in society. 19th century India was very backward with the illiteracy very high. Education was denied to the women, and lower caste society. They were treated as chattels, providing domestic, economic and sexual labour in their family surroundings. There was no public role for them in society. They were not allowed to express their opinion or come together in society. They were not given any education and had to follow strict decorum in their homes. Child marriages were a norm and widows were banished from society and had little rights. It was a male dominated society and women were treated as second class citizens. However, this period witnessed the rise of social reform movements in India, especially relating to women emancipation like the abolishment of Sati and the initiate of widows remarriage. It is obvious that 19th century India was not women's age it is supposed to be the 'dark age' for them. Phule couple introduced a new image of religion which was

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5 *Sati* is an old, largely defunct custom, among some communities. The ritual of dying at the funeral pyre of the husband is known as "Sati". According to some of the Hindu scriptures women dying at the funeral pyre of her husband go straight to heaven so it’s good to practice this ritual. Initially it was not obligatory for the women but if she practiced such a custom she was highly respected by the society. *Sati* was considered to be the better option than living as a widow as the plight of widows in Hindu society was even worse. (Archana Malik-Goure, Jyotiba Phule: A Modern Indian Philosopher, p 36)
known as universal religion. Phule’s theological thought was summarized by his
colleague and follower, Dr. Vishram Ghole: “Phule taught the people to think of
religion in terms of what is right and wrong and above all in terms of cause and
effect. He placed before them an account of current customs and beliefs in terms of
their validity. He attacked idol-worship and made the cause for monotheism.”
(Deshpande, 2002, 225) Phule’s social thoughts are based on humanism. Phule founded
the Satyashodhak Samaj (Society of Truth Seekers) as a socio-spiritual movement on
September 24, 1871. It is based on the values like equality, Justice and tranquility. He
spread value system through his work and thought. His philosophy was human
centric. Jyotiba Phule wanted lower castes to exploit the opportunity and get rid of the
tyranny of Brahmins. Savitribai headed Satyashodhak Samaj after Mahatma Phule’s
death, and broke new ground in socio-cultural creativity. Moto of Satyashodhak Samaj
was to Liberalize, Equalize and Modernalize not only member of society but every
people of India. Savitribai headed the women’s unity of the Satyashodhak Samaj.
The objective of the society was “to give freedom to shudras and ati-shudras
(Untouchable peoples) from the tyranny of the Brahmanical scriptures and tradition,
teach them their human rights and liberate them from mental and religious slavery.
In the draught of 1896, Savitribai worked ceaselessly, and brought pressure on the
government to undertake relief measures. In 1897, an epidemic of plague swept Pune.
Savitribai once again engaged personally in the relief effort. Unfortunately, she
catched the disease and died on 10th March, 1897.

Hari Narake wrote in Mahatma Phule Gaurav Granth, “More than Jotirao, his
wife deserves praise. No matter how much we praise her, it would not be enough.
How can one describe her stature? She cooperated with her husband completely and
along with him, faced all the trials and tribulations that came their way. It is
difficult to find such a sacrificing woman even among the highly educated women
from upper castes. The couple spent their entire lifetime working for people.” Brj
Ranjan Mani also writes, “Savitribai Phule struggled and suffered with her
revolutionary husband in an equal measure, but remains obscured due to casteist and
sexist negligence. Apart from her identity as Jotirao Phule’s wife, she is little known
even in academia. Modern India’s first woman teacher, a radical exponent of mass
and female education, a champion of women’s liberation, a pioneer of engaged
poetry, a courageous mass leader who took on the forces of caste and patriarchy
certainly had her independent identity and contribution. It is indeed a measure of
the ruthlessness of elite-controlled knowledge-production that a figure as important
as Savitribai Phule fails to find any mention in the history of modern India. Her life
and struggle deserve to be appreciated by a wider spectrum, and made known to non-
Marathi people as well.” (BaMani, 2008, 28)

Conclusion

Teaching philosophy of feminism to post graduate students in the class room is really a
good experience. Indian Society does not take women seriously, as intellectuals. We
Teach feminist philosophers in our curriculum and it’s really interesting to discuss in
class which I feel very important and practical issue of human life should be discussed.
There is scope in class-room discussion to share others experience including our own experience as a woman, as a member of society. Because the issue of women is not just something metaphysical, it is practical thing and everybody has their own experience of life. Not necessary as an individual but as a member of the society. I realized that during discursion present generation and also privileged class of the society are not aware about problems related to women in 19th century India. This discussion is really important on feminism because we have to bring women into discipline of philosophy. Feminist philosophers like Savitribai Phule have different philosophy of life; they have different summum bonum, highest goal in their philosophy. Her goal of life was freedom from Indian tradition, freedom from religious tyranny and rituals. Savitribai Phule wanted to introduce practical philosophy of human being, individual growth from education; other unethical things she was rejecting like so called Indian tradition. In her philosophy she was talking about individual growth, love, care and humanism as virtue, her emphasis on self-reliance and wants to interpret Indian tradition in her own way. They fought against the tradition and fought for human rights, rights of education and rights of human development. She took an extremely innovative stand in her whole life. By studding feminist thinkers in the Contempory Indian philosophy curriculum, future generation can learn the relevance of a gender sensitive approach to treating women as equals. This is enshrined in the constitution of Indian. The Constitution of India gave women equal rights with men from the begining. Unfortunately, women in this country are mostly unaware of their rights because of illiteracy and the oppressive tradition in some parts of India. Gender discrimination still persists in India and lot more needs to be done in the field of women’s education in India.

I would like to conclude with that, the development of any nation depends upon the educational growth. Nation forms its skeleton through equal contribution of both men and women educational status. The constitution of India and the legal codes bestowed upon women the priviledged of equal rights with men. The same facilities of education and the same opportunities of profession and employment are available for women. In the modern age, hierarchy between men and women has been explicitly questioned with rise of women’s liberation movements all over the world. As a result, women are quite confident of their ability to achieve their goals in this life. Today we find that women have proved to be quite otherwise and are holding highest positions in every field of life. I thanks to all feminist philosopher who introduced philosophy of education and philosophy of humanism.

References


Journal of East-West Thought
SOCIAL STATUS OF DEVADASIS DURING THE 7TH AND 8TH CENTURIES IN TAMILNADU

P. Ganesan

Abstract: Religions are not just systems of belief; they are also organizations, or parts of organizations. They have a communal and social significance, which goes by the name of social dimension. The social shape of a religion is of course, to some extent determined by the religious and ethical ideals and practices that it harbors. Conversely, it often happens that the religious and ethical ideals are adapted to existing social conditions and attitudes. It is incidentally, clear that the ongoing patterns of ritual are an important element in the institutionalization of religion, if it is believed that certain ceremonies and sacraments can be properly performed only by a priest, then the religious institution will be partly determined to the need to maintain and protect a professional priesthood and the institution of the devadasis in the temples.

The devadasi system was a popular institution in the history of early India. Were serving the gods in the temples throughout India. M. S. Aiyangar says that the aesthetic arts were given a religious tone from about the 7th century CE when dancing and playing dramas were encourage to draw large crowds of devotees to the temples. Thus, hundreds of dancing girls or gandharvirs was attached to every important temple. According to K. K. Pillay the system became common in South Indian temples only after the 7th century CE. The creation of the institution of devadasis, the carving of the Maithuna sculpture in temples, and the exhibition of sex influence in religious rituals in India. These, raised their ugly heads only after the 8th century CE, a period of decadence in Indian culture.

Introduction

Religions are not just systems of belief; they are also organizations, or parts of organizations. They have a communal and social significance, which goes by the name of social dimension. The social shape of a religion is of course, to some extent determined by the religious and ethical ideals and practices that it harbors. Conversely, it often happens that the religious and ethical ideals are adapted to existing social conditions and attitudes. It is incidentally, clear that the ongoing patterns of ritual are an important element in the institutionalization of religion, if it is believed that certain ceremonies and sacraments can be properly performed only by a priest, then the religious institution will be partly determined to the need to maintain and protect a professional priesthood and the institution of the devadasis in the temples. (Archer, 1957, 265)

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Journal of East-West Thought
I. Devadasi

Dedicating girls in the temples was a common future. The parents offered their daughters to the temples of their own likings. This custom was called Pottu kattudal. They were used for executing their duties to god. It was not a common feature but was and unique feature carried out by particular communities alone In the Tiruchendur temple at the temple at the time of Mahapuja and Andhikappu, devaradıyars were allowed to exhibit dance and music performances. For that a specific kattalai i.e., trust was created respected of their economic status the parents dedicated their daughters to temples. It is obvious that those women were always pious. With social status they preserved dance and music. (Bhattacharya, 1984, 124-127) The custom, however, had come into vogue by about the 3rd century C. E. Sharma says this custom is at least as old as Kautilya and Saletore writes the devadasis were clearly mentioned in the literature of the 4th century CE Both of them refer to Kautilya’s statement that the women connected with temples were studiously taught the arts of music and dancing, and were employed in the Shtrasala (weaving department) when they reached old age. (Behera, 1987, 163)

Kunjan Pillai crumbles to pieces when he says that Somadevas Kathasaritsgara of the Gupta Age contain the first undoubted reference to the devadasi system in northern India. Reference is made to the devadasis in the Kumarapanha of Buddhaghosha of the fifth century CE in Kumara panha when the learned monk says the deity descends into the body of a devadasi and answers the questions. Citing the crude form of Maithuna types of sculptural remains from the Indus Valley at least some five thousand years ago. The sexual organs and sexual reproductive processes have been subjects of ritual songs even in Vedic times, and he cites a number of passages in support. (Brown, 1959, 127)

The devadasi system was a popular institution in the history of early India. Were serving the gods in the temples throughout India. M. S. Aiyangar says that the aesthetic arts were given a religious tone from about the 7th century CE when dancing and playing dramas were encourage to draw large crowds of devotees to the temples. Thus, hundreds of dancing girls or gandharvirs was attached to every important temple. According to K. K. Pillay, the system became common in South Indian temples only after the 7th century CE with the creation of the institution of devadasis in the carving of the Maithuna sculpture in temples, and the exhibition of sex influence in religious rituals in India. These artifacts and practices raised their ugly heads only after the 8th century CE, a period of decadence in Indian culture. (Deva, 57)

When “we hear of women dancers called Aadigalmar, otherwise known as manikkattar and kanikaiyar in the inscriptions of the 8th century CE. But Pillay thinks these women attendants and dancers must have arisen probably with the emergence of structural temples. On the other hand. H. D. Sankalia is of the view that the system made its first appearance only after the emergence of the structural temples. His contention is that the temples of early days were inconspicuous little things. (James, 1940, 165) where dance could not be enacted. He also says the sabhamandapa (later called rangamandapa), which made this gradual appearance in tune the emergence of the structural temples, was not more than 100 or 200 feet square even by the 8th century.
CE. Therefore, he concludes “since the Mandapa was originally nonexistent, and later very small, possibly there was no dance before the deity that is there was no institution of the devadasi”. (Pillay, 1975, 378)

II. Social Status of Devadasis

The institution of devadasis, it must be mentioned, did nothing to elevate the social position of dancers. These dancers of the temple degenerated into more prostitutes and their quarters adjoining the temple into brothels, chastity among the Hindus was a virtue of the women of the three higher castes, and among the women of some of the other classes and the unwanted devadasis, prostitution was, if anything, encouraged by the state and the Temple. We are, perhaps, unduly harsh on the Hindu, dancers all over the world have held a low social position and even in the highly civilized nations of west, respectable people fight shy of sending their daughters to act on the stage or for the screen. All the blame for this, however, does not appear to lie with society. The conduct and social behavior of professional actors and dancers, have also something to do with it. (Ayangar, 1929, 189-190)

The post of a devadasi was considered dignified and respectable. There are instances of rich and aristocratic families dedicating their daughters to the temple to become devadasis. Kulasekhar Alwar, a Vaishnava mystic savant, is said to have dedicated his own daughter Neela, as a devadasi to the temple of Srirangam. The kings and nobles never thought it disgraceful to marry devadasis. Inscriptions in the Sucindram Temple show that a theatre and various mandapams in the temple were endowed by devadasis. (Pillai, 1970, 154-160) The devadasis held an important position in the temple activities. The devadasis had the right to perform puja in the temple if the priest happened to be away on a journey. The water required for the sacrificial purposes was brought by them. They also participated in the consecration of fire and offering of oblations. The devadasis were also consulted for conducting various festivals in temples. The devadasis, because of their high position in the society, were invariably patronized by the Hindus. The presence of a devadasi at a wedding was most auspicious because she never becomes a widow. The beads in devadasis tali were considered to bring good luck to women who wear them. Sometimes devadasi were deputed to walk at the head of Hindu marriage processions. (Atlekar, 1973, 182)

The devadasis had their own law of inheritance, customs, rules of etiquette and Panchayats to settle dispute. Among the dasis, sons and daughters inherited equally, contrary to ordinary Hindu usage. The sons usually remained in the caste, playing music for the women to dance. The daughters followed the caste profession and are carefully taught dancing, singing and the art of dressing well. Devaradiyar were associate with the temples and they were experts in dance and music. They were devadasi. (Pillay, 1979, 321-322) Though Marco Polo, Barbosa, Caesar, Frederic, and others have referred to sari and devaradiyar, due to their dedicated services. They had privileges in temple worship also, during the second regnal year of VaragunaII (864 CE) Santhandeyam, a devaradiyar of Brahmapuri Temple had donated a perpetual lamp. In the same way the devaradiyars of Mannarkovil Gopalam Temple on behalf of the members of Ur Sabha of that place had donated land and houses. Thus, the status
of the devaradiyars was not at all a despicable one during the Pandya period. It will enable one to estimate the condition of the women in general. (Ayangar, 191) At the times, due to economic reasons they were even sold as slaves to the wealthy people and they directed to carry out men a service. Thus, the status in general was not at all an appreciable one. There were many up and downs in the society with regard to women. As an overall measure it must be noted that they had no social mingling and their life was secluded one. (Atlekar, 1934, 295)

Frequent reference to the pujas and festivals, dance and music and processions accompanied by lamps appear throughout the Sangam works. Tolkappiyam says that pujas and festivals were conducted to please the gods. Paripatal informs that dance and music were performed with great enthusiasm. Pattinapalai refers to the frequent processions of the deity of Murugan to the accompaniment of music and dancing parties and the sound of flute, lute and drum. According to Vishnudharmottara the dedication of dance and music to Vishnu is far more meritorious than flower and food offerings. (Pudukkottai Inscriptions, 253) Literary evidences show that the system was in vogue in South India many centuries earlier. Pattinapalai informs that Karikala, an illustrious Chola king of the Sangam age dedicated his captive women called Konti-Magalir to sweep and smear the floor with cow dung. Light the perpetual lamp and spread flowers on the floor every evening. Appar’s Tiruvarur Tiruttanakam attests to the continuation of the tradition of such temples service. Sambandars Tiravorriyur Padikam bears witness to the tradition of dancing and singing by girls of tender age every day. (Tolkappiyam, Purattinai Iyal, 30)

In the Tamil literature of southern India we find much prominence has been given to Siva as Nataraja, and Chidambaram has been given a very high place as a sacred Tirtha (pilgrimage). They compare the burning ground to the human heart in which the deity dances her eternal dance, where the heart has become the burning ground by means of renunciation. Temples of various size and nature constructed of mud and timber are referred to in early Tamil works. Pattinapalai speaks of the construction of a Siva temple at Kaveripattinam where the captive women were dedicated by Karikal. Kochenganan, a Chola king, probably of the phase of the Sangam age, is said to have constructed some seventy Siva and a few Vishnu temples in his domain. He is said to have systematized worship in the temples with music and dance. (Sambandar, Tevaram, 276-277)

Dance as an art was not alien to the ancient Tamils. Many forms of dances in the name of kuttus were in constant practice among them. Their ancient literary treasures reveal this fact by referring to them in ever so many places. As it is known from Sangam literature kuttus like kuravai, tunankai, venri, very, valli, etc., were performed by them mostly during festive occasions. They were designed to honor the gods they were worshipping. Silappattikaram, the Tamil epic, gives a vivid account of the dances to mark the prevalence of such performances among the various sets of people and to emphasize their importance in the society. Adiyarkkunallar, the renowned commentator to this epic, shows himself an exponent in giving detailed pieces of information regarding the art of dance, the main division of the dances into vettiyal and poduviyal is given with a stress in a suggestive manner. (Sharma, 1872, 74)
III. Epigraphic Evidences of Devadasis

As dance was one of the items of life held in high esteem, it was referred to in many inscriptions. The different kinds of dance popularly performed in temples during festival days find expression in them. They serve as a useful source of information to know something about the art of dance during that times. (Madras, 1974, 321)

As the last one includes Natanam in its fold; the references to Muttamil call the attention of our enquiry about dances. Further it states about the talents of the dancing girls in addition to an account of the musical instruments they had used. This inscription leaves sufficient room to think that dance occupied an important position among Muttamil. Natakattamil which includes dance was kept in par with the others if not more. (A. R. E. 211 of 1912) The dance was to be performed before the Temple of Tiravelgaivayil Andar in Chittirai when the chief festival was in celebration. For the purpose, the dancing girl was given lands free of tax and, furthermore, in case of crop failures, it was ordered to give her grains and other materials through other sources. Such was the respect given to dance. It seems, the king had felt that the dance performances in the temple should not suffer under any circumstance. In the same temple King Rajadhiraja II states in another inscription that in order to perform Santikkuttu six times in the Tiruvadirai festival conducted in Vaikasi, two dancing girls were given lands Santikkuttu. This may give place to infer that both these dances would have been related with each other at least in certain respects. (A. R. E. 306 of 1928-29)

The best of the dancers was conferred the title of Sakkaimarayan. Pirapantakkuttu, Nankiyarkuttu, and Kudiyattam are three other famous forms of dance developed out of Sakkaikkuttu. As inscribed at Pattamadai in Tirunelveli district, a group of Devadasis under Yasoda enacted a play every year in the temple at Srivallisvaram. For this they were given lands free of tax. These inscriptions at Tiruvallisvaram, Tirukkalunkunram, Tirupadirippuliyur and Attur also contain good evidence for dramatic performances in these temples. (A. R. E. 190 of 1935-36)

The Pandya kings also encouraged dances and constructed theatres called Natakasalai. Further there are dancing halls found in the famous temples. In the Ekambranatha Temple at Kanchipuram it is called ‘Niriutta-mantapam’ and at Tirukkurralam it is named ‘Chittirasalai’. It can be noticed that the dancing halls are located in such a place which can be easily accessible through the main gopura-vayil. Further there is sufficient space for the selected audience who were allowed to witness the performance. (S. I. I., Vol. XIX, No. 275) In the medieval days great honors were heaped upon a few qualified devadasis for their attainments in the arts or their meritorious service to the state. The Imperial Cholas had profusely conferred a select few high-sounding honorifics such as talaikkoli, santikkutti, and manikkam. A large number of inscriptions mention devadasis with the suffix talaikkoli in their names. Expert dancing-girls, from the days of Madavi, were recipients of this honorific as a mark of their proficiency in the art. Madavi, adapt in the sixty-four arts, was conferred this title of honor by Karikala Cholan for her majestic performance of dance on the auspicious day of her dance debut (arrangerru). (A. R. E. 127 of 1913) The honorific of santikkutti was conferred only on those devadasis, who had already established their
mastery in performing the particular dance form called santikkutt. The title manikkam, literally meaning ‘ruby,’ is found in inscriptions of medieval days as another honorific conferred on quite a number of devadasis throughout Tamil Nadu, perhaps indicating their uniqueness. The Cholas had even gone to the extent of naming villages after the names of devadasis and permitting their benefactions to go on records as devadiyal kattalai (order of a devadasi). (S. I. E., 215 of 1936)

The later Pandyas had also continued the Chola practice in good stead. Under the devadasis were conferred various honorifics such as mannikam (the “king-maker”), Kulasekhara manikkam (the “ruby of Kulasekhara”), Tiruvanekatamanikkam (the ‘ruby of Tiruvanekatam), etc. — a title of honor very rarely conferred on select devadasis. The earliest reference to this title occurs in an inscription of the time of Pandyan Nedunchiyan (probably of 3rd - 2nd century BCE) from Minakshipuram near Madurai. It was conferred on some important persons of the state as a symbol of state recognition. Inscriptions of the Chola period inform us that it was conferred on some government officials. However, it is learnt from inscriptions that it was conferred not only on artists such as devadasis, but also on those artists who had the supervisory powers. The Rajarajeswaram record of Rajaraja I (CE 985-1014) refers to one Aratian Manaliltingan alias Sembian Perun Kavidi, who enjoyed the supervisory power and received one share as remuneration. If this view is taken into consecration, then the mention of this term in the above Pandya record may refer to that devadasi who held the post of supervisor of other artists. (S. I. E., 215 of 1936)

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The temple women are categorized as follows, the temple woman is referred to in the inscriptions by several terms like devaradiyal, devanarmagal (daughter of God) and Patiyilar or Taliyilar. She is said to have some functions in a temple and to receive on a regular basis food, rice, cloth or rights over the land from the temple. She is identified in the inscriptions as being a woman “of this temple” or devotee “of the lord of such and such a place. In the Chola inscriptions, the term “devaradiyal” is used for temple women. (S. I. I., Vol. XIX, No. 128, 430) The first part of the compound, devan, means “God” or king and it is derived from the Sanskrit term ‘Deva’. The second term “adi” is a Tamil word meaning foot. Which the devotee is to touch, serve, adorn, worship and take refuge. And the most frequently used term for devotee is “adiyar”. Adiyar is more often applied to ‘devotees’ rather than slaves, and temple women are counted among both “adiyar” meaning devotees and adiyan meaning slaves. (Kasinathan & Damodaran, 1976, 38)

None of the talicheri pendal hails from far away Kanchipuram. All the fifty-four of the town mentioned in the inscription are from the home towns. These women are in the core Chola region of Tanjavur and Tiruchchirappalli districts. Forty-six talicheri pendugal came to the Tanjavur Temple from Tiruvarur. One from Palaiyara, twenty-one from Niyamam, eighteen was from four temples at Tanjavur, seventeen from Tiruvaidaimurudur and sixteen from Ayirattali. (S. I. L, Vol. XIV, No.16) Surrounding the temples there are sculptures exposing the various dance postures. The east and west gopurams situated in the outer prakara of the Chidambaram Temple display figures posing in 108 postures of dance with their names inscribed above each in grantha. These figures seem to have been engraved during the time of Kopperunjingan in the middle of the thirteenth century CE. In the Vimanam of the Big Temple at Tanjavur
only 84 such figures are found while the others left are incomplete. (Muddaliyar, 1981, 420) From these epigraphic evidences, it is quite clear that the art of dance was held in high esteem both by the king and the people. Titles were conferred upon the best dancers. Tirunelveli Udaiyar temple inscription speaks of a dancing girl known as Alagiya Perumal Talaikkoli. Here it is seen that the title “Talaikkoli” is added with the name of the dancer. Royal patronage had fed the art sufficiently well, and so it had thrived fully well. Various kattus were in vogue, perhaps more developed and sophisticated than those mentioned in the earlier literatures. The themes of the dance performances were mostly Puranic, and they were ordinarily conducted in temples during festival times as part of the customary aspects of the celebration. (Maduraikkanchi, 1.499) As the devadasis were associated with temples they enjoyed a venerable position in the society. It also suggests the prevalence of the custom of Pothu kattudal during the period of Pandyas themselves.

The Thiruvorriyur inscription of Rajadhi raja dated 1049 CE refers to the marriage of a devadasi. They were purchased by temple authorities for singing Thiruppathigam and flying whisks to deities. There are inscriptions from Thiruvallan (1119 CE) and Thiruvlangadu (1175 CE) which state that devadasis were purchased for temples. They reveal the once it in of women. It was a custom among women to sell themselves the along with their friends and relatives to temples to keep away from the atrocities of the families as well as the society. As they had wealth they too were donors of grants to others. (Ayangar, 1929, 191) The 49th year inscription of Kulothunga I (1070-1120 CE) suggests that one Pallavaroyan, an army chief, sold four women of his family to the temple Thiruvallan after estimating the Stridhana for his wife. Thus, the devadasi system during the Chola period was a black spot in the Tamil society as it converted women into prostitutes due to their deteriorated economic positions. Their identities enable them to be approached by others easily. Any attachment of women to temples was due to economic reasons - such as the impossible nature of giving dowry. But that was executed with religious Sanctification. (S. I. I., Vol. XIV, No.16) Twenty thousand dancing girls who sang twice daily while offering food and flowers to the Buddha (or the idols), Alberuni confirms the existence of the institutions of devadasis being maintained by the kings. Four hundred devadasis were attached to the Temple of Tanjavur during the reign of Cola King Rajaraj I (1004 CE). Bhattabhavadeva, minister of King Harivarman of East Bengal, gave a hundred dancing girls. (Nagaswamy,1969, 128)

It was, therefore, only appropriate that, in keeping with her elevated status, she was depicted on temple walls. That also explains why erotic couples and alasakanyas were provided with lotus pedestals and thus invested with an aura of divinity. According to Bhavisyapurana (an ancient Śūdra account of the origin of castes), the best way to win Siryaloka is to dedicate a heavy (crowd) of prostitutes to a solar temple. The Padmapurana, Sristikhanda recommends the purchase of beautiful girls for dedication to temples. The Matsyaapurana advises that prostitutes should live in the capital and temples, and treat kings and their sons as their husbands. (Govindarajan, 1987, 31) Devadasi is a euphemistic term for vesya (prostitute). No wonder, therefore, that the kings and aristocrats glorified the devadasis by portraying their erotic activities.
on temple walls. On this basis, no tour de force is needed to explain the sculptures exhibiting sexual perversions. It is also not unlikely that, in course of time, the original motivation and purpose of these sculptures was forgotten, but copulating beings survived as an auspicious motif even after the institution of devadasis had declined in the North. (Talim, 1972, 191)

Conclusion

The fact that erotic sculptures were not displayed on many temples in the North, especially in Tamilnadu and Kerala in the South, does not invalidate our suggestion. Though no widespread devadasi institutions or sculptures moralizing their achievements were universally employed. The strength of orthodox public opinion against pornographic disfigurement of temple walls adequately explains it. As regards the portrayal of ascetics, there have always been Sanysis who have fallen from the path of virtue and who have used the garb of a saydshi to enjoy physical pleasures. A public display of this dichotomy between their preaching and practice could help the devadasis to meet the threat of the orthodox opinion, which emphasized virtues of brahmachary, chastity and renunciation. The damsidads and the contemporary liter rapture contain ample evidence of the social status the ganikas or courtesans so enjoyed, and the atmosphere of permissiveness that prevailed. Coupled with the philosophy of Vimacirathism they have helped to promote sexual promiscuity as well as made such sculptures acceptable to the elite.

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ENHANCING LEADERSHIP SKILLS THROUGH TEACHING FROM MAHABHARATA AND OTHER EPICS

V. D. Koonjal∗

Abstract: This paper aims to revisit the leadership skills depicted in the epic period, particularly from the Mahabharata and to link them with the Management and Leadership of a Tertiary Education Institution namely the Mahatma Gandhi Institute for sustainable enhancement of Leadership Skills and improved productivity. It also intends to enlighten all the leaders in the tertiary education sector and help them to explore new ways and means so as to be successful in leading higher education institutions more effectively and efficiently. The objectives of the study are as follows: 1. To enhance leadership skills at the Mahatma Gandhi Institute; 2. To develop the right attributes and leadership skills based on Mahabharata and other related epic in order to be successful in leading a tertiary education institution.

I. Historical Background

The education system in Mauritius is mainly based on the British system. When Mauritius became independent in 1968, education became one of the main preoccupations of the Mauritian Government to meet the new challenges awaiting the country. Considerable investment of resources, both human and material have been put into the education sector and impressive progress has been achieved in terms of free, universal, compulsory primary education, free text Books, free secondary education and a fairly wide range of higher education courses at the tertiary level. The Tertiary Education Commission (Tertiary Education Commission, 2001) is the governing body related to issues of higher education in Mauritius. It is mainly responsible for fostering the development of postsecondary education and training facilities, providing guidelines for tertiary educational institutions in Mauritius, making recommendations to the Minister on development of higher education in Mauritius, promoting coordination among the tertiary education bodies and advising the minister on award of scholarships.

The Mahatma Gandhi Institute is one of the Tertiary Education Institutions in Mauritius falling under the aegis of the Ministry of Education and Human Resources and Tertiary Education and Scientific Research. The Mahatma Gandhi Institute (MGI) was set up by an act of parliament as a joint venture between the Government of India and Mauritius in 1970 as a tribute to Mahatma Gandhi. The act was amended in 1982 and 2002 respectively. The objects of the Institute as per the act are: 1) To establish, as

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a tribute to Mahatma Gandhi, centre of studies of Indian and traditions; 2) To promote
education and culture generally.

The following five tertiary schools were set up at the MGI (MGI Annual Reports 2012 – 2015) so as to attain its main objectives: The School of Indian Studies; The School of Performing Arts; The School of Indological Studies; The School of Mauritian and Area Studies; and The School of Fine Arts.

The School of Indian Studies was set up in 1982 with a view to promote Indian Studies and culture in Mauritius. Diploma, degree and post graduate degree programs of studies are run by the departments of the school in the fields of Hindi, Tamil, Telugu, Urdu and Marathi. Those languages are propagated through teaching and learning activities, through cultural activities, exchange programs and collaboration with institutions. There is also a department of Creative Writing and Publications which is actively involved in promoting and disseminating the creative writing in Hindi to the general public. It presents a perspective through competitive schemes in collaboration with local and foreign writers. It also contributes towards the maintaining of the dynamism of both writing and reading Hindi and the other Indian languages. The Language Resource Centre (LRC) which also forms an integral part of the School of Indian Studies was set up following the signature of a Memorandum of Understanding between the MGI and the Central Institute of Indian Languages, Mysore, India in April 2005. The LRC offers the online introductory courses in all the Asian languages. The LRC is also involved in the production of Multimedia/Sankoré materials for Grades IV and VI in all languages and has undertaken the project of Digitalization of Dissertations.

The School of Performing Arts was set up in 1975 with the main objective of promoting Indian Music and Dance together with Indian Culture in Mauritius. The school has a long history in teaching, and it has been the pioneer in the promotion of performing arts in Mauritius. The School runs certificates, advanced certificates, diploma, degree and postgraduate degree programs in the fields of Sitar, Tabla, Kathak, Kuchipudi, Bharata Natyam, Vocal Hindustani, Vocal Carnatic, Violin and Mridangam.

The School of Indological Studies was set up in 2008, with a view to promote education and ensure cultural survival. It has however existed since 1991 as the department of Hindu Theology and its mission was to preserve and promote Indian Culture and Indian Philosophy in Mauritius at various levels to prepare in the first instance, teachers to teach these subjects at secondary schooling level. In this endeavor, the School of Indological Studies is doing its level best to promote philosophy and Sanskrit through formal and informal ways in the form of programs of studies, talks, seminars, publications, research activities, outreach programs and cultural activities. The School offers courses at various levels ranging from Certificate, Diploma, Degree and Post Graduate courses in Sanskrit, Indian Philosophy and Ayurveda & Yoga. In its attempt to provide quality education and internationalize its courses, the School borrows the services of highly qualified Professors and also has a Memorandum of Understanding with the Indian Council for Cultural Relations. The School marks three events annually, the Unesco World Philosophy Day (UNESCO, 2005) at the Sanskrit Day and the International Yoga Day. Since the celebration of the “World Philosophy
Day at Unesco” in 2002, and particularly since its institutionalization of 10 November 2005, the phenomenon of Philosophy has caught the attention of people of all walks of life, with the organization every year of a variety of activities both academic and cultural by students, teachers, government authorities, private organizations and members of the public, offering to everyone new opportunities and space for philosophical reflection, critical thinking and debate. Every year a theme is selected that is not only relevant to the Mauritian context given our multicultural identity, but is very much of great significance for the whole world with the emergence of the concept of the world as a global village and with more and more people migrating to foreign countries and mixing up with alien cultures. The School also aims to promote the importance of Sanskrit as a millennium language and as a vehicle of noble thoughts, spiritual ideologies, aesthetic values and moral development. Indian Philosophy and Sanskrit are intrinsically related to each other to the extent that one cannot exist without the other. This is why at the Mahatma Gandhi Institute, the two disciplines fall under the unique umbrella of Indological Studies.

The School of Mauritian & Area Studies was created in 1976 and it fosters a multidisciplinary approach in the analysis of Mauritian society and carries out teaching and research and is involved in promoting cultural activities. It offers electives and general modules to diploma and degrees to other schools of the MGI. It also offers degree program in Mauritian Studies, Chinese Studies and Modern Chinese. One of the recent developments in the school is the introduction of “Bhojpuri” as a subject in the primary school curriculum. A policy decision was taken by the government, where MGI had played a crucial role in this aspect given that the MGI was assigned the responsibility of introducing Bhojpuri at primary school level.

The School of Fine Arts was set up in November 2006. Originally it was a department created in 1978. It offers a wide range of academic programs starting from diploma, degree and post graduate degree courses in the fields of Fine Arts, Digital Arts, Advertising and Visual Communications. Together with the academic programs there are a number of related activities organized by the school such as art exhibitions, competitions and fairs which have all contributed towards the promotion of arts and culture in Mauritius.

II. Literature Review

In order to undertake the above study, search on existing literature on leadership was carried out. First and foremost, it was felt essential to find out and highlight the different aspects of leadership and transformational leadership as proposed by different researchers. According to Dubrin (1988) leadership is the ability to inspire confidence and support among the people who are needed to achieve organizational goals. Other definitions of leadership by Dubrin (1988) have been stated as follows: 1) Interpersonal influence directed through connection, towards goal attained; 2) The influential increment over and above mechanical compliance with directions and orders; 3) An act that causes others to act or respond in a shared vision; 4) The act of influencing people by persuasion; and 5) The principal dynamic force that motivates and consolidate the organization in the accomplishment of its objectives.
Peter F. Drucker has defined leadership as the lifting of a man’s vision to higher sights, the raising of a man’s performance to a higher standard, the building of a man’s personality beyond its normal limitations. (Drucker, 1995, 157) According to Satya Sai Baba, Leadership refers to one aspiring to be a leader who possesses three things; first is self-knowledge that is knowledge of his strengths and weaknesses. (Sri Satya Sai Baba 2001). Second, he must possess what may be called individual character and third he needs to have national character. Stephen Covey has defined a leader as one who climbs the tallest trees, surveys the entire situation and yells “wrong jungle”. (Covey 1989: 101-102) As per Fisher, leadership is mostly about yourself and maintaining your personal authenticity rather than about learning some formula from a text Book. Aspiring leaders need to be always true to themselves, not slavishly following other’s ideas. (http://EzinaArticles.Com/Expert)

Uma Das Gupta and Gitastee Bandyopadya (1988), have indicated that Rabindranath Tagore founded a small school called Shantineketan. Twenty years later, he added an international university to it called Vishwa-Bharati. Given that Tagore has put a lot of emphasis on universalism, culture, poem, music, drama, art and craft, values such as love, patriotism, self-respect, independence, cooperation, humanism, truthfulness, creativity and discipline, reverence, sociability, toleration with honesty, his leadership style has also reflected these values. Tagore ideas imparted in his institution were mainly promotion of Indian culture, spirituality and real education had to go beyond the confines of the classroom. The world of Vishwa Bharati had created a way of life which was singularly its own. According to K.S. Bharati Gandhi (1990), Gandhi was a great soul, simple, filled with humility and saintliness. He was like a beam of light that precede the darkness. His attributes as a great leader were alertness, watchfulness, courage, bravery, a great freedom fighter, sense of tactics, listening to his own conscience, performing selfless humanitarian service and inspiring others.

III. Transformational Leadership

As per Dubrin (1988), the focus of transformational leadership is on what the leader accomplishes, rather than on the leader’s personal characteristics and her or his relationship with group members. There are three aspects of transformational leadership; how transformation take place, the key quality of transformational leadership, and the impact of transformational (and charismatic) leadership on performance. Leaders often encounter the need to transform organizations from low performance, or from acceptable performance. At other times, a leader is expected to move a firm from a crisis mode to high ground. To accomplish these lofty purposes, the transformational leader attempts to overhaul the organizational culture or subculture. His or her task can thus be as immense as the process of role.

**Raising people’s awareness.** The transformational leader makes group members aware of the importance and values of certain rewards and how to achieve them. He or she might point to the pride workers would experience should the firm become number one in its field. At the same time, the leader should point out the financial rewards accompanying such success. Helping people look beyond self-interest. The
transformation leader helps group members look to “the big picture” for the sake of the team and the organization.

**Transformational Leadership in Mahabharata.** According to Bhishma in the *Mahabharata* epic, as per Sri Satya Sai Baba (1992), the art of being a leader to rule a kingdom has been summarized as follows: Ruling is not an easy task and the leader has to rule well, given that it is action which shapes destiny and not the other way around. The leader has the highest duty towards God and then towards truth. The leader’s conduct has to be exemplary, able to self-restraint, fill will humility, righteousness and straightforwardness. His passion should be under control. The leader should not be too mild if not be will not be respected. He must be compassionate, alert, caring but should not place confidence in anyone. He has to know when to seek protection in the fort when his position is weak and when he should be ready to make peace with a foe who is stronger than himself. He should be pleasant in speech and be among people of similar nature and those who have noble qualities. His people should live in freedom and happiness as they do in their father’s house. The main role of the leader is to protect the people and their happiness. One has to be careful on the environment of the surroundings. Renovation is a pre-requisite for excellence. One has to know how to use the powers of punishment and has to use them as and when required. He has to keep in mind that everyone has self-interest, and it is the most powerful feature that one has to care of. A leader has to supervise the work of all his officers himself and try to do things in secret specially from one’s enemies. He needs assistance to complete an assignment. No one can be trusted completely, the policy is to trust but to verify as well. A leader should not harbor any malice in his heart. Right conduct is essential for the leader wishing success. Procrastination has to be avoided.

In other words, great leaders are transformational in nature. Forsaking conventional morality in order to rise up to the level of higher morality is one of the qualities of a transformational leader. Speaking of transformational leadership, leadership that transforms the leader and his followers from the inside out and raises them into higher moral plans, develops a sense of collective identity in them produces superior motivation and commitment to goals and creates greater levels of performance and yields more intense performance satisfaction, an expert says: 

Transformational leaders deal with issues from a higher moral plane.

The character of Krishna comes across to us as an outstanding transformational leader in situation after situation. Again, and again, throughout his life, he takes the risk of rejecting conventional morality and rises to levels of higher morality for a cause he espouses throughout his life. In doing so, he calls upon himself possible censure of his own generation and generations to come. But to him his cause was larger than himself, larger than his personal ego, larger than his name and fame, which could all be sacrificed for the larger good, the welfare of mankind, *lokasangraha*. If we accept the tradition that ways Krishna was God incarnated in flesh, then that goal was what he states in the Gita as:

*Yada yada hi dharmasya glanir bhavati bharata,\ Abhyutthanam adharmasya tadatmanam srjamyaham.*

*Journal of East-West Thought*
Paritranaya sadhooanam, vinashaya cha dushkrtam
Dharmasansthapanarthaya sambhavami yuge yuge.”
(Bhagavad-Gita 4.7-8, 1993)

“Whenver dharma declines and adharma prospers, then I create myself. For protecting the good and destroying the evil, for establishing dharma, I am born again and again in age after age.”

And if we look at him not as an incarnation but as another human being like us, then again, we find this is what he did all his life: protecting the good, destroying the evil, establishing dharma where adharma reigned. And this mission was so sacred to him that at its altar he could unhesitatingly sacrifice his personal glory. Krishna burnt – so that others might get light and warmth.

Looking at Mahabharata’s Krishna who is very different from the Krishna of the Bhagavata, and in popular lore, we find that several of his actions are of questionable morality from a conventional standpoint. During the Mahabharata war, he encourages unrighteous acts repeatedly – and many of these acts that the Pandavas perform throughout the war are first conceived in his brain. Thus, we find Krishna suggesting to the Pandavas a treacherous plot to kill Drona, who was the guru of the Pandavas and the Kauravas on a day when Drona’s fury and skill in the war field had become impossible to face, and he was causing the death of thousands of Pandavas warriors by the minute. Drona was like a whirlwind on that day, uprooting mighty warriors and ordinary soldiers alike by their hordes. Seeing the Kauravas losing the battle, Drona had entered into a savage rage and after using other weapons to decimate huge chunks of the Pandava army, he had eventually begun using the Brahmastra itself, one of the most powerful weapons of mass destruction of the day.

Realizing the seriousness of the situation Krishna tells the Pandavas how Drona is simply invincible – not even the lord of the gods himself can defeat him in war so long as he wields weapons in his hands. Krishna asks them to forget conventional morality and rise up to the need of the hour. True, he tells them, slaying one’s teacher in the worst of sins, but time has come to do it. “The only way he could be killed is if he lays down the weapons”, says Krishna. “And therefore, Pandavas, forget about the sin of killing one’s teacher and do what is needed for victory. I believe he will give up battle if he hears that his son Ashwatthama is dead. Someone should now go to him and tell him that Ashwatthama has been killed.” (Mahabharata, Drona Parva: 191.11.13) A mean, vicious, and cruel plan, unrighteous to the core. And that precisely is what they do, through Arjuna, the acharya’s favourite disciple, does not like it and Yudhishthira was sceptic about it. Bheema readily goes and slaughters an elephant called Ashwatthama that belonged to a kind on his own side and then goes and announces to Drona that Ashwatthama has been killed. The Acharya does not trust him, and approaching Yudhishtithra known for his integrity, asks him if it is true. Yudhishtithra is closer to Bhishma in spirit and in his perception of dharma; he lacks the daring and courage, the higher vision of Krishna. Left to him he would not tell the lie – knowing this Krishna rushes to his side. The Mahabharata describes Krishna as very distressed at that time – he has reasons to be agonized this is a decisive moment, Yudhishtithra in

Journal of East-West Thought
his obtuse understanding of dharma is capable of giving up the whole plan – and with it the war and Krishna’s mission in life – establishing dharma in a land from which it was fast disappearing. Krishna tells him, “If a furious Drona fights the battle this way for just half day, let me assure you, your entire army will be decimated. I beg you, Yudhishthira, save us all from Drona. This is a time when a lie is superior to the truth.” (Mahabharata, Drona Parva, 191.46-47)

It takes the courage of a Krishna to say that. It takes the vision of Krishna to justify that. Bheema too rushes to Yudhishthira and informs him that he has just killed an elephant called Ashwatthama and begs him to listen to what Krishna says and tell Drona that Ashwatthama has been killed. And then Yudhishthira, the one everyone believed was incapable of telling a lie, is more or less persuaded to lie, though he still clings to the truth in word and lies only in spirit, as is frequent with those of conventional morality. He tells the Acharya aloud that Ashwatthama has been killed and then adds softly that it is an elephant that has been killed, so softly that Drona does not hear those words.

The Acharya, the revered and beloved guru of the Pandavas, is shattered by the news of the death of his son who was dearer to him than his life – it was for the sake of his son that he had taken up weapons, it was his sake that he had climbed from the austere heights of Brahmmana hood and become a Kshatriya by profession, if he was spreading death in the battlefield like a firestorm now, it was all because of what he had to do for the sake of his son. Drona suddenly loses interest in the war and laying down his weapons, announces to Duryodhana and others that it is ow for them to carry on the war, he is finished with it.

According to Bushan (2001), Sri Sathya Sai Baba has recited ancient Sanskrit slokas from Vedas, given to humanity thousand years ago as follows: “Na karma, Na Drajaya, dhonena, Thyagenaike, omrutatwa manshu”, which means: “Not by action not by progeny, not by wealth, but by sacrifice done can mortality be achieved.” He said that “Thyaga” was the key word which meant “sacrifice”, selflessness and renunciations of self-interest. It is this virtue which enables a leader to achieve the impossible.

IV. Methodology and Findings

The research methodology used was qualitative. In order to gather data, the methods used to collect data were mainly from focus group discussions with a group of Senior Staff at the MGI. The focus group discussions were held on few occasions and the representatives of the different schools were allowed to form part of the discussions so as they could ventilate their ideas and teachings regarding the contribution of leaders as far as Mahabharata was concerned and also as far as MGI was concerned. Surprisingly most of the people strongly believed on the words and teachings of Bhishma to Yudhishthira and also the teachings of Krishna concerning leadership. They were all very willing to learn further and how to implement the advices of Bhishma as far as possible in the context of the MGI and also in order to lead the organization in a much more effective and efficient manner. Most of the proposals made by Bhishma and Krishna were found to be essential attributes of a leader, particularly a transformational leader. Some attributes are as follows: 1) Right action and righteousness; 2) Truth and
peace; 3) Good conduct; 4) Self-restraint, righteousness and straight forwardness; 5) Filled with compassion, love, humility and ability to protect its people; 6) To be peaceful and protective; 7) Enable people to live in freedom and in happiness; 8) Innovative; 9) Creating a good atmosphere and promoting a healthy environment; 10) Supervising his people personally; and 11) Should avoid harboring malice and procrastinate.

Moreover, it was found that leaders require other attributes and skills that would enable them to lead more efficiently and effectively a tertiary education environment taking into consideration global trends and challenges facing in the higher education sector. These attributes include collaboration, concurrency, good human relation skills, excellent communication skills, fairness, commitment, interpersonal skills, sound judgment, sense of values, enthusiasm, intelligence, flexibility, adaptability, knowledge in the field of leadership, charisma, sociability, diplomacy, empathy, ambition, self-confidence, subjectiveness, attractiveness, talkativeness and so on.

Conclusion

It is not easy to become a leader. One may be born as a leader but still requires appropriate training to become a good, skilled, effective and efficient leader in leading a tertiary education institution like the Mahatma Gandhi Institute. The most basic aspect element in any leadership model remains a shared vision and to achieve same the following aspects are to be taken into consideration: 1) Capacity to change; 2) Prepare staff for the transformation; 3) Institute initiatives to deal with emotional effects; and 4) Development of skills and knowledge to operate in the new environment.

Most of the values and skills that a leader requires in order to lead an institution have already been taught and revealed in the “Mahabharata” and other related epics. We need to go back to the source to be able to learn how to lead and to acquire leadership skills. As in the foregoing pages, it has been noted that rising above conventional morality to levels of higher morality, raising his followers to these levels – this is not the only quality of a transformational leader. A transformational leader has wisdom, has a vision, has the ability to communicate that vision, has the courage to act out that vision, has the ability to identify his followers and to address their true needs. He creates trust in his followers, has the power to motivate them, is proactive, has immense energy, purpose, total commitment, passion, courage and a powerful presence. At a personal level, he is kind, compassionate, shows understanding and acceptance, and has the power to laugh in the middle of calamities. He is gentle and firm and has the humility of, as the Tibetan Shambhala tradition puts it, the Himalayan tiger – the proud humility of a person who is himself, has no pretensions, does not wear masks.

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WHAT ARE THE CULTURAL VALUES OF A CASE OF ASIAN HIGH-ACHIEVING HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS?

Amy Pan

Introduction

We always want to improve education. We look to other countries and see that the people of Asian countries consistently perform well in school and honor knowledge and education. How can we improve education if we do not understand how the “best” students study and perform?

Purpose

The purpose of this case study is to examine the cultural values behind why a set of twin Asian Indian girls are high – achieving. The main question that this research is setting out to answer is, “What are the cultural values of Asian Indian high – achieving students?” The qualitative sub questions include: “How do high – achievers attain their high scores?” and “How can our society value education in such a way that promotes high – achievement?”

The definition of a high – achiever is anyone who has scored at the top of his/her class in regard to grade point average (GPA) and standardized test scores. What this interview is hoping to achieve is an understanding of high – achievers’ drive, motivation, and parental support that aids in their success. How can future students become like these high – achievers? How can educators motivate their students to achieve high marks? Are there underlining philosophies that guide high achievers?

The researcher chose this rationale because of a fascination with the respect and honor that Asian cultures place on education. After travelling to China numerous times, the researcher is enthralled that teachers are valued at the top of society in Asian countries. This fascination leads the context, methodology, and framework for this case study. The researcher is a doctoral candidate from a large public university in the southern United States. While completing her Master’s degree, the researcher focused on English as a Second Language and wrote her dissertation on Chinese Language Learners. This aided in knowledge of Asian cultures. The researcher also has nine (9) years of experience as a teacher at the elementary and middle school level. The researcher has also spoken with Dr. Tom Fischgrund, the author of the book, 1600 Perfect Score: The 7 Secrets of Acing the SAT (2003). This text is as a monumental piece of literature in which Fischgrund (2003) surveyed 160 students who achieved a

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perfect score on the Scholastic Aptitude Test. In the interview, Fischgrund stated that he had not asked questions in regard to ethnic nor immigrant status. He also stated that there is not enough research on immigrants who perform well on standardized tests. The focus of the case became clear because there is a need and purpose for this research.

Review of Literature

Multicultural lives are all around us and we must embrace our diversity. It is increasingly important to understand ethnic and immigrant variation in the United States. We are a nation of immigrants. One in four residents is foreign born or native born with at least one foreign – born parent. The definition of a foreign-born resident is anyone who is not a U.S. citizen at birth. The definition of a native-born resident is anyone born in the United States. The definition of a first-generation resident is anyone who is foreign born. Second and third generation residents has a foreign – born parent or grandparent (respectively). The Asian Indian twins in this case study are foreign – born first generation residents. The United States Census Bureau estimates that in 2013, 38% of the population is considered a minority (US Census Bureau, 2013). It estimates that by 2060, this will increase to 56%. According to Tseng (2016), Asian Americans represent a rapidly growing demographic whose growth rate is currently the fastest in the nation, even surpassing Latin Americans. Asian Americans are defined as those individuals, children, and youth who reside in the United States whose ancestry stems from Asia (e.g., Bangladesh, Bhutan, Cambodia, China, Fiji, India, Indonesia, Japan, Korea, Lao PDR, Malaysia, Pakistan, the Philippines, Sri Lanka, Taiwan, Thailand, Vietnam).

Historical Background

Immigrants are a part of the United States and their journey is very important. It is the time now to discuss the shifting cultural – community contexts (Stein & Garcia Coll, 2016). The first wave of Asian Indian American immigrants was from middle class professionals. They were admitted into the United States by the Hart—Celler Act of 1965 (Rangasmy, 2000). Occupational preferences category were included in the Hart—Celler Act, which favored doctors, nurses, and engineers, who were in high demand. Even if the immigration growth remains constant by current standards, the Asian American population will have increased by 79% between 2000 and 2050 (Ortman & Gauneri, 2009). Tuan (1998) stated that Asian Americans are in the “model minority.” In one study of high school students in the Southeastern United States, over 99% of Asian Americans, which included East, South, Indian, and Chinese Americans, were reported to have been stereotyped as model minorities (Thompson & Kiang, 2010).
Reason for Achievement

A number of cultural factors influence the educational success of Asian Americans (Kao & Thompson, 2003). This may stem from high parental expectations of educational success, a characteristic that seems to transcend socioeconomic class (Louie, 2004). Kao and Tienda (1995) labeled the “immigrant optimism hypothesis,” which finds that immigrant youth, many of whom are Asian, are more likely to believe in the value of education for future success and to do better in school. Asian American cultural values regarding hard work, family, and education enable their success (Lee, 2009). Kao and Tienda (1995) also state that children of immigrant parents do well in school because they benefit from their parent’s recent arrival via their optimism about opportunities in the United States. There are specific cultural values and beliefs that immigrants use to enhance their achievement in America (Kim, 2002). Rivas – Drake (2014) stated that “recognizing their Asian heritage and establishing a positive sense of ethnic or cultural identity has widely beneficial consequences for youth development, including academic, health, and psychosocial adjustment.” Many immigrants hide their heritage because they want to assimilate into American culture. However, studies have shown that ethnic identity is important in one’s overall sense of self. Parents who attend school events, enroll children in classes outside school, or take children on outings may be more motivated or better informed about their child’s needs (Glick, 2007). The participants in this research study are both violinist in a Chamber Orchestra in a high school in Southern United States. They have studied the violin since third grade and there are concerts twice a year. Their parents have attended many concerts and have supported ventures of their daughters.

Methodology Design

The framework for this case study is single and holistic (Yin, 2009). The twins are single because they are interviewed individually. For example, they have similar values and are thus considered singular. The reason the case is holistic is because the researcher is looking at similarities. The researcher is studying the common experiences of twin Asian Indian high achievers. The typology of sampling is maximum variation. The participants for this data were a set of twins who are Asian Indian. Priya Balamurugan (pseudonym), was first found out on the school system’s webpage. The researcher was browsing the website and saw the announcement that “Priya Balamurugan obtained a perfect ACT score.” The announcement included a short biography of Priya including that she was a violinist in the Chamber Orchestra in a high school in Southern United States. The researcher is a violist and Orchestra Director and her husband is a bassist and Orchestra Director. The researcher’s husband teaches these twins and they are violinists in his Orchestra class. The design of the research study was conducted using purposeful sampling. The typology of the sampling strategy in this qualitative inquiry was theory based, homogeneous, and maximum variation (Miles & Huberman, 2013). The reason the sampling strategy was theory based was because the theory was that Asian Indian students have a specific culture. In regard to the review of literature, the Asian Indian people value education and have
respect for teachers. The reason the sampling strategy was homogeneous is because the students are twins. Their parents were also interviewed and thus, the family included homogeneous members. The reason that the sampling strategy was also a snowball strategy was because the students were found as a referral. The researcher’s husband teaches the twins violin in their Talented Music class at a high school in Southern United States. The researcher’s husband has also met with the parents in Individualized Education Plan (IEP) meetings. The researcher will also use this qualitative research as a doctoral dissertation.

The researcher’s role in this particular research is of an interpreter (Stake, 2010). Creswell (2017) states that case study research is defined as a qualitative approach in which the investigator explores a real – life, contemporary bounded system over time, through detailed, in-depth data collection involving multiple sources of information.

Data Collection

On Saturday, February 25, 2017, I interviewed Priya Balamurugan for thirty (30) minutes, her twin sister, Parvathy Balamurugan for thirty (30) minutes, and their parents for another thirty (30) minutes. For the purpose of this activity, I will use the data only from Priya’s interview. However, for the mini case study I will synthesize all of the interviews. The interview was at the Balamurugan’s residence. The first interview was of Priya from 10:15 am. – 10:45 am. The second interview was of Parvathy (Par) from 10:45 am. – 11:15 am. The third interview was of their parents, Sreetha and Subremanen. The following interview protocol includes the questions asked for all three interviewees. All three interviews were transcribed (see appendices). The purpose of the interview is to gain information on how high achieving students are motivated and use certain study strategies.

**Interview Protocol**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Priya</th>
<th>Parvathy</th>
<th>Sreetha and Subremanen</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Can you tell me about how you received your high score?</td>
<td>Do you think it would be different if only you would want to do well?</td>
<td>Can you tell me about how you’ve instilled these values of respect in your daughters?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Can you tell me about when you were younger? You were born in India, correct?</td>
<td>Can you tell me about the values you have for education?</td>
<td>They had mentioned the dance.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Can you tell me more about when you were younger? Did your parents help you?</td>
<td>Do you see students who don’t pay attention in class?</td>
<td>Do you find Americans have a different level of respect.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tell me how it’s motivating (In response to motivation when studying with her twin).</td>
<td>Do you remember an age when you started working hard?</td>
<td>Do you think you have instilled a work ethic?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do you think it is just yourself, would it be different (in response to studying with a twin)?</td>
<td>You talked about your friends.</td>
<td>Tell me they started learning how to read. You said, from 4 years old, right?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tell me about your first</td>
<td>Can you explain your routine</td>
<td>Can you tell me how you</td>
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*Journal of East-West Thought*
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<th><strong>school experience.</strong></th>
<th><strong>with Priya?</strong></th>
<th><strong>established a mood for studying?</strong></th>
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<td>Tell me about how you value education. Maybe it’s your parents, or how you feel this internally.</td>
<td>Have you had similar grades?</td>
<td>Did you ever feel you need to force or bribe them?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do you ever talk to your sister about how you both value education and how it is important for each other?</td>
<td>Is there something annoying people ask you about being twins?</td>
<td>So they learned inner motivation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>You said that when you have a lot of homework you tell yourself, “don’t get frustrated and don’t give up.” How do you feel not giving up has contributed to your success?</td>
<td>What city were you born in India?</td>
<td>Tell me about how you found out you were going to have twins.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tell me about your friends.</td>
<td>You mentioned the schooling of your cousins. How did you notice things that are different?</td>
<td>I teach a set of twins where one twin failed a grade and one had to keep going.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tell me about how your teachers influenced you.</td>
<td>Do you want to make your parents proud?</td>
<td>Tell me about how your parents influenced your way of parenting. Is it similar?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tell me how your parents have instilled in you about respecting your teachers and elders.</td>
<td>Tell me how you value respecting your teachers and elders.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>You mentioned it is a part of your culture (in response to respect).</td>
<td>What would you say if a student says that they don’t respect their teachers?</td>
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<tr>
<td>Is that an Indian dance (in response to saying namaste to her dance teacher)?</td>
<td>Do you think that kind of value is something you have always had?</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Do you speak other languages as well?</td>
<td>When you say it is a part of your culture.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Do some of your friends have similar passions as well as being high – achieving? Do you have the same valued?</td>
<td>Have you ever met someone who has similar values but doesn’t work as hard as you?</td>
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<tr>
<td>If you didn’t work so hard, how do you think that would reflect on yourself and your family?</td>
<td>And, you think you have the confidence before you start.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Do you ever think, “How do I get my drive?” If someone were to ask you, “I don’t have a lot of drive,” how could you help them? You seem to have a lot of drive.</td>
<td>You mentioned being aware. You’re not lying to yourself.</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Even if you had your parents, teachers, and your sister pushing you, how do you think you have achieved so much, even if they have helped you? Still, mentally you are prepared because you passed an IQ test. So, do you acknowledge your hard work more than your intellect?

Tell me how you prepared for the standardized tests.

Did you go to Princeton Review?

Do you think there is a misconception with intellect and talent?

You seem very focused.

Analysis

The codes that are present in the analysis of the interview include getting a perfect ACT score (36). For example, Priya stated that, “I practiced more than I had before, so I guess that is why I got a good score.” Priya spoke about her parent’s involvement at a young age. For example, Priya stated that, “I have to really thank my parents, because since we were little, they would make us practice. My parents have always supported me and if we need quizzing and stuff, they help me.” She also spoke about her respect for teachers. For example, Priya stated that, “Most people don’t know how to do things by themselves; they need to be taught and coached by other people. Teachers are very important and it’s really important to thank your teacher.”

The largest cluster of codes including putting effort into education. This is a cluster because Priya mentioned this numerous times throughout the interview. The label that is representative for these themes includes: “EFFORT”. For example, Priya states that, “Even for standardized tests, if you get a high score, people think you are smart; but not really. Standardized tests are how much you prepare, how much you practice, how much you know.” She mentions throughout the interview that hard work pays off and that there is a misconception between intellect and hard work. She stated that, “The misconception between intellect and hard work is the exact opposite. The people who are doing well are doing well because they are working hard. The other people aren’t doing well because they are not working hard. I don’t like when people think that those that get good grades do it effortlessly. I put a lot of effort into this.”

Report

The interviewees include Priya, Parvathy, and their parents. The twins are both “Number 1” in their junior class at a high school in Southeast Louisiana. The high school calculates scores based on GPA and test scores. Priya received a perfect American College Test (ACT) score in December, 2016. The perfect score is a thirty-six (36).

Priya was born in Travandrum, India. She has an identical twin sister named Parvathy and they are the only children of Bala (short for Subremaniaen) and Sreetha.
Balamurugan. The girls were born in India and later moved to the United States. They were born in Trivandru, which is a city in the state of Kerala, India. Their parents speak Tamil at home, but the girls answer back in English. At the age of two (2) months old, Bala and Sreetha parents moved to New Mexico as post – graduate students. They both have Ph.D.’s in Chemistry and moved to Baton Rouge when the twins were three (3) years old. Their parents have worked at Louisiana State University (LSU) as post – doctoral students in Chemistry since 2003. Priya Balamurugan and her family do not mind if I use her full name in any documents. Thus, actual names are used of the respondents. Priya was dressed in a blue dress shirt and pants. Her demeanor is shy and very respectful. Her personality can be described as nice and driven. Her twin sister, Parvathy, received a thirty – three (33) on the ACT. I spent thirty (30) minutes interviewing her as well and will use the data in the “mini” case study for this course. My impressions of Priya were profound. She is very well spoken and presents her ideas in a concise manner. She was such an avid reader at a young age that her parents had to tell her to “stop” reading. As a punishment for misbehaving, Priya was not given “time – out” or reduction of privileges like “no internet,” or “no TV.” Because Priya and her sister would read all the time, the punishment was to not read. This impression will stick with me because not many people enjoy reading as much as Priya does.

There are several themes from the transcribed interview. For example, the interview started with Priya stating how important education is. She said she gives thanks to her parents for working hard with her at a young age and always supporting her. She spoke that, “in our culture,” which identifies with the Indian culture of respecting teachers and elders. She went into giving examples of an Indian dance where the students all begin the dance with three “Namastes:” one to the audience, one to their teacher, and one to themselves. She mentioned this because it is involved her culture as well as trying to prove her point that respecting teachers is important. For example, if she just said, “Yes, it is important to respect your teachers,” then we would assume that it is a value. However, because Priya described her dance experience, she painted a picture of what her culture identifies to reverence. This was a very important distinction and was very monumental in the interview. I was deeply moved and have reflected on her description of the “namaste” meaning that Priya provided in the interview.

Another theme in the interview was the amount of effort she perceives that she puts into her studying. She mentioned that it started very young, even before first (1st) grade. Her parents would help her practice math. Later on, her parents stated that they would buy an entire grade of math the summer before school and complete the Book before starting in August. An underlining theme throughout the interview was the fact that she strongly believes that there is a direct correlation between hard work and high achievement. For example, she stated that, “I don’t think I am good at math, but I have worked very hard at it.” She mentioned that, while she identifies there might be a concept such as “talent,” she gets mad when people think that she gets good grades and achieves a perfect ACT score effortlessly. Priya has reiterated that she works very hard and that is the reason she is so successful.
Data Reduction and Interpretation

The purpose of this interview was to answer the question, “How do high – achievers attain their high scores? What values do high – achievers have?” The definition of a high – achiever is anyone who has scored at the top of his/her class in regard to grade point average (GPA) and standardized test scores. What this interview is hoping to achieve is an understanding of high – achievers’ drive, motivation, and parental support that aids in their success. How can future students become like these high – achievers? How can educators motivate their students to achieve high marks? How can our society value education in such a way that promotes high – achievement?

The first theme that was found in these three interviews was parental, teacher, friends, and family support.

Theme 1: Parental, teachers’, twin, and friends’ support

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sub – Theme</th>
<th>Quotations</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Parental support</td>
<td>Priya – I have to really thank my parents because since we were little, they would make us practice. They have always supported me and if we need quizzing, they help me.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teachers’ help and support</td>
<td>Priya – In the gifted program, they let you advance and not wait. They help motivate me to take certain classes and compete. That gives me more confidence. One of my friends almost got a B and her teacher said, “Why do you have that B? If you need some help, let me know.” The teachers are very helpful.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Twin support</td>
<td>Priya – It’s helpful to have her because it is more interesting and more motivating. Par - It is easy for Priya and myself to do well because we have each other. I like studying with Priya because we are really focused. Because we are twins, our ability is the same.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Friends’ support</td>
<td>Priya – I think that is a big part. All of my friends work hard. If you are around people who don’t work as hard as you, then you don’t feel like continuing to do so. They are also high – achieving and you want to stay on that level. It depends on what school you are at. It’s a group effort and you don’t feel weird. Some of my friends are also Hindu with the same mindset. I have some other friends who are not Hindu with the same mindset. I guess it is not religion but valuing hard work. Par - Also, our friends are also high – achieving and it is a group effort. We all work hard and help each other out.</td>
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</table>
The second theme was about their culture. Both of Priya and Par’s parents are Indian and both grew up in Kerala, India, which is in the state of Travandrum. The sub themes of culture include the value of education, respecting elders, and cultural values. The cultural values include respect, empathy for teachers’ jobs, importance of knowledge, Indian dance, and Hinduism.

### Theme 2: Culture

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sub – Themes</th>
<th>Quotations</th>
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</table>
| **Value of education** | Priya – “I think it is important.”  
Par - Yes, I know that they studied well when they were young. They haven’t pressured us, but I know they would want us to do well. They are really supportive, so the least I can do is do well. It’s nice to make your parents feel proud. |
| **Respecting elders** | Priya – “I have to thank my parents.”  
Par - I think it’s really important because, if you think about it, all the things you have been taught is from your teachers. If you think about it, they have put in a lot of hard work to teach you their subject. The way to respect them is to be polite and show them that you care. You do your homework. They put in a lot of effort. A lot of students, including me, think, “this is a lot of homework.” But they are doing that to help you. So, I think it’s important to respect your elders, and especially respect your teachers. They are working for you. You should at least show some respect for what they are doing for you. |
| **Cultural values** | **Respect:**  
Priya – Our culture really respects elders and teachers. You should have respect for that and for what they are doing. They are people who really care and take their time to teach. There’s a lot of respect. What you are doing probably is because they taught you to do it. Most people don’t know how to do things by themselves. They need to be taught and coached by other people. Teachers are very important.  
Par - Yes, my parents have always said you need to respect teachers. It is also a part of our culture to really respect your elders. It’s very important. I think it has been ingrained since I was very young to respect your teachers and elders. Especially if they are helping you or teaching you something. That is something you will need and they are helping you. Indian dance, and Hinduism. |
culture it’s important to respect your elders. Even in the language, when you are talking to someone older than you, that is the respectful part. Even, with our dances, we do this thing where we thank the audience, our teacher, and god. Especially for dance, your teacher is teaching you this dance, but it applies to other subjects. Knowledge is important and their work is important to get to where you need to be.

**Empathy for teachers’ jobs**

Priya - It’s probably not easy to keep teaching.

**Knowledge is important**

Priya – Knowledge is important.

**Indian dance**

Priya - You thank your audience, yourself, and your teacher. You say, “Namaste” and the dance is based on Hinduism.

**Hinduism**

Priya - We have Sunday school and there are two temples. We discuss the Gita.

The third theme includes effort, drive, mindset, self – awareness, and preparation. The girls spoke a lot about putting effort into their school work. They have attributed their success to these qualities.

**Theme 3: Effort, Drive, Mindset, Self - Awareness Preparation**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sub themes</th>
<th>Quotations</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Effort</td>
<td>Priya – I always tried to do my best. You might get the grades you want, you might not. But, if you try at least you’ll learn it and if you put all your effort into it, then it’s bound to end up being good. Some of my friends are also Hindu with the same mindset. I have some other friends who are not Hindu with the same mindset. I guess it is not religion but valuing hard work. The people who are doing well are doing well because they are working hard. The other people aren’t doing well because they are not working hard. Par - My parents have always said, “Try your best and work hard.” In class I have always tried to do my best, listen to the teacher, and get things in on time. I really listen to the teacher, do my homework correctly. My parents have really encouraged me to work hard. It’s not that we are smart, but I pay attention because I know I can’t learn it by myself. I think if you paid attention a really</td>
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long time, listened to the teacher, and have a good attitude about learning, then it helps you.

Drive

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<th>Priya - I have to do so much preparation, and I am used to that. They think we are really smart, but No, it’s because we have been doing it forever. It is not a new thing for me to work hard. I have always done a lot of homework.</th>
</tr>
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</table>

Mindset

|                   | Priya – The reason you are doing it is to learn, it will end up good. Don’t get too stressed. If you feel like you failed a test, keep going. If you think, “I’m probably going to fail,” you probably are going to fail. But if you think, “I’m going to try my best,” then that is all that I can as of myself. It’s a better mindset than, “I have to get this.” There is something where you say, “I know I really worked hard on this, and I am happy it turned out well.” But, if you didn’t really work, and went thought life, then there isn’t the same satisfaction doing as if you worked really hard. If you work really hard then you have the satisfaction of, “Well, I guess it paid off.” Yes, I don’t think I am super great, but I also think that if I want to, and really try hard. I also acknowledge when I’m not good at something. For Social Studies, I am not good at remembering dates. |

Self – awareness

|                   | Par - Being aware that you need to study is really important. You should understand you are not great at something. But, that doesn’t mean I can’t become good at this. Don’t give up on something. If you think you don’t need to do this, chances are you need to do this. |

Preparation

|                   | Priya - Standardized tests are how much you prepare, how much you practice, how much you know. Sreelatha - Every summer, one week before we would cover the next school year. English, math, everything. We bought a lot of Books. I make them do the math. They will do it. We have to say that. Then when they go to school, they feel very good. |

The fourth theme is the home environment. Sub – themes include inner motivation, a calm environment, and free of distractions. Sreelatha, the twins’ mom, was very important for this data because she and her husband provided a framework for their home environment and house rules.

**Theme 4: Home Environment**

| Inner motivation | Sreelatha - They want to feel good. You will

*Journal of East-West Thought*
feel good if the teacher asks you something and you know it. They know the math because in the summer we would finish the next year’s math Book. We went to Sam’s Club and bought these Books. We helped them and then when they go to school and feel good. Parents should help their children. They don’t like it if we bribe them. We never give them any money. They don’t have any money. They would get up in the morning and start reading. If they do something wrong, then they cannot read for one week. There is no way we can stop them from reading.

Calm environment
Sreelatha - We helped them. We know they didn’t like tv, but they used to like it. We knew that they needed silence. If we talk too much, they said, “why don’t you go over there, we are concentrating.” We understood that they need to concentrate. We used to have tv on at my house and I need to study. I think they need the calmness. They will be studying here (at the table) and I will be cooking. Otherwise they will get distracted.

Free of distractions
Sreelatha - At the end of the day, they asked, “Can you take our phones away from us?” I would ask them if they completed their homework and they would do it right away. No TV, nothing. We do our work so they can study. They don’t like tv. In the holidays, we’ll say, let’s watch a movie (maybe from Mumbai). They don’t like it, and they go and read. From the beginning, from 4 or 5 years, they would read, read, read.

Discussion
This research was very informative. This was the researcher’s first research course and it has been very beneficial in regard to using data for the dissertation. The interest of high – achieving students has been something life – long. The researcher has always wanted to attend an Ivy League school because of the prestige. Having a perfect ACT score will assist any student to achieving their dreams of being accepted into a good college. This research is important because standardized test scores are considered “high – stakes” testing. In 2012, the Obama Administration launched “Race to the Top” (U. S. Dept. of Ed., 2012). This competition was designed to promote achievement and awarded states with finances to continue this achievement. It’s objective is to provide incentives for states and local educational agencies to implement reform strategies. There is a lot of research in the field of standardized tests. Regardless of whether it is a debatable topic about “teaching to the test,” there is value to standardized tests.
In regard to the referential function of communication, I was able to obtain information from Priya and Parvathy in regard to their demographics. For example, questions were asked about their schooling, how many times they have taken the ACT, and the demographics of their biography (place of birth, where she has lived, who is in her family). In regard to the emotive function of communication, Priya revealed how passionate she is about her work ethic. For example, when she started talking about the difference between people who work hard and the people who “rely” on their intellect, her mood became very adamant. In regard to the conative function of communication, I noticed that I complimented her on her drive. For example, I asked the question, “How do you give advice to people who think they do not have drive? You seem to have a lot of drive.” She said, “Thank you.” However, I do not think she was trying to please me. I think her passion for her education was revealed after this statement.

In regard to the metalingual function of communication, I was able to obtain a successful interview because of the agreement of terms. For example, when I first contacted Priya’s mom (Sreetha), she had a heavy accent that I had a difficult time comprehending. However, with the role of empathy and understanding, we were able to come to an agreement about meeting and it was quite successful. In regard to the poetic function of communication, Priya stood out as an advocate for hard work and determination. For example, when she was asked about her drive and motivation, Priya was very confident and “poetic” in her knowledge of motivation. In regard to the phatic function of communication, I felt that we ended on a high note. The ebb and flow was definitely that – the energy of the interview went up and down. However, the end was strong and we were able to connect as an interviewer and a respondent.

Future research includes expanding on this research to include other “Perfect ACT” scorers. Ideally, I would like to interview at least ten (10) students and their parents for my dissertation. I will take quantitative research in the summer and would like to develop a survey for the participants. Then I will combine the qualitative and quantitative data to used mixed methods research.

References

Appendices

Appendix 1: Reflections

Even though I know a lot of people are not proponents of standardized tests, I have to see the end line – college admissions. For example, I had a 3.9 GPA in high school. However, I wish I had known the ACT better so that I could have scored higher. I do regret not studying harder and now I am dedicating my life to helping my children achieve a high score on their ACTs and SATs. While to some this might seem menial, I see the value of standardized test scores. Those that score in the 99% on SATs can get hundreds of thousands of dollars in scholarships and be accepted into Ivy League schools. I would like that more people have this opportunity. I also wished I had gone to an Ivy League school. However, I hope that my research as a Ph.D. researcher will assist my children on this path. I think I could have had stronger interviewing skills. However, considering this was my first interview, I notice that “practice makes perfect.” For example, after interviewing Priya, and then her sister Parvathy, and then their parents, I kept getting more confident. A certain focus became the center of the interviews. I was trying to understand how these girls obtained their drive and focus. Their house was extremely calm and inviting, and speaking to their parents was

Journal of East-West Thought
enlightening in more ways than one. The mini case study will be an important piece of repertoire as a doctoral researcher because I will be able to synthesize wonderful findings in the field of education and learning.

Appendix 2: Networks

Appendix 3: Transcription

Interview – 2/25/17 10:15 AM.

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<tr>
<th>Interview</th>
<th>Coding</th>
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<tr>
<td>Myself: So, can you tell me about how you received your high score? Is it the ACT or SAT? Priya – ACT. Myself – Ok. Priya - Well I took it, it’s like the third time taking it. I took it once in my 8th grade year, like in the end. And the once at the end of my sophomore year and then last December. Um, and um, I practiced, I guess, and uh, prepared more than I had before, so I guess that is why I got a good score.</td>
<td>TOOK ACT 3 TIMES</td>
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<td>M – You’re a junior, right? So, next year you’ll be a senior, right? And, you got the 36 score, correct? Could you spell your first name? Priya – Yes, I am a junior and I received a 36.</td>
<td>PERFECT SCORE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Myself - Ok, so now, could you tell me about when you were younger? You were born in India, right? Priya: Yes, I was born in India, but we moved</td>
<td>BORN IN INDIA, GREW UP IN LOUISIANA</td>
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</table>
here when we were like four or five months old, so I don’t really remember. We didn’t come to Louisiana at first; we went to New Mexico. And then, when we were three, I think, we came here. So I have been here most of my life.

Myself – Could you tell me more about, when you were younger, did your parents help you?  
Priya: Yes, I have to really thank my parents, because, like, since we were little, they would like, make us practice, like, since, I think because when I was in elementary, I think second grade, actually first grade, I was in the Gifted program, and they let you advance; like, if you finish a math or whatever, you can go the next one; so, like, because of that, I was able to, like, not wait, you know, if I already understood something, I could keep going. My parents have always like supported me and if we need quizzing and stuff, they help me. And then Parvathy, my sister, it’s also really helpful to have her because, then it’s kind of like group studying all the time. It is more interesting and more motivating, I guess, than just studying alone.

M自己 – So, tell me how it’s motivating.  
Priya – Well, I mean, if you’re trying to study yourself or “less boring” I guess, than if you are doing it with someone. They can quiz you and they understand, like everything you have to do because they have to do the same thing. Both of you can help the other keep going.  
Myself – So, do you think if it is just yourself, it would be different?  
Priya – Yes, I don’t think it would be as fun.

Myself – So, you make it fun as you go along. So, tell me your first school experience.  
Priya – Like, from first grade?  
Myself – Yes, even before that.  
Priya – Pre -K we went to University Presbyterian; for Kindergarten I went to Dufroq for Kindergarten in the Montessori program. For First Grade I tested into gifted and went to Bernard Terrace for a year. Then, I went to Buchanan for the rest of elementary school. I went to Glasgow for middle school and McKinley for the first year of high school. Then I transferred to Baton Rouge High School for my

| Journal of East-West Thought |
sophomore year.

Myself – So, did you apply in 8th grade to go to Baton Rouge High, right?

Priya – Yes, but now they are trying to have the Gifted high schoolers go to McKinley. It was fun there, but a lot of my friends had siblings at Baton Rouge High. A lot of them were applying to Baton Rouge High. I didn’t want to be the only one there.

Myself – So, tell me about the values, you feel, about education. Maybe it’s your parents, or how you feel internally.

Priya – Well, I think it is pretty important. I’ve always tried to do my best. Even if you try your best, I always thought, “You might get the grades you’ve wanted, you might not.” But, if you try for it, at least you’ll learn it and then next time… As long as the reason you are doing it is because you want to learn and you consider it important and you put all your effort into it, then it’s bound to end up being good.

Myself – Do you ever talk to your sister about how you both value education and how it is important for each other?

Priya – Whenever it’s hard and you have a lot of homework, both of us together are like, “Well, if we try our best, and even if it’s hard and we’re like, we still have so much left, but that is part of the course, and having to learn it is part of struggling through it.” We both say that, “Ok, we’ll study this and try our best for the test or whatever is happening.” And too also not get too stressed (if you don’t get it or I don’t know what I’m doing) and think, “It’s ok, you still have a second time.” If you feel like you failed the test, then keep going. Especially because a lot of days we have several tests in a row. You do one and you’re like, “I don’t know how that went, let’s just try again for the next one.” Hopefully, it will get better.

Myself – When you’re saying to keep going and you have a lot of homework, you said, “not to get frustrated and not to give up.” How do you feel not giving up has contributed to your success?

Priya – When I was younger I would take things way more seriously than I really needed to. I would think, “Oh, my god, I didn’t do what I
should have.” However, that doesn’t help you because if you think, “I’m probably going to fail,” you probably are going to fail. But if you think, “I’m going to try my best,” then that is all that I can ask of myself or anyone can ask of me. It’s a better mindset to have than if you are thinking “I have to get this.”

Myself – Tell me how starting in music and feel how that has assisted.
Priya – I think it takes a lot of concentration to do music, but it’s a different kind of concentration. So, if you are really bored of studying or going over your notes, and you think, “Ok, I think I’ll go practice for a while,” that is a different kind of concentration. Sometimes with grades, it takes a while to understand how much you’ve gotten from it. But with music, if you keep practicing soon you can easily be able to tell you are getting better. It’s easier to tell that your hard work pays off.
Both laugh.
Myself – How did you start in music?
Priya – In 3rd grade we had a violin, orchestra program at my elementary school. All my friends were going to join that, so I said, “Ok, I’ll try it.”

Myself – Tell me your friends.
Priya – I think that is a big part. All of my friends work hard. I think that is really part of it. If you are around people who don’t work as hard as you, then you don’t feel like continuing to do it. But, if you are like, “Well, everyone else is studying hard, don’t just stop now.” It is sort of a group effort. We all say, “We have so much to do.” We all talk about it together. But we all motivate each other and say, “Ok, we have only a week left. Come on, let’s finish strong.” If they are also high – achieving, you also want to stay at that level. If no one else is studying, you might be more inclined to think, “Well, I’m doing well enough, I’ll just stay this way.” Instead of you keep pushing yourself. Also, it depends on the school you are at. If they keep on pushing you to continue to do work, like, “Oh, you should take this class.” Then it is easier to keep going than for you to take your own effort and try even harder to be like, “No, I want to do this,” and even if no one else is doing it, it is harder than if
everyone else is doing it with you. It’s a group effort and you don’t feel weird.

| Myself – Tell me how your teachers influenced you.  
Priya – I think they all teach really well. I have never been extremely bored in any class. Also, they themselves will say, “Hey, do you want to compete in this, or because you know science, join this. Just try it out even if you are not sure about it.” Sometimes I don’t have confidence, but my teachers will push me and say, “No, just go ahead and try,” and that gives me more confidence and it motivates me. |
| TEACHER’S PUSH FOR EFFORT |

| Myself – Tell me how your parents have instilled in you on how you should respect your teachers and your elders.  
Priya – My parents, and our culture in general, really respects elders and teachers. Knowledge is very important and they are the ones teaching you. You should have respect for that and for what they are doing. It’s probably not easy to keep teaching people over and over even if they are not always interested. So, I have always been, like, “You should always respect them because they are the ones who are really helping you.” Right now, they are the main people I see every day and they are the people who really care and take their time to teach. |
| RESPECT FOR TEACHERS IS IMPORTANT |

| Myself – You mentioned it is a part of your culture.  
Priya – There’s a lot of respect. We used to do dance, and when you start, you do a greeting or salutation. First, you do it to your audience and then you do it to your teacher and then you do it to yourself. It’s really important to thank your teacher. What you are doing probably is because they taught you to do it. Most people don’t know how to do things by themselves, they need to be taught and coached by other people. Teachers are very important.  
Myself- Is that an Indian dance?  
Priya – Yes, there are different kinds of dance. In South India, there is this traditional dance. The whole dance is that you have different hand gestures that symbolize different things. There are things to make a story, but with the hand |
| INDIAN CULTURE RESPECTS TEACHERS  
NAMASTE |
gestures and your dance.
Myself – Do you mind showing a way for your teacher? Do you bow?
Priya – At first, you stamp the ground. There is a name for a god of earth. First you do this, and then you (turn around and bow). Then you bow to your audience, your teacher, and then yourself. Then you start.
Myself – That’s beautiful. What is it called?
Priya – This is called “namascal” because you have to do it before you start practicing or the dance. You also have to do it at the end. This is sort of like the beginning and closing.
Myself – Is that similar to saying “Namaste?”
Priya – I guess it’s also a greeting. Yes, they do this (bow with hands together) a lot for different things. “Namascal” and “Namaste” have the same meaning.
Myself – I read that Namaste means that “I see the god in you.” Is that correct, or is it a form of respect?
Priya – Yes, it’s a form of respect. They call it different things around India. There are different languages so they call it different things. It is a greeting but also a respectful expression.

Myself – So, do you speak another language as well?
Priya – Not really. I can understand it but I can’t really speak. My dad speaks Tamil and my mom speaks Malalyam, a similar language. I know both of them.
Myself - If you went to India, do you think you would be able to speak?
Priya – I don’t think so. But, a lot of people speak and understand English, so it’s not that bad. But, I don’t think I would manage very well.
Myself – Have you been to India?
Priya – Yes, we went last – last summer to visit all of our relatives.
Myself – Was that your first time to go back?
Priya – We went one time before when we were young. I think we were nine (9) or eight (8). My dad’s parents have come.
Myself – Are you able to speak with them?
Priya – in English.
Myself – They know English?
Priya – Yes; that’s helpful.
Myself – Is there a religion you follow?

Journal of East-West Thought
**Journal of East-West Thought**

| Priya – We follow Hinduism. The dance is based on the religion.  
Mysel **f** – Can you tell me how you practice Hinduism at home?  
Priya – We used to have a cabinet with pictures. There are lot of songs that go with the gods. So, we sing the songs and light the lamp and bow. They also have different festivals that we attend.  
Mysel **f** – Is there a group of friends that also follow Hinduism?  
Priya – Yes, there are two temples – one on Burbank, and one near Target. We have Sunday school and, depending on your age you do different activities. In high school we discuss the Gita, which is one of the main Books.  
Mysel **f** – And, do some of your friends have similar passions as well as being high – achieving? Do you have the same values?  
Priya - I guess. Some of my friends are also Hindu with the same mindset. I have some other friends who are not Hindu with the same mindset. I guess it is not religion but valuing hard work. |
| Myself – If you didn’t work so hard, how do you think that reflect on yourself and your family.  
Priya – I don’t think anything terrible would happen. But, I wouldn’t be doing everything that I could be doing. If I didn’t work so hard, I wouldn’t take so much pride in it. There is something where you say, “I know I really worked hard on this, and I am happy it turned out well.” But, if you didn’t really work, and went thought life, then there isn’t the same satisfaction doing as if you worked really hard. If you work really hard then you have the satisfaction of, “Well, I guess it paid off.” |
| Myself – Do you ever think, “How do I get my drive?” If someone were to ask you, “I don’t maybe have so much drive,” how could you help them? You seem to have a lot of drive.  
Priya – Thank you. Sometimes I think, “Why am I doing this?” You look at other people and you think it would be a logical path. You ask people, “What are you taking next year?” and they say that they are taking all regular classes (neither honors nor AP classes). I think, “Why are you taking regular classes when you are perfect at |

**PRIDE IN WORKING HARD.**

**EFFORT**

**PARENT’S REMINDER FOR HOMEWORK**

**TEACHERS’ SUPPORT**
They say, “Well, it’s took much work.” There are a lot of people who do not prepare as much. However, I think they would be as smart or smarter than me. I have to do so much preparation, and I am used to that. They don’t do as much but when they try they do well. So, if they tried harder they would be so much better. I would say, “Remember, you didn’t do anything but you got straight A’s; why wouldn’t you try?” I guess people are smart but they are just lazy. They don’t want to do their homework. Well, if you just did that you could go way further. You already have it in you, so just do it. I guess my parents as well. If I am not studying, they will say, “Remember you need to do your homework.” I will say I don’t want to do it but they push me to do things because otherwise it won’t reflect well. I think that is helpful as well because if you don’t have someone to help you, then it is really easy to get distracted. If you have someone saying, “No, you can do it and you need to stop playing around,” then you can do it. There are some teachers who help with that. They will say, “Why did you get a B? What are you doing? It’s not that you don’t know how to do it you just aren’t putting the effort into doing it.” One of my friends almost got a B and her teacher said, “Why do you have that B? If you need some help, let me know.” She actually didn’t end up getting the B, it was just a mistake before the grades were put in. The teachers are really helpful. They are not trying to penalize you, they are just concerned. They think if you didn’t get a good grade, they ask, “Are you OK?”

Myself – So, even if you had your parents, teachers, and your sister pushing you, how do you think you have achieved so much, even if they have helped you? Still, mentally you are prepared because you passed an IQ test. So, do you acknowledge your hard work more than your intellect?

Priya – Yes, I do. I don’t think I am particularly good at math. Some people are really good at analyzing math. But, because since I was little I have been doing that, I am better. Some people in middle school “do enough” to get A’s. Then the get into high school and they want to do really well. They think we are really smart, but No, it’s
because we have been doing it forever. It is not a new thing for me to work hard. I have always done a lot of homework. Then it is not that different than people who generally did not have to do anything or were never forced to write a lot. They think the class is hard. But, other people you see that are doing well have just been doing it forever, so that is why they are good. I am pretty high level in math, but that is because I have been doing it for a long time. It’s not because I was 2 years old and I already know all of it. Some people who are really good at math, but for them it comes naturally. But for other people it doesn’t come naturally to them. Then they think they are not good and other people who are doing well it is natural for them. But it’s not that it is just natural for them. It is because they know they have to work harder. They really want to get it and they try hard for it. I have a friend who is amazing at math but she said she has practiced since she was little. She does have a good talent for it, but because she has always practiced then by now it is almost fun. Like, if you do well in it, then you want to do it. I like science because I think I am good in science. But maybe English or Social Studies that I can’t do as well because it is not my favorite subject. I think hard work is important because it can make you equal to someone who is just relying on intellect or talent.

Myself – Do you think there is a misconception with intellect and hard work? (stopped)

Priya – Yes, people who always take lower (less hard) classes, they might be thought of as not smart. But, even for standardized tests, if you get a high score, people think you are smart. But, not really. Standardized tests are how much you prepare, how much you practice, how much you know. You say, “I know they’re going to ask this sort of question, I should study this sort of stuff.” But if you don’t put any effort into it and you just go in there, you will think, “Well, that person is better at this.” No, that person just spent more time practicing. When I first took it, I didn’t practice. The second time I took, I still didn’t practice enough. After that I thought, “No, I should actually practice the test questions.” Also, your mindset is important. Some people
underestimate others because they don’t get good grades or they are not involved in things. But that is because their friends are not into it or their parents don’t force them. I think it is natural. If none of my friends didn’t care, I am not the person that would say, “I will personally go study by myself for hours.” That is not the kind of person I am. If you are in a class where they give you enough of homework that forces you to study, then you’ll do better than someone who takes a lower grade class and has lower expectations. I think it definitely is a misconception. They could be as smart or smarter with the little bit of effort they are putting in. I don’t like when people think of those that get good grades and they say, “Well you are doing it effortlessly.” Then the people who don’t work as hard just don’t have the intellect to understand. This is like the exact opposite. The people who are doing well are doing well because they are working hard. The other people aren’t doing well because they are not working hard.

ParvathyS

Par: It is easy for Priya and myself to do well because we have each other.

All the other schools have helped us advance. We have been able to do so well because our schools have helped support us. Also, our friends are also high – achieving and it is a group effort. We all work hard and help each other out.

Do you think it would be different if only you would want to do well?

I think I would be OK, but it is more fun. Ok, let’s do this assignment together. I could probably achieve it, but it is more fun to do it with someone else. It helps me to keep going.

Can you tell me about the values?

My parents have always said, “Try your best and work hard.” In class I have always tried to do my best, listen to the teacher, and get things in on time. I really listen to the teacher, do my homework correctly. My parents have really encouraged me to work hard.

Do you see students who don’t pay attention in class?

I think people are not confident enough. People say, “Oh, you and your sister are smart.” It’s not that we are smart,
but I pay attention because I know I can’t learn it by myself. I think if you paid attention a really long time, listened to the teacher, and have a good attitude about learning, then it helps you. If you say, “I’m not good in math, or remembering dates.” But, I’m not good, but I really listen in class.

Do you remember an age when you started working hard?
Not much homework in kindergarten. In first grade, a lot of other people were smart and the teacher gave us a lot of homework. I really started working hard then.

You talked about your friends.
We all thought physics was hard, but we would text each other to help each other out. I like studying with Priya because we are really focused. If I study with my friends, we might get distracted. But, we do quiz each other.

Routine with Priya
We come home, have a snack, and spread out our books. We say, “let’s work on Chemistry.” We ask, “Did you get the same answer?” When it’s test time we get out our books and read it out loud. That helps because you can listen to them. We help each other by saying, “Don’t forget to remember this.”

Have you had similar grades?
Mostly, yes. We both usually do well. We discuss it together and we say, “Oh, that’s a good way to remember it.” Because we are twins, our ability is the same.

Is there something annoying people ask you about being twins?
People will talk about us being twins but not asking us. We are not telepathic. We did play a game where we answered the same questions.

What city were you born in India?
Travantha, in the state of Caro. It’s the same city my mom was born. We have been to India twice. We go to my mom’s and my dad’s place. We have cousins our age. My cousins speak English and we have fun. It’s nice to be around family.

You mentioned the schooling of your cousins. How did you notice things that are different?
For each college you have an entrance exam. You have to write that exam. Yes, that is pretty tough because they don’t consider anything else. 10th grade you take the exam and decide what you want to do. My parents went through it. My cousin is learning English, and we’re learning French. It’s interesting to see what is different and what is the same.
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<td>Do you want to make your parents proud?</td>
<td>Yes, I know that they studied well when they were young. They haven’t pressured us, but I know they would want us to do well. They are really supportive, so the least I can do is do well. It’s nice to make your parents feel proud.</td>
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<td>Tell me how you value respecting your teachers and elders.</td>
<td>I think it’s really important because, if you think about it, all the things you have been taught is from your teachers. If you think about it, they have put in a lot of hard work to teach you their subject. The way to respect them is to be polite and show them that you care. You do your homework. They put in a lot of effort. A lot of students, including me, think, “this is a lot of homework.” But they are doing that to help you. So, I think it’s important to respect your elders, and especially respect your teachers. They are working for you. A lot of them, at Baton Rouge High, they are really supportive. If they know you are interested in something, they recommend things. For example, they say, “Did you know you can do this math competition?” I think that is really good effort on their part. It’s really important to respect them and be glad you have teachers like that.</td>
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<td>What would you say if a student says that they don’t respect their teachers?</td>
<td>I think you should really evaluate how much your teacher has influenced you. Also, even if you don’t like their teaching style. Think if you were in their shoes. If you had to teach students who don’t want to learn things, so think about it from their perspective and how much work they put into it. Maybe you think some people would rather a different teaching style, but at least look at the effort. You should at least show some respect for what they are doing for you.</td>
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<td>Do you think that kind of value is something you have always had?</td>
<td>Yes, my parents have always said you need to respect teachers. It is also a part of our culture to really respect your elders. It’s very important. I think it has been ingrained since I was very young to respect your teachers and elders. Especially if they are helping you or teaching you something. That is something you will need and they are helping you.</td>
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<td>When you say it is a part of your culture?</td>
<td>Indian culture it’s important to respect your elders. Even in the language, when you are talking to someone older than you, that is the respectful part. Even, with our dances, we do this thing where we thank the audience,</td>
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our teacher, and god. Especially for dance, your teacher is teaching you this dance, but it applies to other subjects. Knowledge is important and their work is important to get to where you need to be.

Have you ever met someone who has similar values but doesn’t work as hard as you? I can’t think of anyone. There are people who respect their teachers and who are polite. However, you do have to have that drive, “I can do well.” Have confidence. “I might not be a genius at this, but at least I can try.” That goes with respecting your teachers. It also goes with believing in yourself. I think that is important. Some people think, “I’m good at this, but not at that.” They respect their teachers, but they don’t think they are good at it. But at least try. Priya and I also agree that, we might not be the best at the subject, but we can at least put in effort. Get good grades. That helps you no matter what you end up doing. I think it is a lot of self-motivation and self-confidence.

And, you think you have the confidence before you start. Yes, I don’t think I am super great, but I also think that if I want to, and really try hard. I also acknowledge when I’m not good at something. For Social Studies, I am not good at remembering dates. In class, I tell myself, “You know you’re not good at this, so you have to really work hard.” You are confident that you need to deal with it. For standardized test, if you think, “I’m not going to do well,” you probably are not. But, I’m going to try my best. Even if I am not good at this, you have the right attitude. If you have a bad attitude, it won’t work out for you. Attitude is very important. If you have a good attitude and think, “I can do this,” then it will go much better. At least I am going to really try. I think having a little bit of confidence is important before you start something so you don’t get bogged down. The attitude is very important.

You mentioned being aware. You’re not lying to yourself. Right, if you know you’re not good at something, it doesn’t help to say, “Oh, I’m great at this.” You should understand you are not great at something. But, that doesn’t mean I can’t become good at this. It doesn’t work if you say, “I’m great at all these subjects.” It’s being aware that you need to study. People say, “Why are you worrying, you already have a good grade in this class?” Well, first of all, I don’t know if I’ll keep that good grade. Also, if I don’t prepare for this test, I might not be prepared for the next test or I might not understand what the teacher is saying. Being aware that

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<td>AWARE THAT YOU NEED TO STUDY</td>
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you need to study is really important. This is instead of thinking, “Oh, I don’t need to study, I have an A, I’ll blow this off.” It’s important to be aware of your abilities but don’t become discouraged if you think you can’t do it. Don’t give up on something. If you think you don’t need to do this, chances are you need to do this.

Tell me how you prepared for the standardized tests. Usually, in the beginning I’ve taken a couple of times. Me and Priya prepare by getting sample questions. You might know it but it’s the way they ask it. In English, it’s not a question. It’s like, “which is the better option” All these might be beautiful answers. Sometimes they might want the most concise. Just do many practice tests. Then you are ready for the time constraints.

You took the first one in 8th grade, right? Did you take practice tests beforehand? I didn’t do that many because I thought I had time. I wanted to see how well we did. I prepared better in my 9th grade year. Something that helps me, is that in the math portion, we already finished our high school math in the 8th grade. In 9th grade I had to prepare more because I had to remember previous years.

Have you taken the SAT as well? Yes, but I will take it at least one time more to improve my score. Have you seen differences between the ACT and the SAT? I prefer the SAT. It might be that I am more accustomed to standardized testing. I am good at science, but the ACT section of Science throws me. It might also be my frame of mind. They say it’s important to be well rested. It’s easy to get distracted. If you are well rested and not sleepy, and not spend too much time on a question. I think I was in a good frame of mind. For the ACT, even though I didn’t get a perfect score, I think I was in the right frame of mind. It’s important to be in the right state of mind to answer questions really fast and not get distracted. These students on this side are done, and I think, “Am I really this late?” Somehow, block this all out. Especially standardized tests because it was timed.

Did you go to Princeton Review? No, we just used Books. SAT we used College Board and ACT we used Barrons. They have good tips, like eat a snack. I didn’t think that was important, but it is. Not thinking about the previous section. This is important to walk out of the testing site for a little bit. Focus on the new portion. It’s easy to do if you move away and collect yourself. It helps your nerves. Don’t dwell and take a breather and come back.

You seem very focused.

**Journal of East-West Thought**
I try to be because on standardized tests, I always have to sneeze or cough. I had to cough for 5 minutes but I have to focus. I try to stop myself, but this time, think about doing the problem and forget the cough. I was working while coughing. Instead of thinking about the cough, which makes you cough even more, I thought only about the question. It’s important to be focused. Don’t lose concentration. I always have to cough, so I try to be as focused as possible.

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<th>SELF AWARENESS</th>
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<td>You handled that very well. I was very happy that I handled that.</td>
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<td>HUMBLE ABOUT “33” ON THE ACT.</td>
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Go a “33.” That’s great.
I guess. I think maybe I can improve my score. I am going to try and get a better score like a 36 or a 35. That’s great.

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<th>Parents</th>
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<td>Can you tell me about how you’ve instilled these values of respect in your daughters? I think from the beginning, we wanted to be a role model for them. They are small, they don’t know a lot of things. We always to respect elders because that is how we learned. Every time a professor speaks, you stay where you are and if you get out of your seat, we ask, “Why are you getting up?” That is how we learned. You have to respect elders. If you are sitting somewhere, you have to give them the seat. You have to get up from the seat. Those kinds of things we told them from the very beginning. Respect the teacher, because without the teacher, you won’t be anywhere. I think they got it. I think like it. Sometimes the teacher will ask them to write an essay, “How do you feel growing up in American being India?” Two different families. They handled it very well. They said they are like tea. The milk is one part of culture, and the tea is the other part. They are a mixture. I enjoy that.</td>
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They had mentioned the dance. This is called, “namaste.” Namashal” is northern Indian. That’s if you see an elder person.

| RESPECT FOR TEACHERS LEARNED AT A YOUNG AGE. |
| INERGENERATIONAL |

Do you find Americans have a different level of respect? I think, in my language, the way we talk to kids is different than elders. (husband) In my language, it is the same as English. (mom) Right away, I need to be aware to say the certain thing. But in America, you don’t have things to show respect but they are nice and give respect. Science fair, I have judged that the kids are polite. It doesn’t come like that, it is their family to teach them.
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<th>Question</th>
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<td>Do you think you have instilled a work ethic?</td>
<td>I think it is also that they are together. They want to finish together. They can help each other. (dad) When they were young, I would check all their homework. In Mumbai, I would teach them. I teach them and make sure they finish it. In science fair, we help them. During middle school we would still help but little less. No, we don’t help (in high school); they are doing it all themselves. It is important. Now, they are doing it by themselves but we can see they are doing it the way we taught them. In math, he used to help. Now I teach them how to cook. They need to learn how to be self-sufficient. During the summer they do house chores and cook. During school, they do nothing. (no responsibilities). We don’t own a television. No TV, nothing. We do our work so they can study. They don’t like tv. In the holidays, we’ll say, let’s watch a movie (maybe from Mumbai). They don’t like it, and they go and read. From the beginning, from 4 or 5 years, they would read, read, read. They would get up in the morning and start reading. If they do something wrong, then they cannot read for one week. There is no way we can stop them from reading. Story Books... 3rd grade during Gustav, they finished reading Harry Potter Books. And then they have AR tests. They used to read a lot of Books and get a lot of points. No, we don’t help (in high school); they are doing it all themselves. It is important. Now, they are doing it by themselves but we can see they are doing it the way we taught them. In math, he used to help. Now I teach them how to cook. They need to learn how to be self-sufficient. During the summer they do house chores and cook. During school, they do nothing. (no responsibilities). We don’t own a television. No TV, nothing. We do our work so they can study. They don’t like tv. In the holidays, we’ll say, let’s watch a movie (maybe from Mumbai). They don’t like it, and they go and read. From the beginning, from 4 or 5 years, they would read, read, read. They would get up in the morning and start reading. If they do something wrong, then they cannot read for one week. There is no way we can stop them from reading. Story Books... 3rd grade during Gustav, they finished reading Harry Potter Books. And then they have AR tests. They used to read a lot of Books and get a lot of points. Now there is no time to read. (mom) Take phone away because there were too many distractions.</td>
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<td>Tell me they started learning how to read. You said, from 4 years old, right?</td>
<td>Initially, we used to read to them. I make my own stories. The school teachers are very important. The gifted program helped them. We need to find a good program for the students. They were on Face Book, and I would ask if they did their work. At the end of the day, they asked, “Can you take our phones away from us?” I would ask them if they completed their homework and they would do it right away. There needs to be some sort of pushing also. A little bit. If I don’t ask them, how can we expect them to study? It’s a small push and they would want to do it. Even if... Calm house for studying.</td>
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<td>Can you tell me how you established a mood for studying?</td>
<td>We helped them. We know they didn’t like tv, but they used to like it. We knew that they needed silence. If we talk too much, they said, “why don’t you go over there, we are concentrating.” We understood that they need to concentrate. We used to have tv on at my house and I need to study. I think they need the... Calm house for studying.</td>
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calmness. They will be studying here (at the table) and I will be cooking. Otherwise they will get distracted. They know everything we know. We talk in front of them and don’t hide. They are like friends to us. They want to learn everything but we tell them. It’s distracting because they want to know everything.

Did you ever feel you need to force or bribe them? They don’t like it if we bribe them. We never give them any money. They don’t have any money.

So, they learned inner motivation. Yes, they like to get good marks. I think that school and friends is important. They want to be challenged. Staying on task and finishing assignments. They want to feel good. You will feel good if the teacher asks you something and you know it. They know the math because in the summer we would finish the next year’s math book. We went to Sam’s Club and bought these Books. We helped them and then when they go to school and feel good. Parents should help their children.

Every summer, one week before we would cover the next school year. English, math, everything. We bought a lot of books. I make them do the math. They will do it. We have to say that. Then when they go to school, they feel very good. We need to support them and give them to access and get more knowledge. If you study well it doesn’t matter what you do, you will have success. We need to direct them. They don’t know about the world. Some parents say, “Let them do what they want.” Maybe I am selfish, but I think we need to direct them into it the right way. My friends all spoke well about the gifted program. Some things we don’t know and we need to talk to parents. We need to have friends’ parents. I got a lot of points from other parents. We came to know about the ACT, SAT from them. When should we “write the test.” That is very important. You should make friends. We have to be responsible.

Tell me about how you found out you were going to have twins. At that time, they said there was only one baby. It is kind of shocking. We weren’t expecting that, and now we know it is so good. They are a joy to our life. They are very close to each other.

I teach a set of twins where one twin failed a grade and one had to keep going. From the beginning, I made my mind that they were both equal. I am going to make one like the other one.
When Parvathy was born, she was small and she was not drinking milk. But, she was smart. Whatever the case, both of them are the same. I think I thought that both of them know everything. You should think that – they are both good. We thought, when we went to gifted testing, either both should get it or both should not get it. The teacher said that, Par finished the math so quickly! They are both good and doing the same. You should not say, “This one is good, that one is not.” No, parents should say, “You are both capable and good students.” Let of parents think, “Let them go in their own way.” But, think of their future. Take an effort. You can do it. Work hard, and then they don’t have a fear: Just study and do your work. You have to do what you have to do. I always made them do the math. Whether you get it or not, you do your best. Maybe there are other students who are really smart, but that doesn’t mean you shouldn’t participate. That way, there is no stress. I never say something if they get a bad grade. I know some parents who get made if their child doesn’t get a certain grade. There is no point in that. I always say, “Did you study?”

Tell me about how your parents influenced your way of parenting. Is it similar? No, it’s different. My mom is a teacher. You have to pass the exam. I never studied, but I think I got either 3 or 4 rank in the class. But, my parents never pushed me, it just happened. I tell my mom, “You should’ve pushed me.” I wanted to become a doctor. I was confused, I didn’t know where to go. After high school we can go to engineering. All of my friends went into medicine after high school. My parents didn’t think about that. In India, pass is fine. During the exam time, there is only one test. There are no assignments. You have to study only for the final exam, so then we only study one time. My mom would take leave to make us study. But, she doesn’t have any expectations. I feel she should have forced us. I felt really bad when my friends went to medical school. After that, I really studied and working on my own because I knew I needed to be somewhere.