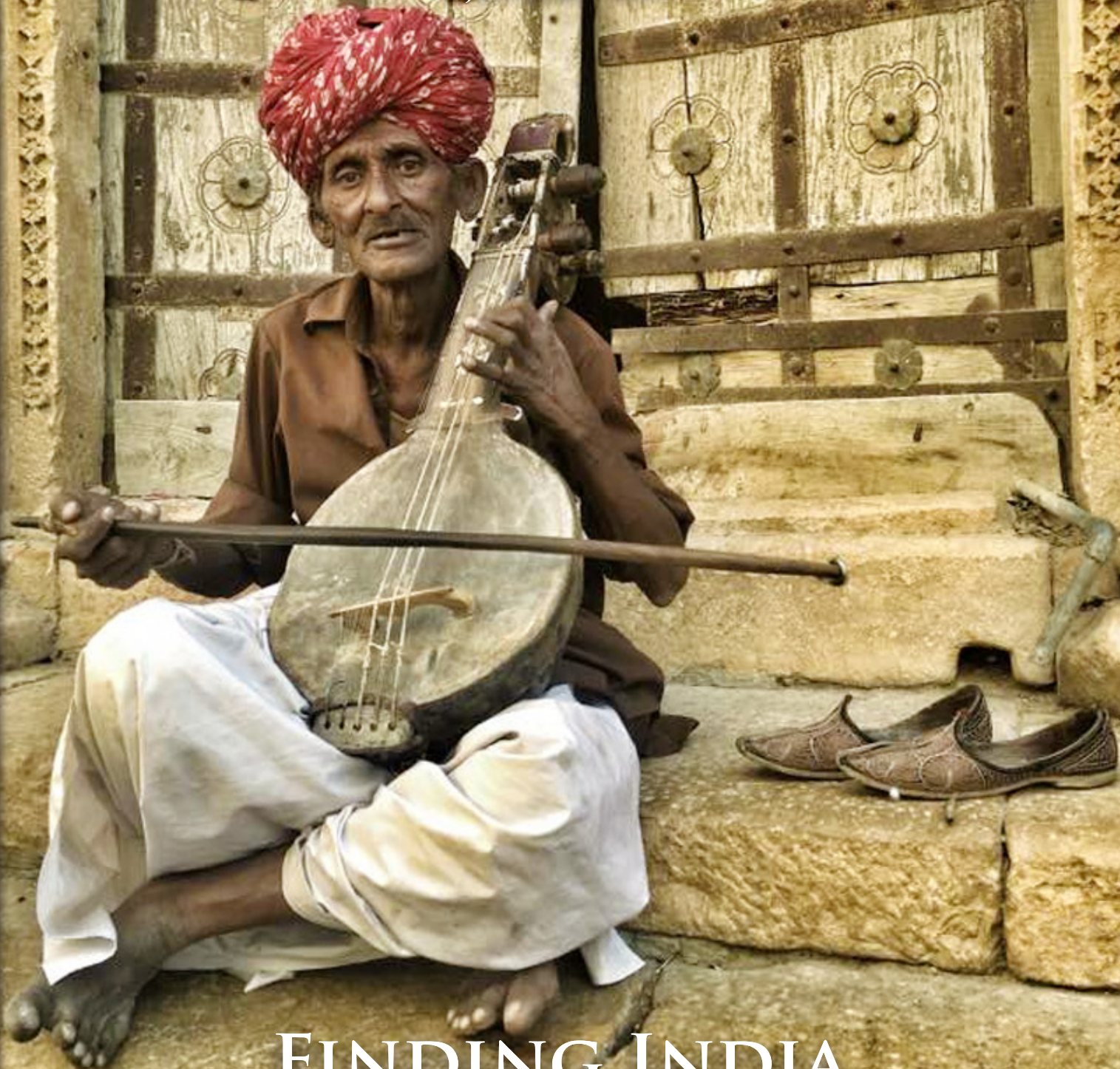


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# Live encounters

FREE ONLINE MAGAZINE FROM VILLAGE EARTH  
JANUARY 2018



FINDING INDIA  
MARK ULYSEAS

Cover photograph by Jill Gocher



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Om Shanti Shanti Shanti Om  
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## CONTRIBUTORS

MARK ULYSEAS

*Finding India*

LUCIANA FERRERO

*Queens of the Desert*

DR AJAY GUDAVARTHY

*Social Ethics of Revolutionary Praxis*

JILL GOCHER

*Iconic India*

DR K. SUNEETHA RANI

*Influence of English on Indian Women Writers*

DR BHEEMAIAH KRISHNAN RAVI

*Understanding media role in electoral democracy*

DR GRETA SYKES

*Nation, language, culture - play things of the elites?*

EMANUEL CASTRO

*Gone - When Maria struck the commonwealth of Puerto Rico*

MIKYOUNG CHA

*Ebb and Flow*

OZLEM WARREN

*Patatesli Gozleme*





Ulyseas has served time in advertising as copywriter and creative director selling people things they didn't need, a ghost writer for some years, columnist of a newspaper, a freelance journalist and photographer. In 2009 he created Live Encounters Magazine, in Bali, Indonesia. It is a not for profit (adfree) free online magazine featuring leading academics, writers, poets, activists of all hues etc. from around the world. March 2016 saw the launch of its sister publication Live Encounters Poetry, which was relaunched as Live Encounters Poetry & Writing in March 2017. He has edited, designed and produced all of Live Encounters' 116 publications till date (2010-2017). Mark's philosophy is that knowledge must be free and shared freely (without charge) to empower all towards enlightenment. He is the author of three books: *RAINY – My friend & Philosopher*, *Seductive Avatars of Maya – Anthology of Dystopian Lives* and *In Gethsemane: Transcripts of a Journey*. [www.amazon.com](http://www.amazon.com)

## FINDING INDIA

What is India?

Is it a make shift arrangement cobbled together by politicians blind-sided by a reality that defies logic?

History of India written by colonials will tell you one story.

History of India written by Indians will tell you many stories.

And so on.

Whom are we to believe as each story is written to serve the purpose of the writers, both historical, political and religious?

In the dawn of yet another year certain people in this great land are to trying to reinvent the purpose of its (India) very existence and the many faiths by which its people live by, by enforcing a warped idea that one faith fits all.<sup>1</sup>

The colour saffron, which is a symbol of sacrifice... renunciation of the material world, is being transformed into one of mass identity covering all, even those that do not conform to its new implied and crudely imposed meaning.<sup>2</sup>

The many layers of society, formed like sedimentary rock over the ages, are cracking, crumbling into dust and this dust is being transformed into an image that does not represent the ancient vibrant ethos of the land.







Fresh idlis. Pic © Mark Ulyseas

Is India losing its ancient identity<sup>3</sup> and morphing into a hybrid that is fast and furious, where prophets are now profits, where the WORD has become synonymous with untruth, and where the elite rule by birth right?<sup>4</sup>

The burgeoning masses of the great unwashed watch expectantly at the glam and glitter whilst waiting for a handout as they rest on their haunches relieving themselves in full view of passers-by.<sup>5</sup>

Why is it that sanity of equality continues to evade even those that pretend to speak for the country?<sup>6</sup>

Tribals<sup>7</sup> and other rural folk continue to live on the periphery of society as they witness their homelands encroached upon by others. Many find them (tribals) a nuisance and have suggested ways and means of corralling them, educating them to 'fit in' to a *modern* society.<sup>8</sup>

As for the untouchables,<sup>9</sup> millions continue to be untouchable. But jobs are reserved for them.<sup>10</sup>

Is this why the *red corridor* remains and continues to bleed?<sup>11</sup>

The false notion of a *national* identity appears to be manufactured in order to deliberately create a mind-set of *us and them*, with the implied rider 'if you are not with us, you are against the nation'.<sup>12</sup>

What is the *national* identity? And is there one?

Is it the symbol of a faith?

Is it a language?

Is it a form of attire?

Or, is it a spiritual sense of oneness, of belonging to a land embedded with the wisdom of the ancients where Man, Woman<sup>13</sup> and Nature have equal rights?

And is the wisdom of the ancients being deliberately misinterpreted to mean gender bias and the rights of Man over Nature?<sup>14</sup>



Tribal India. Pic © Randhir Khare

Multiplicities abound in an India that is being forced to exist in a singularity – under one label.

Why is this so?

In recent times much has been written about the ruminating bovine, its rights and its privileges. Many have been cut down mercilessly for causing alleged grief to this bovine. It matters little if the perpetrators have been prosecuted or not, what matters is that the perceived sanctity of the bovine is protected.<sup>15</sup>

After 70 years existing as *India* is this what it comes to... whilst hundreds of millions continue to live below the poverty line<sup>16</sup> ... and people continue to donate, every year, millions of dollars' worth of currency and precious metals/ornaments to tax free religious places, which are often controlled by government?<sup>17</sup>

Where has the wisdom gone - The wisdom of the ancients that spoke of an undivided oneness of belonging, of acknowledgement of Truth as a way of living?<sup>18</sup>

Perhaps India was never *one* country?<sup>19</sup>

But it *is* a multi-faceted civilisation.<sup>20</sup>

And for a civilisation to exist and prosper it must permit the plurality in its society to inhale and exhale the rejuvenating air of freedom of thought and to an extent, action. To stifle the breath of plurality is to slowly extinguish the wisdom of the ancients that resides in this plurality.<sup>21</sup> And if this happens then *this* civilisation will begin to transform into something ominous.<sup>22</sup>

Has this begun?<sup>23 24 25 26</sup>

Or has this civilisation, India, not digressed so far...and there is hope?<sup>27 28</sup>

Perhaps only time will tell.

Om Shanti Shanti Shanti Om





Langur in Hampi. Pic © Mark Ulyseas



Free food at ashram. Pic © Mark Ulyseas

## End Notes

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From Italy. Lived in Indonesia for 38 years, worked as a translator/ interpreter. Started interest in photography in the 70s when working for a photographer in Barcelona. Left this passion for many years as I lived in various jungle areas of Indonesia and resumed photography when digital cameras appeared. Moved to Bali and concentrated on photographing the traditions of a “disappearing Bali”. Another project I have concerns the Sikerei group of the Mentawai islands and document their daily life in the long houses.



## QUEENS OF THE DESERT

PHOTOGRAPHS BY  
LUCIANA FERRERO

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When I am asked what is my most lasting impression of India, I have no hesitation in replying: the women of the desert. Swathed in colourful veils, laden with bangles and adorned with beautiful jewels they greet you into their home with a smile, tend their animals or their children, fetch water or cook in a dark kitchen, and no matter how humble the chore, somehow they always look regal.... real desert queens.



Reflection in the kitchen fire.





Cooking chapati by the light of the kitchen fire.



Anybody for chapati.







In a Gujarat desert kitchen.



Washing up.







Milking the cow so we can have fresh milk in our chai.





Tending the cattle. A woman's work is never done.







One such strategy of the Maoist is that of Kidnap. Maoist movement in India abducted bureaucrats, powerful political leaders and public representatives as symbolic protest against their `anti-people` policies. In almost all of these the Maoists released the hostages without harming or killing them. The point was to highlight issues that were neglected by the state and the media.

The contest between *Revolutionary Violence and democracy* is an open-ended one with both raising pertinent issues that need to be mutually addressed, recasting them beyond a simple binary opposition constituted as one versus the other, notwithstanding the ongoing contestation that awaits not a closure but an inauguration of a new imagination of politics itself.

politics has abdicated long back and looks at it at best as utopian and at worst as infantile adventurism, reminding us of the Gramscian dictum `pessimism of the intellect, optimism of the will`. Maoist politics in this sense represents the revolutionary optimism of new possibilities, and as Gramsci would remind us the uncertainty of politics ought to be comprehended in the context of new possibilities without slipping into cynicism.

Maoist politics highlights `structural violence` in its use of direct physical violence. Hidden and routinised violence of the State and Capital provide the political and moral justification for direct violence and the agenda of the violent overthrow of the State. While this may be true does it not constrain itself into a paradigmatic imagination of the revolution ushered by French Revolution? Can there be no alternative way of imagining revolutions other than through forceful overthrow of the State? Did not Marx and Engels also see the possibility of a peaceful transition to Socialism in societies that has democracies in place of authoritarian rule? What then can be the new equation between revolutions and democracies? One of the contributions in the volume argues that `no revolution so far has confirmed to basic Marxist scheme and is in sight of happening in future. Capitalism has creatively reconfigured itself and is flexible enough to do it because it does not care for ideological fidelity as the revolutionaries do. It is a paradox of the kind that the behavior of bourgeoisie reflects dialectical materialism while that of proletarian revolutionaries, mechanical idealism`. Does `mechanical idealism` signify commitment and sacrifice in the everyday functioning of the Maoist politics?

Maoist politics working within the contours of popular democracies have invented newer strategies of insurrection. It is not merely about overthrow of the state but the process of building revolutionary consciousness. One such strategy of the Maoist is that of Kidnap. Maoist movement in India abducted bureaucrats, powerful political leaders and public representatives as symbolic protest against their `anti-people` policies. In almost all of these the Maoists released the hostages without harming or killing them. The point was to highlight issues that were neglected by the state and the media. This they believed was one way of wedging open the corridors of power that were otherwise shut to the most deprived of social groups. In many a context of such kidnaps the Maoist movement and the issues they nurtured were thrown into the front pages and prime time of the electronic media. Maoists furthered demonstrated that State was unwilling to respond to these issues in spite of violent reaction, reflecting the indifferent attitude of state officials.

However, the moot question that remains to be answered is whether the human costs of the revolution justify the end benefits it promises to usher in? Even if there is a political justification of violence can we offer a moral justification given the human costs involved, including the uncertainty of a revolution succeeding in today's context of militarily and technologically powerful States. Similarly, it is also important to understand if the Maoists have a single one-size-fits-all kind of insurrection given the regional variations, including in culture and in political economy in a large country like India. Is there then a need for a post-Maoist strategy signifying variations that include experiments to forge alliance with other non-class, non-militant political mobilizations; contest elections and democratize available institutions of representation? Similar is the need to highlight both the danger of militarization of a political movement and the need to moderate violence and remain open to public criticism. Maoist movement has time and again demonstrated the potential to go astray with their killings, including killing more of their own social base in whose name they mobilize as against the `enemy class`. There is something in the sociology of armed movements that makes violence and weapons to control politics and ideologies.

Finally, there are a large number of issues that the current volume - *'Revolutionary Violence versus Democracy: Narratives from India (Sage, India, 2017)*- attempts to problematize with regard to the question of subaltern agency. Can we equate the Party with the People? What type of agency does the subaltern who is not directly part of the armed movement wield in the contexts of armed movements? Can this kind of agency be referred to as `non-sovereign agency`, as against a simple-minded idea of a `sandwich theory`, where the subaltern is understood to be unwittingly caught between the State and the revolution? Similarly, it's important to ask of even those who are part of militant movement if they are part because of the high idealism that the movement espouses or due to practical and immediate imperatives and contingencies that they find themselves in. If it is the later how will it manifest itself in the workings of the Maoist politics?

The contest between *Revolutionary Violence and democracy* is an open-ended one with both raising pertinent issues that need to be mutually addressed, recasting them beyond a simple binary opposition constituted as one versus the other, notwithstanding the ongoing contestation that awaits not a closure but an inauguration of a new imagination of politics itself.



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## ICONIC INDIA

PHOTOGRAPHS BY  
JILL GOCHER

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A flash of red, a sweeping sari against a cold stone wall, a bag full of golden flowers, a random face, the red jacket of a railway porter. India is full of icons. Just look through the noise, the crowds, beneath the surface and let the face of India emerge. Let the warmth and humanity take place above the swarms of humanity, or the poverty, let the soul of this great country seep into your heart. These are just some of the random images I made on my recent trip and I hope that through these images you can feel what it is that makes it so special.



These huge pods of fresh flowers are brought into the market each day and sold to make garlands, offerings for puja and more. Wrapped in squares of old sari, they fill a huge area with colour each morning.





Seen through a screen - the mighty fort of Jodhpur attracts thousands of visitors each day. This group of students in their bright pink saris looks so beautiful through the bamboo screen before them.





It's all light and shadows and the play of light with Islamic iconography is particularly appealing, adding a sense of mystery to the most mundane.





The sturdy doors of this ancient fort are softened by the flash of pink as a woman visitor hurries by, her translucent dupatta floating behind her.





Jaipur Junction - this boy stood at the station eager to be photographed and what could I do but oblige!





The Porter - squatting waiting for the next train and his next commission to garner a few more rupees to help him through, this man seems to evoke a hint of timeless India. Life is life and whatever comes must be accepted





Its A Dog's Life - the big dog stood proudly in the warm morning sun having his portrait made with the morning shadows. The little female saw him and came to sit by him, looking only a little embarrassed. Everyone loves to be photographed in India



K. Suneetha Rani is Professor, Centre for Women's Studies, University of Hyderabad. Her areas of interest are Cultural Studies, New Literatures in English, Translation Studies and Dalit Studies. Among her many publications are: *Australian Aboriginal Women's Autobiographies: A Critical Study* (2007); *Dweeparagalu*, an anthology of Sri Lankan women's short fiction translated from English to Telugu (2008); *Flowering from the Soil: Dalit Women's Writing from Telugu* (2012).

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## DR K SUNEETHA RANI, Professor at the Centre for Women's Studies, University of Hyderabad.

# INFLUENCE OF ENGLISH ON INDIAN WOMEN WRITERS

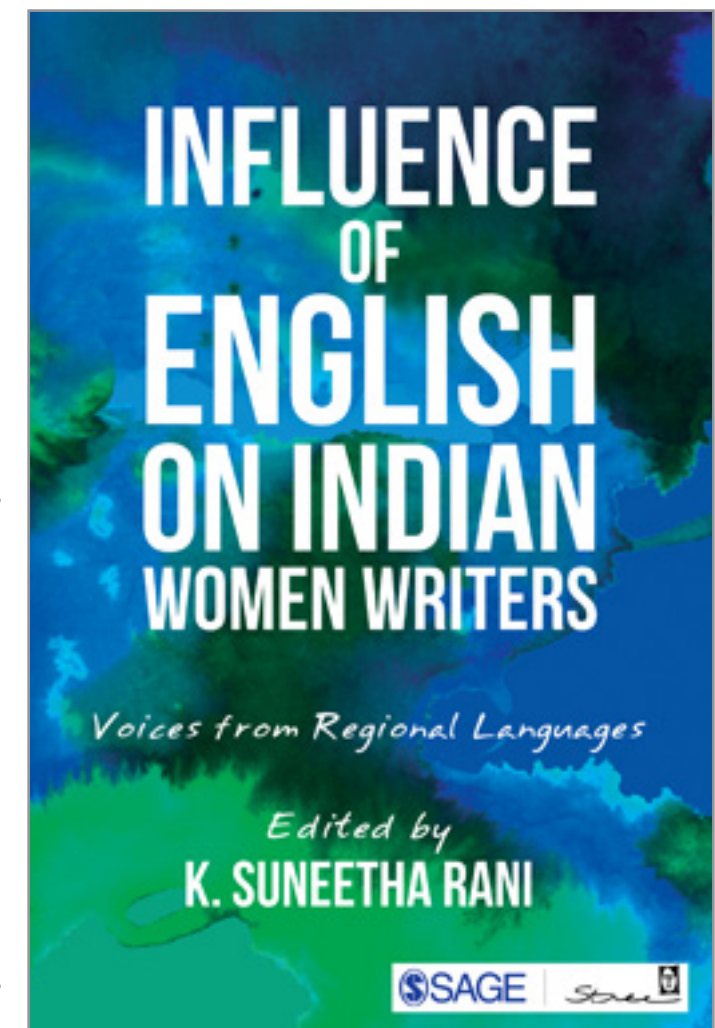
The interface between English and the Indian languages has been a subject of significant debates in Indian languages. The Indian languages have been simultaneously arguing against the hegemony of English as well as that of the "standardized" Indian languages. Both have and continue to restrict and alienate some sections based on the factors such as caste, gender, religion, region, etc. It has been observed that the beginnings of the English discourse in India in the late 19th and 20th centuries were built majorly around the category of gender. While English as a language, legacy, culture, writing, and identity was utilized to mould better family women by reiterating traditional gender stereotypes in the guise of modernity, women looked upon English as a means of understanding, accepting and creating new avenues of learning, liberation, and livelihood. English contributed to the construction of dichotomies but at the same time facilitated the de-construction of given biased dichotomies by women and other marginalised sections of the Indian society. English represented colonial modernity in pre-independence India but, in the post-independence India, it is transformed into a promise of achievement and upward mobility by those who were secluded, deprived and subjugated for ages.

Women have engaged in this debate at multiple levels as it was closely connected to their mobility, geographical as well as cultural. Women's education and women's education in English were major questions in the reform agenda in 19th century India. Women writers dealt with the intricate questions of caste, gender, and religion against the backdrop of the English discourse. The book *Influence of English on Indian Women Writers: Voices from Regional Languages* is a collection of twelve articles that analyse the debates around English as understood and discussed by women writers in Indian languages as well as in English. Regional languages have extensively been becoming vibrant platforms for the discourse of English in close associations with the questions of tradition, modernity, colonialism, nation and particularly gender.

The essays in this volume focus on women's voices in the Indian languages, including English, to analyse the complex associations between gender and language. They closely examine identities and specificities of the writers and the contexts without essentialising the categories of women,

writing, Indian, languages, and English. The parallel movements and contexts that directly and indirectly influenced and worked together on women's issues are also analysed. The essays attempt to unveil the politics behind the homogenizing arguments for saving of languages as marks of the lost, dominant, glorious culture. Some of them discuss how English education was considered a mark of modernity and thus an opponent to tradition and patriotism while some others analyse the conflict that women had to encounter to access English education and to write in English. Most of the essays discuss the English debate as centred around domesticity of women and extend their analysis to the fundamental questions such as writing women and their choice of language especially in the context of identity movements. The essays have chosen specific locations such as ideological, geographical, cultural, linguistic, only to name a few, to speak from and to speak about.

C. Vijayasree's article "Language, Reform, and Nationalism: Indian Women's Writing in the Nineteenth Century" probes the subtexts in women's writing and examines the interventions made by women writers into the dominant discourses of the nineteenth century.





Meera Kosambi's article "Women's Literature and Colonial Modernity: Two Marathi Novelists, Kashibai Kanitkar and Indirabai Sahasrabuddhe" argues that reform in the nineteenth-century in western India was a direct result of English education and was a male project with women presented as passive recipients of benefits of the reform movement. But, there were women whose writings launched a parallel discourse and who took charge of the movement gradually.

Jasbir Jain's article "Between Language and Parole: the Forked Road to Development" touches upon language in the context of education, pedagogy and culture. While it endorses the multiple ways in which language is used, it also states that any language has a divided access to people or that there is a divide among people who access language. This article debates issues ranging from classroom to globalization with a focus on English and emphatically states that language plays a major role in identity politics and nation-building.

It argues that the intersecting sites of English education, the rhetoric of reform and nationalist discourse provided a larger context within which the literary production of Indian women writers took shape in the nineteenth century. Alladi Uma's article "Women and 'Reform'" introduces the woman question regarding reform and nautch question in 19th century focusing on the late 19th century and early 20th century. The author chooses three women writers who wrote in English, Tamil, and Telugu to address the questions of education and reform or education as reform that became the underlying ideology of women's reform. This article discusses education and movement from private to public as modernity and also raises questions about patriarchal modernity. Sanjukta Dasgupta's article "Colonized: The Bengali Woman Writer in British India" focuses on the anxieties of authorship and the career graph of the writers Rokeya Hosain and Swarnakumari Devi among others. It compares the women writers in Britain and in British India in the early 20th century regarding their demand for gender equality and observes that English education was looked upon as de-nationalising for women by some nationalists who said that they were not against women's education but were against colonial education. Somdatta Bhattacharya's article "Rokeya's Dream: Feminist Interventions and Utopias" locates Rokeya Hossain in the larger context of women's education in colonial Bengal and India in the 1900s. Having encountered the conflict between Bengali and Urdu, Hossain found a means and a medium in English to achieve her aim to run her educational institution successfully. This article points out that Hossain's "Sultana's Dream" and Padmarag depict women as agents of change, but also argues that Hossain's choice of utopias to portray the reversal of gender roles and education raises questions about the fulfillment of such hopes.

Meera Kosambi's article "Women's Literature and Colonial Modernity: Two Marathi Novelists, Kashibai Kanitkar and Indirabai Sahasrabuddhe" argues that reform in the nineteenth-century in western India was a direct result of English education and was a male project with women presented as passive recipients of benefits of the reform movement. But, there were women whose writings launched a parallel discourse and who took charge of the movement gradually. While some carried the male, mainstream, Hindu, upper caste agendas forward, some others paved a different way for themselves, questioning the patterns associated with genders, such as caste, class, religion, language, region and political affiliations. Omprakash Kamble's article "Mukta Salve: The early emergence of a protest voice in Mid-nineteenth-century Maharashtra" continues the discussion on the discourse of women and English in Marathi by focusing on Mukta Salve's essay titled "Mang Maharanchya Dukkha Wishayi Nibandh" published in 1855 that discusses the pain and suffering of Dalits. It argues that the English education opened up a space and an opportunity especially for the people of the marginalized sections who embraced English education as a means of emancipation and subversion of hierarchy and discrimination.

Paromita Bose in her article "Writing Self: Writing for Others" takes forward the discussion of reform as visualized and carried out by the women writers in their writings by choosing to discuss personal histories, identity politics and their close connection with women's movements. Jinju's article "Reconfiguring Boundaries: Education, Modernity, and Conjuality in Lalithambika Antharjanam's *Agnisakshi* and Zeenuth Futehally's *Zohra*" shifts the focus of this anthology from late 19th and early 20th centuries to the second part of 20th century choosing two novels from different contexts and regions and languages as its major focus. Similarly, it combines the issues of English education and writing.

Nikhila H, in her article "Securing Pass Marks: Education for Women in the Early Modern Kannada Novel" focuses on the changing meanings of education, especially women's education, and educated women, in the Kannada context during the 20th century. The article chooses four early novels in Kannada to map the changing debates and connotations of education and modernity. Sowmya Dechamma in her article "Women and English Education in Coorg/Kodagu: A Discussion of Alternate Modernities during 1834-1882" discusses how Coorgs/Kodavas as a community volunteered to educate their children, especially daughters. It also debates how modernities are understood and adopted differently by different communities. It would be interesting to juxtapose this situation where a community/a culture/ a nation like Kodagu looked upon English education as means of building a nation for themselves while the Indian nation was looking upon English education as anti-national.

Yogitha Shetty's article "Nation, Ideal Womanhood and English Education: Revisiting the first Tulu novel *Sati Kamale*", centred around the first Tulu novel *Sati Kamale* by S.U. Paniyadi, argues how there were divided voices and opinions in Tulunadu about English as a tool of forced colonial modernity. The novel criticises the colonial modernity brought in the form of English education presenting a binary of man (husband)/woman (wife) who fight the battle against the colonial modernity outside in the world and at home respectively.

Jasbir Jain's article "Between Language and Parole: the Forked Road to Development" touches upon language in the context of education, pedagogy and culture. While it endorses the multiple ways in which language is used, it also states that any language has a divided access to people or that there is a divide among people who access language. This article debates issues ranging from classroom to globalization with a focus on English and emphatically states that language plays a major role in identity politics and nation-building.

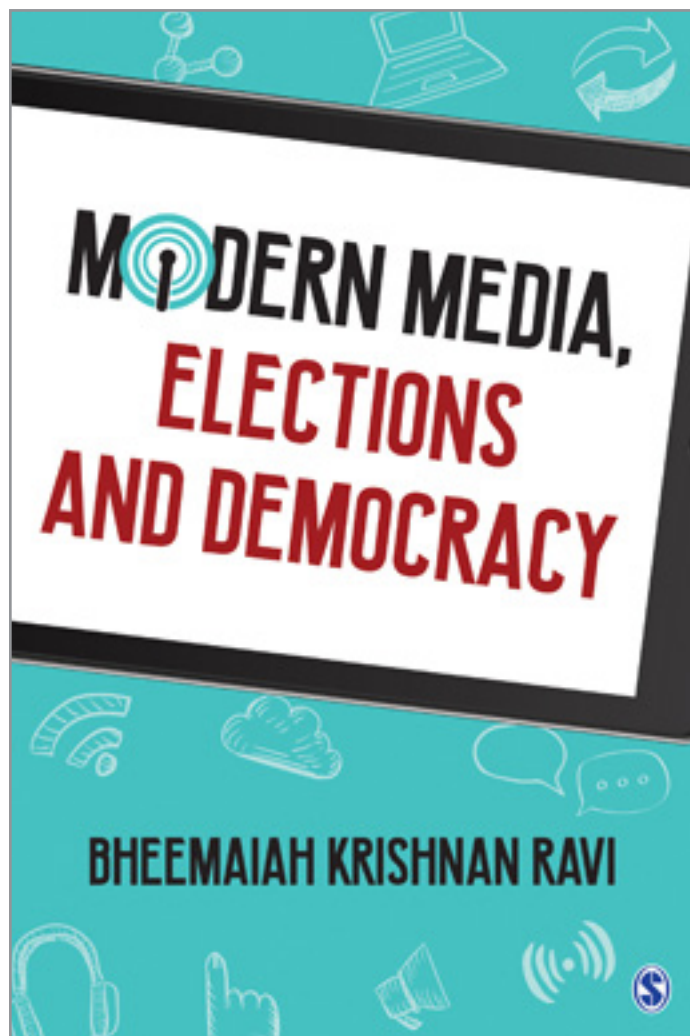


Bheemaiah Krishnan Ravi is Professor in the Department of Communication, Bangalore University, Karnataka, India. He has 28 years of teaching and research experience. He has written in several international research journals and has published five books. Professor Ravi specializes in the following subject areas: Indian media industry, development communication, political communication and film studies. He has several television programmes and radio productions to his credit. During 2002–2006, he was a member of the Karnataka State Commission for Backward Classes. Before he started his academic career, he spent a decade as a journalist. Presently he is serving as the Registrar of Bangalore University.

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## DR BHEEMAIAH KRISHNAN RAVI, Professor in the Department of Communication, Bangalore University. UNDERSTANDING MEDIA ROLE IN ELECTORAL DEMOCRACY



Modern media, elections and democracy authored by Bheemaiah Krishnan Ravi, is an essential read for academicians, students, media practitioners as well as policy makers. This book provides an in-depth and critical analysis of media and election dichotomy. The role played by media vis-à-vis various democratic institutions are discussed. Case studies pertaining to media practices during elections and regulatory mechanisms followed by various governments are evaluated.

It should be noted here that despite the iron fists of repressive regimes, there have been many instances of media activism and investigative reporting which have paved the way for the ouster of such governments. Instances from the peoples' use of social media in the Arab world has given the modern media a fillip as it has ushered in a truly democratic "Arab spring" to unleash a new era in those parts of the world. Many such inspirational instances can be found in the book. The ethical practices of journalists, media houses and electoral commissions are discussed in length.

Media role as the as the Fourth Estate and as a platform of public opinion has been recognized all over the world. It has always been regarded as a critical element in public sphere in a democratic system. But of late media has undergone a sea change due to various factors. The author recognizes about the rapidly changing nature, scale, reach and the ownership of media across the world. Media have been influential and inspirational at times, at times catalytic and at times biased as well. The author carefully knit together stories of all such tendencies of the media from the perspectives of the stakeholders who matter in the society.



When it comes to the performance part of the media, editorial independence, and professional integrity are the cornerstones of sound election coverage. A lack of journalistic autonomy or responsibility can, in combination with an unbearably huge media landscape, affect the results of elections. Therefore it is imperative to have media diversity in terms of presence and reach. This is an important topic covered by the media.

Defying expectations of opinion polls, modern media, especially social media have managed to bring in a new era in political communication, making it an integral part of political establishments. The erstwhile colorful street campaigns have now been complimented with television and social media campaigns as well. This trend has thrown up several challenges to the various stake holders of electoral democracy.

Critics have criticized media for having taken the downward spiral. Independent thinkers like Noam Chomsky have spoken extensively about the 'manufactured contents' produced by the media. With the onset of global media conglomerates, media have tended to be pro establishment in nature. Profiteering and aggressive commercialization has led to the deteriorating standards of the media. On the one hand media has benefited immensely by the advances made in information and communication technologies, but on the other hand these technological advances have also created many challenges. Such critical and objective writing makes the book compelling to read. In fact, these aspects extend the scope of the book beyond pure academics and into the realms of public sphere.

The chapters pertaining to media role in democracy, media and society provide the broader framework in which the media operate. Electoral system is an important aspect of any working democracy and election commission is a constitutional institution essential to make the democracy work. So, effectively, it is the election system which implements and also acts as a guardian of democratic principles on the ground.

The media play an important role in an election, not only as a means of examining government actions, but also making it sure that the voters have all the necessary information at its disposal to make an informed and democratic choice. Governments have vital obligation not to impede the media in performing these functions. It is necessary to understand that the role of media is not just limited to acting as a platform for expression in a limited sense. The media are far more important in terms of enabling the public to exercise their right to freedom of information as well. This right is closely related to media pluralism, because without such a guarantee the public cannot access a diversity of information. The book discusses these issues in length in the *media and election* chapter.

When it comes to the performance part of the media, editorial independence, and professional integrity are the cornerstones of sound election coverage. A lack of journalistic autonomy or responsibility can, in combination with an unbearably huge media landscape, affect the results of elections. Therefore it is imperative to have media diversity in terms of presence and reach. This is an important topic covered by the media. The chapter on the role of media in the coverage of political campaigns is very interesting as it is full of anecdotes and political slogans from the battlefields of elections from various parts of the world.

There is a separate chapter on role of television in democracy which has some interesting stories from the experiments carried out in US and India. Modern elections were fought on television as well as on the streets. The television debates and discussions are essential practices running up to the elections and after. The book doesn't miss out on this important medium. It is essential to understand the legal provisions pertaining to governmental practices vis-à-vis mass media organizations and journalistic practices.

Along with plenty of international laws and treaties most of the countries have their own national legislations, which provide guidance and parameters for media activity and respective regulatory bodies. The book throws light on such legal framework as well. One of the most important features of this book is that an entire chapter is dedicated to the discussion on media and electoral practices in India. This is of great help for those who are interested in understanding the nexus of media and election in India democracy. Ethical aspects of electoral coverage from the perspective of media as well as the public are discussed in the book.

Modern elections are fought mainly on the media platforms like print, electronic and social media than on the street. The television debates, trending topics on twitter, net savvy image of candidates are swinging electoral fortunes of political parties. Defying expectations of opinion polls, modern media, especially social media have managed to bring in a new era in political communication, making it an integral part of political establishments. The erstwhile colorful street campaigns have now been complimented with television and social media campaigns as well. This trend has thrown up several challenges to the various stake holders of electoral democracy. This book makes a humble attempt to understand such emerging phenomena.



Poet, writer and artist Greta Sykes has published her work in many anthologies. She is a member of London Voices Poetry Group and also produces art work for them. Her new volume of poetry called 'The Shipping News and Other Poems' came out in August 2016. The German translation of her book 'Under charred skies' has now been published in Germany under the title 'Unter verbranntem Himmel' by Eulenspiegel Verlag. She is the chair of the Socialist History Society and has organised joint poetry events for them at the Poetry Café. She is a trained child psychologist and has taught at the Institute of Education, London University, where she is now an associate researcher. Her Particular focus is now on women's emancipation and antiquity. *Twitter: g4gaia. Facebook.com/greta.sykes. German Wikipedia: Greta Sykes.*



## NATION, LANGUAGE, CULTURE - PLAY THINGS OF THE ELITES? Dr Greta Sykes

What are the issues that are exciting Catalans and the media who support them? Their language, culture, nation/land. Compare this with Germany where the media have been proselytising a 'Willkommenskultur' dogma since the 2015 opening of the borders to a million refugees. This dogma entails neither nation state, nor language, culture nor belief any more. Instead Germans are encouraged to view no borders with its now steady flow of mainly economic migrants and their cultural traditions and language as of equal value to their own. That other languages are an enrichment. That other – mainly Islamic beliefs - are equally valid to Christianity in Germany. How come, we may ask, that in one situation we are asked to celebrate nation, language, belief and in another setting quite the opposite is proposed. We are entitled to feel puzzled and ask questions.

The common backdrop to both settings are US imperialist strategies which have for a century been focused on globe domination (726 military bases in 104 different countries) and, in particular, at destroying European social welfare, pay and trade union structures. Christopher Hitchens used to call Britain the American 'Trojan Horse' in Europe. The UK can leave now that it has helped to destroy much of what was peaceful and coherent in the EU. More importantly Anglo-American finance systems have embedded themselves in Europe and become entrenched in all spheres of life, even threatening major European projects, such as Nord Stream 2. This is the American globalisation project headed by the military-industrial complex, the banks, Google and Microsoft. It is threatening local shops, post offices, bank branches and local community structures. These developments are based on the assumption that the speed of globalised business is sacrosanct. As citizens we have no choice. This was clearly pronounced by Angela Merkel in her phrase 'there is no alternative.'



We are told time and again that there are no alternatives by big business and their agents in the media, but the truth is that people want an alternative. And of course there are alternatives to the uncontrolled ravages of globalisation with its neglect of national cultural affinities and the achievements of workers' rights – a phenomenon Ziegler (2017)<sup>1</sup> calls 'a cannibalistic world order'.

### Class politics

One vital aspect of Globalisation is that local wage traditions, built up over centuries of trade union struggles by the working class, have to give way to cheap labour that moves at the speed of money around the globe to satisfy the needs of multinational companies. Cheap labour has been achieved by making wars and creating a refugee crisis. Their departure from warzones is understandable, but so is the hesitation felt by many people to embrace mass immigration. Although willing to be helpful peoples in the countries where refugees arrive are put under enormous strain to comprehend the changes they are to live with. In the case of recent immigration into Germany this strain is added to by the cultural disparity between a modern German culture of equality of the sexes and the Islamic culture of subjugation of women, just to give one pertinent example of difference.

The Merkel 'Willkommenskultur' shock preceded the British vote on BREXIT last June. Many commentators agreed that the vote to leave was decidedly influenced by the immigration of a million refugees into Germany. Since then the Dutch Freedom Party, the Front National in France, in the US the vote for Trump and recently the vote for Sebastian Kurz of the Austrian peoples party give an indication of the sharpness of dissatisfaction of a large group of people in the West. A prime example is the German election this October. It was likened to a seismic shock. The catastrophic election results of the CDU (34.7%) and the SPD (21.5%) were called the most devastating results in the post-war period. Not only was the German election a resounding defeat of the traditional parties, but a new party, the 'Alternative for Germany' became the third most powerful party (13.3%). Their name derives from Merkel's intonation that 'there is no alternative'.

### There are alternatives

We are told time and again that there are no alternatives by big business and their agents in the media, but the truth is that people want an alternative. And of course there are alternatives to the uncontrolled ravages of globalisation with its neglect of national cultural affinities and the achievements of workers' rights – a phenomenon Ziegler (2017)<sup>1</sup> calls 'a cannibalistic world order'. That is the meaning of the recent votes everywhere in the West. The barons of the press try to persuade us that such 'populist votes' are cast by 'deplorables', the poor, simpletons that fall for cheap ideas. How odd that the word 'populist' has been degraded to suggest non-ethical behaviour. Voting for the AFD and other similar parties has been described as populist to mark their voters out as outcasts and even Nazis.

Globalisation then means that we are all just consumers and not citizens any more. Being a citizen of a state with national borders, language, culture has been discarded by modernisation in favour of identity politics. The nation/language culture card is now only used when local antagonisms aid and abet the achievement of economic or political gains. This may apply to Catalan. It certainly did apply to the Crimea, where the majority of citizens (90%) voted for the Russian nation, language and culture which had to be opposed by the US as part of their continuous efforts to weaken the Russian sphere of influence and gain economic spheres of reference.

The state/nation, language and belief used to be the gold standard of conservative forces in the world. They were used against leftwing, progressive and socialist movements. Gauland (2017) writes:

'Since the thirty year war the powers to be were balanced between two opposing forces, the economic and the ideological ones. The economy had to take account of the forces of belief, nation state and language. Such spiritual super structures were used to achieve their goals. No one would have fought for<sup>2</sup> English or French capital or business. Yet for their own language, culture and religion many were prepared to die.'

Gauland argues that this balance of power between ancient ideals and economic forces was shattered in 1992 when the Soviet Union decided to abandon the striving towards socialism and instead that country embarked on a sell out of state enterprises during the Jelzin years. Capitalism deemed it had been victorious. Private enterprise has since those years unleashed itself into every domain of our lives, whether citizens like it or not. No questions are asked. Gauland describes it thus:

'As the conservative powers (of state, nation, language and belief) are not needed any more they only become a hindrance in the forward march of capital, consumerism and financial success. Until then world views and belief systems had guided political decisions, these traditions are now only remnants of processes that are under way...'

Further he notes:

'The trendy notions 'modernising, flexibility, innovation and deregulation have one thing in common: The destruction of everything traditional that stands in the way of commercialisation... Liberalism has become the dominant worldview, the free market the salvation of all evils...'

Globalisation then means that we are all just consumers and not citizens any more. Being a citizen of a state with national borders, language, culture has been discarded by modernisation in favour of identity politics. The nation/language culture card is now only used when local antagonisms aid and abet the achievement of economic or political gains. This may apply to Catalan. It certainly did apply to the Crimea, where the majority of citizens (90%) voted for the Russian nation, language and culture which had to be opposed by the US as part of their continuous efforts to weaken the Russian sphere of influence and gain economic spheres of reference.



The handmaidens of global business – the media - have the task to ensure turning citizens into obedient consumers not just of goods but also of the ideological corset within which we are supposed to exist, namely identity politics. Jonathan Haidt (2016), social psychologist at NY Stern school of business finds that freedom of speech has evaporated under the iconoclasm of a 'left orthodoxy'.

## Identity politics

Liberalist identity politics form a useful tool to achieve a pseudo- egalitarian global cheap labour force. Traditional bonds of citizens to their homeland, language and culture are discarded for gay marriage, ethnic and religious diverse identities and multiculturalism. Even amongst feminists there exists confusion over embracing the 'cultural' identity of Islamic women, although they are blatantly discriminatory to women. In Germany the strength of working class trade unionism is amongst the strongest in Europe. The protection of working people's wages, holiday pay, social security and other social benefits has to be abandoned in order to bring in a global low wage economy in which everyone is expected to be a consumer regardless of gender, race, class and cultural background. While such an egalitarianism might be desirable if it came with a socialist system, under capitalism it will remain entirely superficial and degrading for the majority. Jetsetting wealthy people can chose traditions, cultures and languages as they please anywhere in the world. They can choose an identity they prefer, trans, queer, straight and have the appropriate necessary operation. Globalisation may please them. Everything is within reach via the internet. You don't need local shops. You don't need a local community. Tradition, language and belief are negligible. It is different for the majority of the working people. Increasing numbers of people are called the working poor in Germany. They work all day or have part-time jobs but only achieve a minimum wage which they can barely live off. For them the choices of identity are non-existent. All they have is their homeland, their local community and the rights the nation state used to guarantee, such as a passport, social benefits and healthcare.

The handmaidens of global business – the media - have the task to ensure turning citizens into obedient consumers not just of goods but also of the ideological corset within which we are supposed to exist, namely identity politics. Jonathan Haidt (2016), social psychologist at NY Stern school of business finds that freedom of speech has evaporated under the iconoclasm of a 'left orthodoxy'. He comments:

'We have to bust up the complete political orthodoxy of the left' which is dominating the universities and not allowing other views to be expressed.

Eric Hobsbawm says (1996):<sup>3</sup>

...we are living through a gigantic 'cultural revolution', an extraordinary dissolution of traditional social norms, textures and values, which left so many inhabitants of the developed world orphaned and bereft.'



This feeling of being orphaned is driving a sizeable proportion of German people into the arms of the AFD who promises to stand up for class politics, the nation state and German traditions and against the globalised monopoly capitalist target of a migrating cheap labour force.

Eric Hobsbawm comments (1996):

'Identity politics is essentially not for everybody but for the members of a specific group only. ..this is why the Left cannot base itself on identity politics. It has a wider agenda which is ultimately a universalist one.'

Workers of the world unite, however, was not the cry of a globalised cheap labour force without trade union rights and on minimum wages, but the proud call to defend the gains of working class organisations against capital across different nation states. Hobsbawm says (1996):

'There is one form of identity politics which is ...based on a common appeal that is citizen nationalism...seen in the perspective of the nation state, which is where most of us still live, and are likely to go on living, i.e. it provides a common identity or in Benedict Anderson's phrase 'an imagined community'.

Hobsbawm's comments illustrate why the Left of today has lost its direction and impetus and languishes in the opinion polls, closeted inside its own fascistoid orthodoxy. Instead the Olympian torch of lighting the way forward for working people has been picked up by the right. They are fighting for the true heritage of 'an imagined community'.

## Conclusion

We have to accept that the confusion sewn by globalisation and its fashionable implements of flexibility, innovation and deregularisation with its open border policies has alienated working people. They want the traditional values of the nation state, language and culture embedded in government policies and they will fight for these values against the demands of the elites. They have nothing to lose but their traditional ideals.

### End Notes

1 Ziegler, J. Interview in 'Der Freitag' 22.6.17 No 25

2 Gauland, A. 2017 'Kapitalisten gegen Konservative' in 'Compact 11/2017

3 Haidt, J. 2016. We have to bust up the orthodoxy'. The Psychologist. Vol 29 no 11 2016.

3 Hobsbawm, E. (1996) Identity politics and the Left. New Left Review. 1996.



Emanuel Castro was born in San Antonio, Texas and has lived his whole life in Puerto Rico. He attended the TASIS Dorado school where he enjoyed a bilingual curriculum in English and Spanish. Whilst in high school Emanuel also completed a summer course in Cambridge University, where he received the most distinguished student award in his Business and Finance class. Emanuel then went on to attend Emory University where he is now a senior.



# GONE When Maria struck the commonwealth of Puerto Rico

## Emanuel Castro

On September 20th, 2017 hurricane Maria struck the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico for approximately 15 hours. My family could not have imagined the devastation brought by this hurricane. During the storm, the front door to our home was struck by winds blowing at 160 miles per hour, my father, brother, and my grandfather struggled for 8 hours holding down the door, to prevent the winds from tearing it down. I was unaware of the details due to the communications blackout, and I was comfortably situated in my dorm at Emory University in Atlanta, Georgia occasionally reading about the devastation. Hurricane Maria disabled all cell phones and similar modes of communication, which meant that I had absolutely no way of knowing if my family was even alive. All I could do was wait. Rationally I was certain that my family was alive, safe, and together but, as time went by, my inability to have any sort of confirmation stole my peace of mind.

After the hurricane passed, I tried calling, texting, Facebook messaging, email but I heard nothing. When hours turned into days my concern transformed into impatience and I began to frequently check my phone with the hope of finally seeing a text from them. My interactions with others changed, saying where I was from provoked immediate sympathetic reactions from others. I remember going out to a bar one night and showing my identification to the bouncer. Once he realized that I was from Puerto Rico, the bouncer gave me a hug. To me it felt as though I had just lost a family member and the whole world knew. The way people would apologize and comfort me confused me at first. I was frustrated by the way people would immediately stop what they were doing to offer me their sympathy. It made me sick. I didn't want to be that person that people would feel sorry for. These interactions also reminded me of my youth in Puerto Rico, specifically the way people had expressed sympathy over the earthquake in Haiti or the repression in Cuba. When people acted the same way towards Puerto Rico, it made me not want to accept my reality.







I just wanted to wake up one day far away from this mess. I wanted to wake up in the Puerto Rico I grew up in, one without the desperation, the hardships, and devastating destruction brought in a single day. The reality was that all of this was gone and my family was still unreachable.

As a college student, I made sure I went to class and fulfilled my responsibilities. I would not let myself falter in my studies because I knew no matter what, it would be the best way for me to be of service to my family. I kept checking my phone and social media, I also got in contact with other Puerto Ricans in similar situations all over the US.

By day 3 post-Hurricane Maria, I started seeing photographs of the devastation in my town. I will never forget the confusion I felt when I saw photographs of my town completely flooded; businesses I frequented were surrounded by brown, murky water. I was in class when I saw them and I looked up at the room I was in, blank faces all around me, some students scrolling through Facebook, others eagerly taking notes as the professor wrote on the board. I could hear the words spoken by the professor yet at the same time I was not understanding them. I could not take in the images I was seeing, all I could do was stare blankly at them. They provoked even more questions in my mind, "Where are my parents? How long ago was the picture taken? Is my neighborhood in a similar situation? Is my family alright? Why haven't they called me?" As these thoughts raced through my head I searched the room for any sympathy; I felt confused by the fact that my home probably had been devastated but I was sitting in a classroom far away and I remained unaffected.

Soon after I discovered these disturbing images, I started seeing Facebook and Twitter posts from people on the island about different locations in my town with cell phone service. More days passed after this post and I was puzzled. I could not understand why they had not called me yet. Adding to this stress, my friends with families on the island were starting to hear back from their loved ones. Then I started hearing from my extended family in different parts of the island. They were all safe and still had homes, but they were reaching out to me to find out about my family. I couldn't offer any kind of answer. I learned from them that my home town, Dorado, had been flooded severely, to the point where the police and national guard were called in to restrict access points into the town to ensure public safety. After learning this, I was frozen. Even the rational side of myself struggled to take in these facts. I had absolutely no idea if my family was safe, healthy, sheltered, or even alive. The mere possibility of their unconfirmed deaths made me want to get on a plane or swim home. All I wanted was a brief text that said, "We're ok." I found myself locked into an autopilot mode. I wasn't feeling or thinking, I was just studying and responding. Now completely disconnected from



my life in college, I was constantly thinking about the circumstances my family found themselves in. My resolution was to continue to be a student no matter what.

After nearly two weeks of no response, my brother reached out to me. He sent me a brief Facebook message stating our home was still one piece and that our family was in good health. I felt like an idiot after reading this message. It was like all the stress and anxiety I had built up was misplaced and it was confirmation of something I already knew. I felt like I had let my emotions get the better of me but then I remembered all the people who had asked me about my family. I dried my tears, took a deep breath and started reaching out to my extended family and friends, to let them know that my family was alright.

Once the island's communication lines were stable enough to sustain consistent phone calls, my family shed light on what Puerto Rico had become after hurricane Maria. Maria inflicted approximately \$95 billion dollars' worth of damage to the island's infrastructure. These damages have hindered every Puerto Ricans' ability to carry out their daily routines. For the first three weeks, gasoline was rationed. Residents were only allowed to purchase \$10 worth of gas a day. Health professionals were the exception, due to the necessity for their services they were allowed purchase as much gas as they needed. However, to get gas, my father, a doctor, explained, one had to wait in line from 4:00am to 11:00am.

During the first three weeks after the hurricane, Puerto Rico also suffered food shortages. Supermarkets and convenience stores had little stock and people had to get in line at 6:00am if the store opened at 8:00am for whatever was left. Access to medications was another difficulty many struggled with. One of my friends in school, also a diabetic, had to ship insulin to her friend in Puerto Rico. People lacked access to water and electricity, and to this day many still lack both. In the first month after hurricane Maria more than 90% of the people lived without electricity. When I heard these stories from my family and then on the news it felt as though Puerto Rico had suddenly become a third world country. This contrast motivated me to return. I wanted to go back and see the conditions, experience the suffering and hug my family. The entire situation provoked pain but what made it almost unbearable was that I was far away from it all. So far away that I could pretend it was not happening. Out of curiosity I asked some of the Puerto Ricans in my college and other friends from the island studying in the US if they were planning on visiting. None of them were returning. Some, in fact, had decided to leave the island permanently. That was the toughest part of it all, the fact that old friends weren't coming back.





My generation has struggled to decide whether to stay or leave for years. The financial crisis preceding Hurricane Maria made it clear that the previous generation had left the island worse off. Puerto Rico's financial crisis mirrors the Greek crisis that occurred in 2007. Essentially the island owes a total of \$72 billion dollars in bonds. Employment for people wishing to earn more than minimum wage has become an uncertainty and Hurricane Maria froze an already contracting economy due to the debt crisis. To make matters worse, the hurricane also delayed the start of the semester at the local universities, which had already suffered major setbacks from protests related to the financial crisis. All this has culminated in an atmosphere where many young people no longer feel like Puerto Rico can offer them the opportunities their parents had.

When I returned to Puerto Rico for Thanksgiving, I knew I was going to see my island in a significantly worse state than I had left it. Regardless, I felt determined to see my home and didn't care what state it was in, so long as my family was there. When I set foot on the island the first thing I noticed was my mother's smile. She had the same smile and light in her eyes that any mother would have after seeing her son for the first time in months. It wasn't until we got in the car and drove down the highway that I started noticing the damage. First I noticed the street signs, which were in many cases either completely gone or upside down. Next were the billboards common on any major highway, which were mostly gone and showed signs of being yanked off violently. The vegetation was noticeably diminished, once lush and green hillsides that decorated the roads were now barren and grey. I could see much farther into the horizon because it was no longer densely covered in vegetation. Some houses had been stripped to the point where only one wall was standing. However, the most impactful images for me were from the debris. There were mountains of debris on the side of the road, in construction sites, landfills, empty lots and anywhere it could fit without obstructing roads.

Moving beyond the initial shock of experiencing the effects of the hurricane first hand, it's important to highlight the challenges faced by the island. Puerto Rico faces reconstruction, restarting its economy, paying off debt and combatting a 10% unemployment rate. After Hurricane Maria, things have gone from bad to worse. However, I refuse to give up and like millions of other Puerto Ricans I will stubbornly continue to do whatever possible to help my island recover.

I'd like to ask everyone who reads this article to never forget about Puerto Rico. It will take years for the island to return to the state it was before Hurricane Maria but this process will only be hindered if the media takes its attention away from the island. I would also like to highlight the work done by several organizations that could always use more donations: Casa Pueblo, ConPRmetidos, and the Hispanic Federation. These organizations carry out different projects all with the goal of helping those affected and reconstructing the island. Ultimately any efforts right now can help Puerto Rico, even if it is something as small as sharing an article about the devastation on social media. I only ask you not to forget Puerto Rico and the millions who are struggling.



Mikyoung Cha is a graduate in Oriental Painting from Hyosung Women's University, Daegu, South Korea. She has participated in a number of group art exhibitions in South Korea and Japan. In 2016 she took up photography – the camera becoming her paint brush. This globe trotting photographer is a regular contributor to Live Encounters Magazine.



## EBB AND FLOW

PHOTOGRAPHS BY  
MIKYOUNG CHA

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The perennial cycle of days, the sunrises and sunsets, continues regardless of the man-made years. The beauty of naturescapes revolves around a universal magnificence that often escapes us, for we are too obsessed with our own beauty. And as one year ends and another begins we bid farewell to the old and welcome the new with a sense of hope.

These photographs is an attempt to reflect this revolution of time.



Sunrise in Gaya, Nakdong River valley of south eastern Korea.





Gaya, Nakdong River valley of south eastern Korea.





Gaya, Nakdong River valley of south eastern Korea.





Gaya, Nakdong River valley of south eastern Korea.





Suncheon Bay, Jeonnam in South Korea





Suncheon Bay, Jeonnam in South Korea





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Suncheon Bay, Jeonnam in South Korea

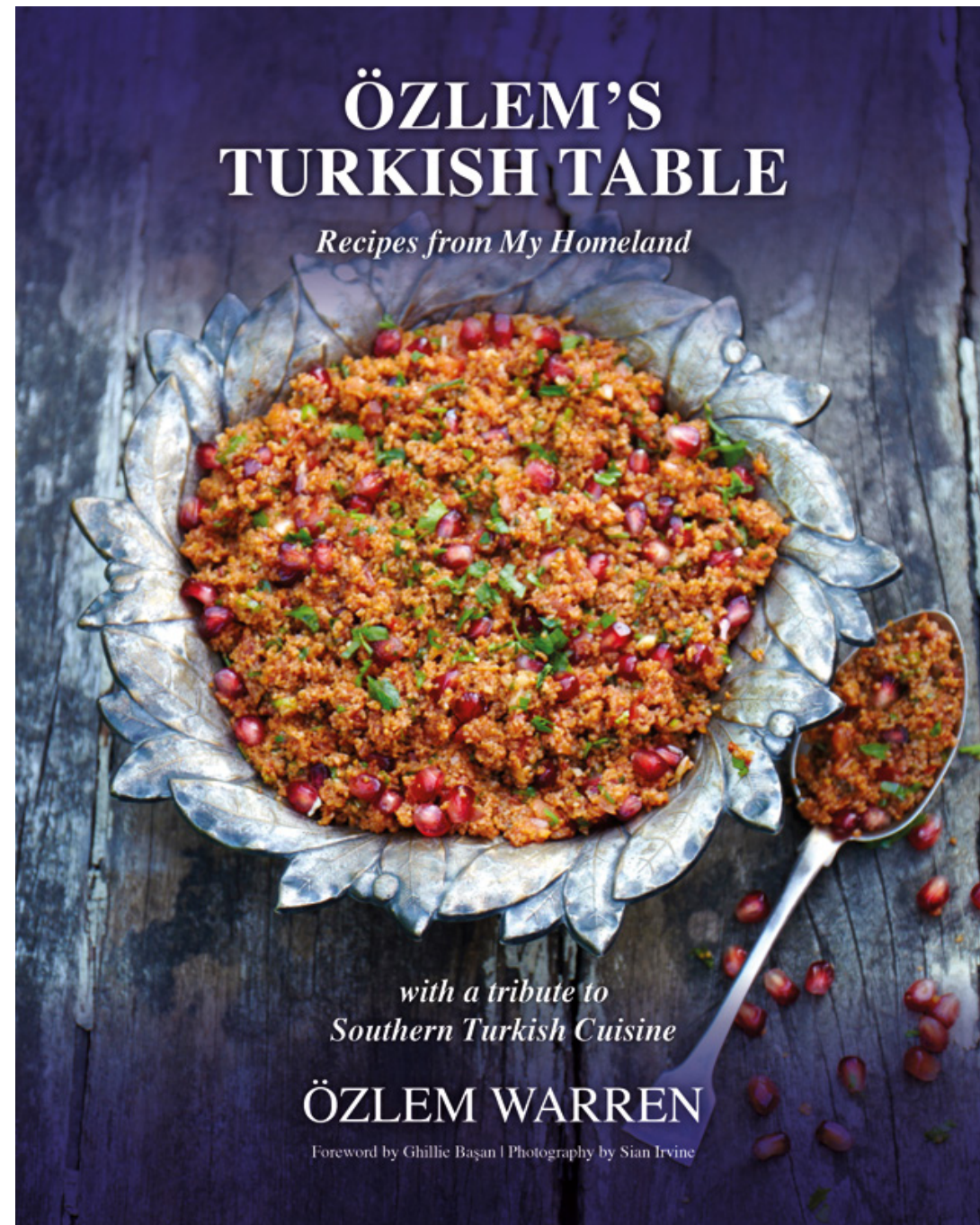




Woon beach, sunset, Suncheon, Jeonnam in South Korea



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## Patatesli Gozleme

### Turkish Flat Breads with potato and cheese

We Turks love these stuffed flat breads, Gozleme. Turks were originated from Central Asia, where they drifted towards Anatolia gradually and made their home. They have been making these stuffed flat breads called Gozleme since then and they are a much loved Turkish street food and a special part of Turkish breakfast. These popular snacks are cooked quickly on a hot griddle and can be filled with various fillings.

I previously made Gozleme with spinach and cheese filling, they became hugely popular. This time I made them with mashed potatoes, cheese and parsley; a comforting, delicious combination, another winner with family and friends. This gozleme is also a wonderful way to finish up leftover cooked potatoes and bits of cheese. I used feta cheese here, you can also use Turkish white cheese, grated cheddar cheese or mozzarella. I spiced up my gozleme with a little Turkish red pepper paste, biber salcasi; you can also use red pepper flakes instead if you are after a touch of spice.

I hope you enjoy making your own Gozleme, a wholesome, delicious street food at home. They go down very well with a glass of Turkish tea, cay or ayran, traditional Turkish yoghurt drink.

*Afiyet Olsun,*

*Ozlem*

**Ozlem's Turkish Table; Recipes from My Homeland**

by Ozlem Warren is available for pre-orders at

[www.gbpublishing.co.uk/product-page/ozlem-s-turkish-table-hardback](http://www.gbpublishing.co.uk/product-page/ozlem-s-turkish-table-hardback)

This is your chance to pre-order Ozlem Warren's debut cookery book, *Ozlem's Turkish Table, Recipes from My Homeland*, at this link, with 10% off pre-order discount. To redeem the discount, please enter the promo code Pre-Order Special before checking out.

Pre-orders will be delivered worldwide in March, prior the general release in April 2018.

Ozlem would be delighted to send you a signed copy, if you add your request at the Notes section.

Best wishes for the holiday season to you all, from *Ozlem's Turkish Table*.





Turkish stuffed flat breads with mashed potato and cheese, Patatesli, Peynirli Gozleme. Pics © Ozlem Warren

**Serves: 5 gozleme, feeds 6-8**

### Ingredients:

- 1lb./ 16 oz. /3 cups plain flour
- 8g / 1 sachet instant dried yeast
- Pinch of salt
- 45 ml/ 3 tbsp. olive oil
- 30 ml/ 2 tbsp. plain natural yoghurt (preferably whole milk)
- About 260 ml/ 9 fl. oz. / 1½ cups water
- For the filling:
- 3 medium sized potato, cooked, skinned and mashed – about 2 ¼ cups -
- 5ml/1 teaspoon Turkish red pepper flakes or 2 tsp. Turkish red pepper paste (optional)
- 200gr/ 7 oz. Turkish white cheese or feta cheese, juice drained and crumbled.
- 28 gr/ 1 oz. / ½ cup chopped flat leaf parsley
- 30 ml/2 tbsp. olive oil
- Salt and ground black pepper to taste
- Nonstick pan or griddle to cook the Gozleme

### Instructions

1. Combine about 150 ml / 5 fl. oz. warm water, yeast and salt in a small bowl, stir and cover. Stand in a warm place for 5 minutes or until bubbles form on the surface.
2. Sift the flour into a large bowl. Make a well in the middle and pour in the yeast mixture, olive oil, yoghurt and the remaining (about 110 ml/ 4 fl. oz./ ½ cup) water. Using your hand, draw in the



flour from the sides and work the mixture into a dough. Knead thoroughly to form a soft dough. Divide the dough into 8 pieces, knead them and roll into balls. Place the balls on a floured surface, cover with a damp cloth and leave them to rest for 30 minutes, or until the dough doubles in size.

3. Meanwhile, prepare the filling. Mash the cooked potatoes with a fork or a masher in a large bowl. Drain the juice of the Turkish white cheese or feta cheese and crumble into the bowl. Stir in the chopped parsley, the red pepper paste or red pepper flakes (if you wish) and pour in the olive oil. Season with salt and freshly ground black pepper and combine all well. Your filling is ready.

4. On a lightly floured surface, roll out each of the balls of the dough with a rolling pin into thin, flat rounds, about 40cm/16in diameter. Sprinkle a little flour as you roll the dough so that the dough won't stick. Roll until you achieve a thin sheet of a flat round.

5. Fold the left and right sides of the dough in a way for the edges to meet in the middle. Spread about 2 ½ - 3 tablespoons filling into the middle part of this flat sheet. Then fold the top and bottom edges over the filling, making sure all the filling is safely covered. Press edges together well to seal. Repeat the same procedure for the rest of the dough balls.

6. Heat a griddle or a non-stick pan, and brush one side of the gozleme with a little olive oil and place on the pan to cook for about 2 -3 minutes, or until golden brown. Brush the uncooked side with a little olive oil and then flip it over. Cook for another 2-3 minutes, until golden brown.

7. Brush both cooked sides of gozleme with a little olive oil -this will keep the gozleme moist. Cook the rest of the gozlemes the same way.

8. You can either roll the Gozlemes to serve, or you can cut in halves or quarters. Ayran, Turkish yoghurt drink or Turkish tea, cay would go really well next to Gozleme.



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