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CONTRIBUTORS



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Journey of a Southern Feminist

Dr Devaki Jain

Devaki Jain is Founder and former Director of the Institute of Social Studies Trust New Delhi, India. She was previously a lecturer at the University of Delhi, member of the South Commission (chaired by Julius Nyerere), founding member of Development Alternatives with Women for a New Era (DAWN), and member of the Advisory Council of the intergovernmental NAM (Non-aligned Movement Institute for the Empowerment of Women (NIEW) in Kuala Lumpur. In 2006 Dr Jain was awarded the Padma Bhushan Award. She has published several books and articles on Indian development and women's status. Her most recent publication is *Women, Development, and the UN: A Sixty-year Quest for Equality and Justice* (2005).



Claiming India

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Jyoti Mohan has taught numerous courses on South Asian, South Asian American, Asian American, and World History at the University of Maryland College Park, University of Maryland, Baltimore County, and Morgan State University. Most recently, she was a Lecturer at Morgan State University for 11 years. She currently serves on the Board of Editors for H-French-Colonial, after having served several years as Reviews Editor and List Editor. She is also a List Editor for an Academic Listserv on French-India academics. Mohan has published articles in French Colonial History, Journal of World History, and Francophone Postcolonial Studies.



Speaking with the Margin

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Positioning Research...

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Gender Socialization...

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Identity, Society and Transformative Social Categories

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Why write a book on history of Hinduism?

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Is the Personal beyond Private and Public?

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Making Development Sustainable

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Urban Renewal in India

Dr S K Kulshreshtha

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Mindful Communication

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My Chandal Life

Manoranjan Byapari (Translated from Bangla by Professor Sipra Mukherjee)

Manoranjan Byapari has worked at many kinds of jobs and also been writer-in residence at Alumnus Software, Calcutta. He never went to school or university. He is a popular writer in the literary magazines and in 2014 received the Suprabha Majumdar prize awarded by the Paschimanga Bangla Akademi. He was awarded the 24 Ghanta Ananya Samman in 2013. He and his writings are well known as he speaks about Dalit issues in Hindi, becoming proficient in the language while he was with the Mukti Morcha of the late Shankar Guha Neogi in Chhattisgarh.



Devaki Jain is Founder and former Director of the Institute of Social Studies Trust New Delhi, India. She was previously a lecturer at the University of Delhi, member of the South Commission (chaired by Julius Nyerere), founding member of Development Alternatives with Women for a New Era (DAWN), and member of the Advisory Council of the intergovernmental NAM (Non-aligned Movement Institute for the Empowerment of Women (NIEW) in Kuala Lumpur. In 2006 Dr Jain was presented by the President of India with the Padma Bhushan Award for exceptional and distinguished service. She has been a member of a number of Indian Government policy committees and has published several books and articles on Indian development and women's status. Her most recent publication is *Women, Development, and the UN: A Sixty-year Quest for Equality and Justice* (2005).

Journey of a Southern Feminist

Dr Devaki Jain

In the last six to seven decades, there have been dramatic changes in the world, not only in the geography of political power but also in terms of the emergence of "voice" from the so far unheard spaces and places. In the case of women, while this emergence may have been bubbling and boiling over the previous several centuries, it came out with something of a bang in the 70s starting with the UN's First World Conference on Women held in Mexico City in 1975. At Mexico, many of us had revolutions inside us. We were there along with 10,000 women and the idea of "woman" as a constituency emerged. The power and the significance of this identity emerged in our minds and our hearts. Then there was no looking back. Most of us went back to our countries charged to work closely with 'women's issues' at that time, and now 'gendered issues'- We tried to identify these special features of gender differentiation, whether they were in *oppression* or in *heroism* or in the *vanguard of ideas*. All these dimensions attracted a whole hoard of women from all across the world.



This external stimulus with the participation of the government provided meaningful platforms, roads for those of us who were working in the field of understanding and disseminating knowledge on women's condition in Asia. It also helped to revive institutions, non-governmental organisations which had been dormant.

It was in that current and the fact that just before I was invited to Mexico, I had an opportunity to pull together an edited volume on women, for the Government of India, that triggered my plunge into the women's movement. This volume was to represent what can be called the status of Indian women, and was India's offering at the World Conference at Mexico.

Pulling together the essays for that volume and editing, made me aware of something called the 'woman issue' or 'gender issue' as it is called now. Then the participation at the Mexico UN conference made it into a storm in my head that this is where I need to go. There was a flurry of activity within government which strengthened and multiplied the activities outside government.

Donors from the western countries were generous in supporting both research institutions and activist organisations in developing countries and India was certainly a favourite.

This external stimulus with the participation of the government provided meaningful platforms, roads for those of us who were working in the field of understanding and disseminating knowledge on women's condition in Asia. It also helped to revive institutions, non-governmental organisations which had been dormant. One such organisation which had been basically set up to study and evaluate the massive employment schemes that the central government was supporting was available to me as it was sort of declining.

Since my training was a statistics and mathematics and I had learnt a great deal in pulling the first book, *Indian Women*, I had put in a proposal to ICSSR through the Institute of Social Studies to enable me to do field work in order to correct the number that was being given for female worker participation rates (all India).

So taking that as the hypothesis, that is that the female participation rate in India was under enumerated, ISST undertook what later became as the first ever time use study in India. That study launched the ISST. There was no looking back, more studies were conceived, many funded by government and government had started setting up advisory committees in every ministry and some of us who were the early birds in women studies happened to be on those committees.

My own tether or ground was research with special focus on showing gender differences especially in the datasets in India. We at the Institute also wrote case studies of women's work in the less privileged places, in fact in the poverty sheds in India.

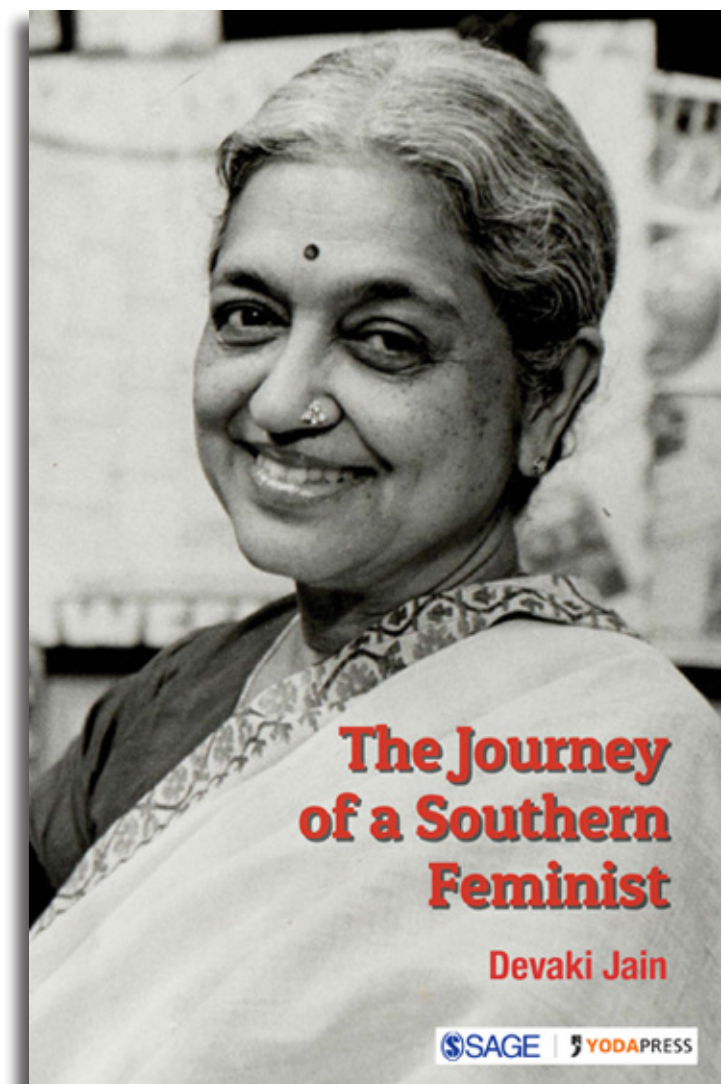
So ideas that we wanted to pursue were funded. Over the years 1975-1985, ISST undertook many explorations, basically fieldwork, and even enabled the publication of two books, one with case studies where women were the major workers and the other a probe into the errors in data collection and data analysis.

We were writing reports on the condition of women workers in development projects in India and simultaneously articulating that difference, and therefore what was to be done in the international spaces.

So ideas that we wanted to pursue were funded. Over the years 1975-1985, ISST undertook many explorations, basically fieldwork, and even enabled the publication of two books, one with case studies where women were the major workers and the other a probe into the errors in data collection and data analysis.

It is this kind of band of women who then provided the field work that led to my knowledge, which in turn gave me the basis for the lectures and papers that I was able to present not only in India but all over the world. Thus I would say that the authors of these three volumes, even though it may be clumsy, could be Devaki Jain and ISST. Our inclusion in consultations on the many dimensions of women's quest for equality and justice was a learning experience.

The UN had experience on many of these dimensions having worked in other contexts on justice and equality. Funding for all these meetings and consultations came from the better off countries in the North, who interestingly had not only overseas development assistance budgets, but after Mexico they also had a gender officer who was given a budget to enable women from all over the world to get engaged in the road to gender equality.



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What has been most rewarding and what therefore also reveals the moral sensibilities in the feminist movement is that such voices of criticism and alternate ideas were respected and supported by “sisters” in the North, in the funding agencies. This support is what made it possible for many of us to found South-South networks such as DAWN spell out which would then be presented globally as a voice from the South, legitimate and accepted.

Feminism, which has many interpretations and contestations, continues to be the binding term. I have tried to elaborate my view on this in my life and my work. I have suggested that it is a philosophy which stands for justice. It is inclusive and political. In many ways, it defines the goals of the women’s movement, a peaceful and just world, where individuals are respected for whatever they are.

Thus we had subject specific as well as region and sub-region specific consultations. While there is no doubt that this was a thoughtful and perhaps an even generous process, the leadership, even if it was just to facilitate a meeting, was led by what can be called smart “white” young and old women. Their intention, of course, was to enable us, the women of developing countries, to learn, to articulate and to then benefit from the support the UN and the donor agencies were willing to provide for our progress.

Over the decades, much harmony and shared visions have appeared in the international women’s movement. Conversations and dialogues are led not by geography and difference but by a common philosophy, which now is broadly under the umbrella of feminism.

However, as we went along the line, many of us, whether it was from Africa, the Caribbean or Asia, found ourselves accepting propositions and programmes that were not what we would have proposed but in some sense, technocracy led, and revealed that the presumption that the Anglo Saxon was smarter, more rational, more technically proficient had not dissolved. It appeared again and again in the various interactions especially those called by the donors, as well as the UN. “We beat the drum, you dance”, seemed to be the message.

Feminism, which has many interpretations and contestations, continues to be the binding term. I have tried to elaborate my view on this in my life and my work. I have suggested that it is a philosophy which stands for justice. It is inclusive and political. In many ways, it defines the goals of the women’s movement, a peaceful and just world, where individuals are respected for whatever they are.

Thus my journey into the international spaces where women/gender was being not only renegotiated but programmes and projects and conventions and institutions produced, found me voicing a “no no”. The response by the women, young and old, of the donor agencies, as can be expected was sympathetic and enabling. “If this is not the way you think it should be, how should it be?” Thus began my journey of characterising the societies and economies of the developing countries, revealing not only that the terminology by which we were being described was erroneous, but also that the projects and priority issues were different from what was being suggested.

Defining ourselves and revealing what the definition meant became a strong part of my journey into these international spaces. This affirmation of difference, south and north was further confirmed and strengthened by participating in the south commission; a commission set up by the NAM countries, to prepare a development design for the regeneration of the former colonies, now the South.

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Claiming India

Dr Jyoti Mohan

There is no such thing as a free meal. This book proceeds from this fundamentally cynical premise. France has produced the maximum number of Indologists of any European country.

The first official permanent position in Indology was created at the *Collège de France*. Even apart from Indic studies, exotic terms from India like *Rajah* and *bayadère* (nautch girl) were thrown in most oriental novels and plays of the Nineteenth century. Why this fascination with India? What did France have to gain from investing so much time, money and resources into studying India?

Until 1763, there was a legitimate economic and political gain to be made. France was a contender for Empire in India and therefore any information about India would prove to be useful in ruling after conquest. French Jesuit descriptions of Hindu worship and custom seemed not only normal for a country ambitious to rule over India, but fore-sighted as well.



Photograph https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:French_India_postage_stamps.jpg

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All official claims towards colonizing India were relinquished by the beginning of the Nineteenth century. By the first quarter of the Nineteenth century, France turned her eyes towards North Africa, and later in the same century, towards South East Asia. Yet the Nineteenth century saw the most uniform effort for French academics to become masters of Indic studies.

The Jesuit descriptions were doubly useful since the religious zeal which spurred their movement took them deep into the country, thus making the interior accessible to the French by virtue of their description. While traveler and mercenary accounts of India tended to describe only Royal Courts and small courtly coteries the mission accounts described the deep interiors of the country, which would form the bulk of the Indian 'colony' and were therefore invaluable.

But French interest in India was never just about the description of the people and the land. In fact, the French almost went out of their way to overlook the contemporary reality of religion and custom when it came to Indic studies.

While men who were actively involved in the task of building empire, like soldiers and colonial administrators often wrote detailed memoirs and accounts of their experiences in India, academics in France willfully ignored these contemporary accounts in favor of their own focus on a mythical, pure, Indic past based on Sanskrit, and an 'Aryan' heritage. Indologists in France, most of whom never traveled even once in their careers to India, spun translations of Sanskrit dharmic texts to place Indic religion and philosophy on a pedestal of a pure, untarnished past.

Curiously enough, the French obsession with all things Sanskrit continued even after France's defeat in the Seven Years War (1756- 1763) definitively knocked her out of the running for an Indian empire, leaving the field wide open to British depredation. With the financial crisis looming over the French royal treasury, and the nation itself in an imploding social revolution, Indic scholars still continued their work on India.

Through all the excesses and privations of the French Revolution and its aftermath, French scholars continued to study Indic texts. Granted, there were still a minority of Frenchmen who fantastically hoped for a return of France's power in India, and who attempted, unsuccessfully, to orchestrate such a reversal of fortunes. But by the time Napoleon seized power and declared his intention to build an Empire stretching from Europe to China, all such schemes were over. As history tells us, Napoleon's Empire died a natural death on the snow-clad plains of Russia, and Napoleon himself lost all semblance of imperial power once he was exiled to St. Helena.

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I note that the erudite interest in India was translated into the academic curriculum for schools and in the representation of India in the carnivalesque *Exposition Coloniale* of Paris in 1931. And circling back to that idea that nothing in life is free, I identify specific reasons for the French interest in India.

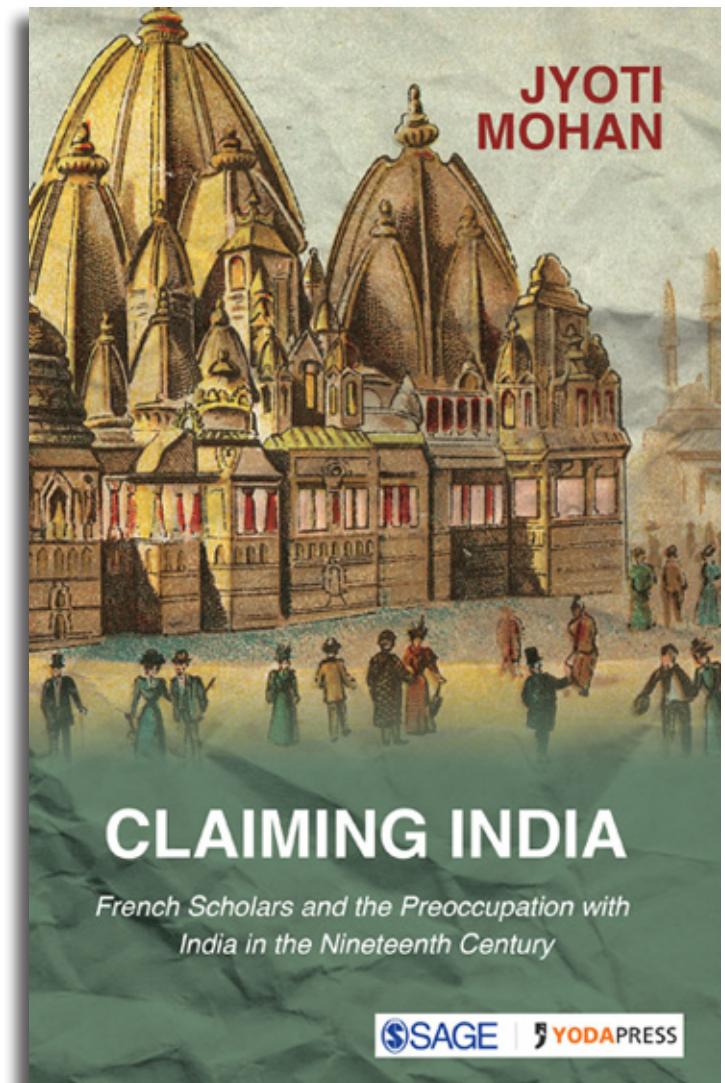
The *Collège de France* was the first institution to have a permanent position in Indology in 1814. Throughout the century, France, and particularly Paris, was the world leader in Indic studies. Again, what did France have to gain from this academic expertise? In a world of global empires, where India was now firmly ensconced as the jewel in the British throne, the French focus on Indic studies could have been better spent on studying French empire elsewhere- Algeria, or Indochina.

In 'Claiming India' I follow the French obsession with India in Indology as scores of Sanskrit texts were translated and commentated upon, and in the emerging fields of anthropology, sociology, and history.

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Early interest came from the Enlightenment and the desire to find an alternative to the Judeo-Christian narrative. To that end, China was also considered an alternative.

Jesuit missions to India during the Eighteenth century focused on describing conversion tactics, obstacles to conversion and ways to overcome them. These mission chronicles were straightforward and had the sole intent of proselytizing.



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Britain, on the other hand, was merely a leech, draining India's resources for her own selfish profit. As Anglo-French political relations underwent the inevitable see-saw of Nineteenth century nationalism and jingoism, France employed India as a powerful tool in public opinion, constantly fêting notable Indian nationalists, and describing the British drain of India and consequent famines and epidemics in every journal and newspaper.

...since the French India posts were not large enough to really prove a challenge, France practiced 'responsible' colonial government, providing the Posts with a rule of law and with rights that far surpassed the rights provided to other French colonies like Indochine and Algeria. French India was the perfect example of France's *mission civilisatrice*, a beacon in the vast and ravaged landscape of the Raj.

By the time French temporal ambitions in India were dealt a fatal blow, the ancient origins of Indian civilization had been recognized, and to some extent, scholarly interest in India arose from a desire to find common historical links between other ancient civilizations.

This early nineteenth century was also an era of historical 'discoveries' - the Avesta of Zoroaster, the Rosetta Stone of Egypt etc. The academic interest in India emerged by the middle of the nineteenth century to serve two very practical purposes.

Firstly, the rising interest in Gallicism in France had several scholars looking for common links to other ancient civilizations. India, identified by French scholars as having an Aryan past, could then be compared to the Gallic tradition of France. The story of Aryan invasion, conquest, rule, and gradual decline due to racial intermixing in India, could be used by French nationalists as a precautionary story. The Aryan story in India played a key role in bolstering Gallicism and racial purity movements in France.

Secondly, India's Aryan past and admittedly great Sanskritic works, combined with France's position as a minor colonial ruler in India provided the perfect trifecta to launch a powerful attack against British rule in India. France used her work on India to provide evidence that she was genuinely in pursuit of the *mission civilisatrice*, where she was altruistically motivated to educate and remind colonies of the heights they had once accomplished, and help them recover that position.

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Simultaneously, since the French India posts were not large enough to really prove a challenge, France practiced 'responsible' colonial government, providing the Posts with a rule of law and with rights that far surpassed the rights provided to other French colonies like Indochine and Algeria. French India was the perfect example of France's *mission civilisatrice*, a beacon in the vast and ravaged landscape of the Raj.

How does this help modern India? 'Claiming India' fills in several pieces of the larger jigsaw puzzle of how a mythic 'India' was created during the colonial period. It demonstrates that these descriptors of India as an 'Aryan' land, and 'Sanskritic' past and 'Hindu' nation were created to serve very particular political agenda. While this is outside the scope of this particular book, it begs the question, if modern Indians were to understand how much of their perceived past was constructed by European powers to serve political and imperial agenda, would we be so quick to cling to this mythical past today?



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Speaking with the Margin

Dr Debasree De

The present book does not attempt to say anything new about the adivasis, rather has tried to remind a forgotten history of the most marginalized section of our society – the adivasi women. There are loads of researches conducted on the tribals and monographs that have been published till date. Therefore, the subject does not offer a completely new theme. The existing perspective on the adivasis among the urban elite is not very rich and this we can easily understand from our own limited knowledge about them. At the same time, it is also very common that the civil society humiliates the adivasi women folk whenever they get the opportunity, and this can be easily understood from the portrayal the adivasi women in literature where it has been claimed that the savages are responsible for the subordination of our motherland. For the civil society, the adivasis are “barbarous”, “primitive”, “uncivilized”, “cannibals”, and so on. They have been consciously secluded from the “civilized” and thus an invisible and impervious boundary has been drawn which can never be crossed.



After the Santal Rebellion in 1855 the British government pried away the adivasi infested regions from Chotanagpur Plateau and formed a new state called Santal Pargana. That was the beginning of the separation, which was gradually induced into each and every corner of the society, if not politics. The adivasis are made to believe that they are different from the so-called “mainstream society”; their rights would never be respected by the so-called “civilized”.

On the other hand, for the adivasis these civilized elites constitute the landlords, moneylenders, bureaucrats, businessmen and agents. But they have always been looked down upon by the *dikus* (non-adivasis) as a mere body commodity, who can be forced to give unpaid labour, uprooted from their traditional land holdings; who can be lampooned, castigated, lynched and raped or killed without any offence, because they are not even considered as human beings!

But it is very well known fact that adivasis and Hindus have always lived together; if adivasis celebrated Durga Puja, then the Hindus participated in Sarhul festival. Then why this segregation, how was this breach created? This history is not unknown as well.

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And this is the reason why after seventy years of independence the adivasi regions still lack the basic amenities, such as health care facilities, education, nutrition, potable drinking water, electricity, good roads; why after so many years of development the adivasi culture is disappearing in the darkness of poverty and hunger; why they are facing identity crisis.

If the adivasis are living in this poor condition, then what would be the state of their women folk, who are at the margin of the marginal?

There is a prevailing myth that the adivasi women do enjoy a greater autonomy than that of their non-adivasi counterparts. Her sexuality has been promoted in the literature and cinema. But her free sex has always been misconstrued by the “civilized” society.

Culture is not static, thus adivasi women’s socio-economic status is also continuously changing day by day, sometimes due to force inflicted by the establishments and sometimes due to her own helplessness. Their subsistence economy is lost under the onslaught of globalization and liberalization. Hunter-gatherers and shifting cultivators are receding at the periphery without even having any alternative livelihood opportunity. Their lives have been serrated by uncertainties.

It is sometimes believed that since the history of the adivasis is unwritten, it is difficult to revisit them. But oral history has made the task easier to record the voice of the adivasi women rather leave them tagging “historyless”. The adivasis have memory, they can remember the past, and they have their own standpoint which can neither be slighted nor denied. It is true that the reconstruction of history on the basis of oral histories and oral traditions is very difficult, but not impossible.

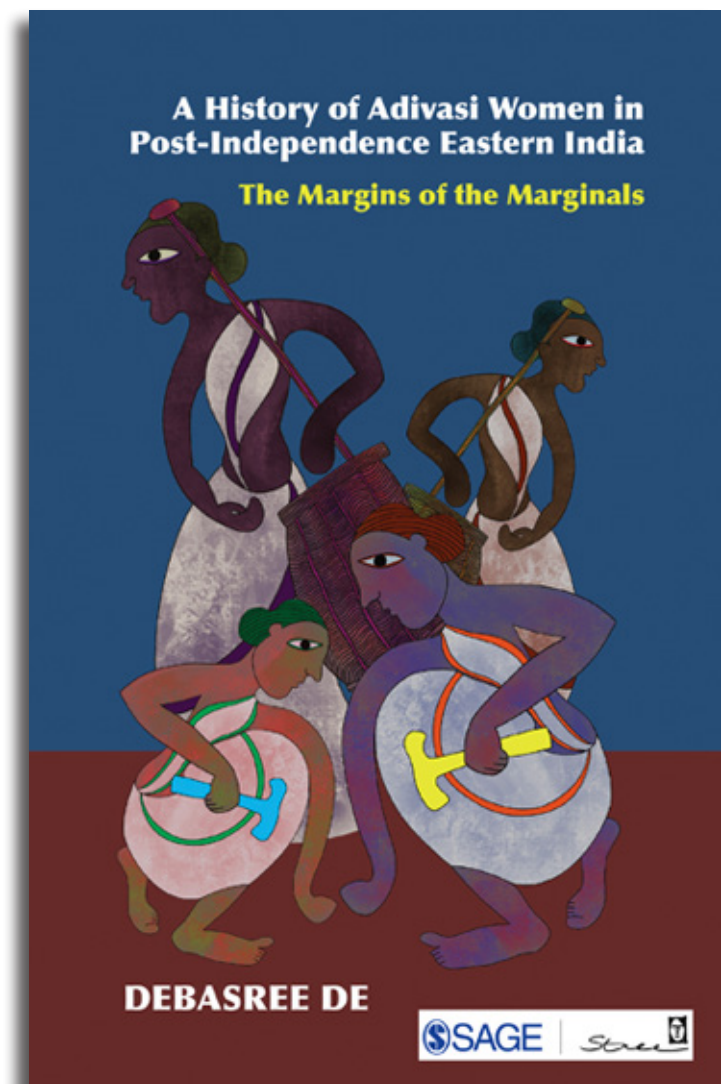
Women bear the major brunt of this economic as well as social risk, and the obvious reason is that the adivasi society is still very much dependent on the forest, and the forest economy is women’s economy.

Thus, it evinced that the adivasi women do not enjoy greater autonomy than the non-adivasis. It is often thought that bride-price has given her a unique position in her own society, but then it also leads to certain inhuman practices, like female infanticide among the Khonds of Odisha.

There is also a tendency of romanticization of the adivasi women and her sexuality. But the truth that the adivasi society is not romantic lies in the fact that it also practices an inhuman custom of witch-hunting which still is prevalent in the countryside even in this twenty first century.

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Thus, it will not be an exaggeration to say that the history of the adivasi women is a history of displacement and deprivation. The present book tries to analyze this forgotten history of the most marginalized community, the adivasi women, in the eastern part of India. The book has relied very much on the oral narratives of the adivasi women themselves and situated them within their own perspective of patriarchal society and exploitative state mechanisms. The book attempts to bring forward the unheard gray faces of the adivasi women to make them visible and to explore the hidden silence to write the history of the so-called historyless.

Their memories which have been gauged by the state can be well used as valuable source material if cross-checked, as we know that archives or police records may also misrepresent facts or give perverted information.

Another crucial aspect is the history of adivasi development which is not an edifying story. The question may be asked that development for whom or development at whose cost?

The state has announced a host of development programmes time and again for the betterment of the adivasis ranging from flagship programmes to mid-day meal. But does the state ever consult the people for whom it is planning? Does the state ever bother to negotiate the adivasis; may it be for taking adivasi land for development or destructing forest for industrialization?

What seems more important for the state is to spend millions to tread their movements for democratic rights. Tonnes of grains rot in the government warehouse, but the poor cannot arrange two square meals and has to walk miles to fetch water.

The story does not end here. After losing their customary rights over the common property resources like water, land and forest, the adivasi women are compelled to move to the cities. They are taking jobs in the unorganized sectors like brick kilns, construction sites and are even forced to work as sex workers.

They are being subjected to all sorts of exploitation in hands of the contractors, male co-workers and owners, starting from physical, psychological to sexual. They are being trafficked to faraway places for work. Governments neither maintain any records nor are they rescued or rehabilitated, because in the era of internal colonization everything is judged in the parameters of profit. This is the reason why the adivasi society is seen as a depot of cheap labour. Forest rights act (2006) hardly brought them their rights.

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Positioning Research: Shifting Paradigms, Interdisciplinarity and Indigeneity

Edited by Dr Jyoti Mohan and Dr Supriya Pattanayak

The seeds for this book were sown with the term 'dilemma'. We found that we were always at loggerheads deliberating on issues that were at times confusing, puzzling and at other times downright confounding. There was a constant shuffling and reshuffling of thoughts which often led to a predicament on how to address and relate to issues. We could say that a large part of this predicament came from the fact that we were encompassing anomalous social environments from differing continents and countries, living within cultures that are often referred to in a superficial, perfunctory manner as 'diverse' but which comprise intense, in-depth, highly stratified educational and sociocultural norms and values which often go unnoticed. Aligned to this issue is language. We saw language as an embodiment of the being of individuals one that positioned, connected and reconnected the individual through various pathways.



Photograph <https://pixabay.com/en>

This, we believe, opened the floodgates to another raft of perceptions of ‘what’, ‘how’ and ‘why’ research should be *positioned* rather than *located* in the areas of shifting paradigms, interdisciplinarity and indigeneity. That led to the unique contributions of the chapters. Increasingly, we began to see the interplay between ontologies, epistemologies and methodologies, especially in interdisciplinary and Indigenous research. Grappling with these issues led us to different cultural and research groups undergoing related dilemmas.

We could also say that our predicament was a moral obligation to advance scholarship. Above all, we could say that basically our dilemma was how to get the right thing done by our research students whom we were training to be independent and ethical researchers. All these issues led to a lot of debate and discussion on our part. It made us realize that we were at the crossroads of ‘what is research’. Our first question of ‘what is research’ led us to the next one which was how best to advance that research through knowledge. Coming from two different continents, where there is a large presence of Indigenous and tribal populations, we have constantly debated the many tenets of knowledge including knowledge production and knowledge that is valued. We began to interrogate the relationship between knowledge and research and subsequently how to position that research. This led us to challenge the various positions we have ourselves held while at the same time listen to silences, absences, gaps and invisibilities expressed (or not) by students and colleagues.

In reflecting over the experiences and insights gained as a collective group, we found that some of our contributors experienced the same quandary of what to write by asking questions such as ‘what are you talking about’, ‘how can we do this’ and ‘what is research’. The questions started a chain reaction, so to speak. What we mean is that the initial response to our invitation to contribute a chapter was a flow of questions encapsulated in the following: ‘how can you say that you *position* research instead of *locating* research?’ ‘How can we cross disciplines that have discrete boundaries?’ ‘What indigeneity; has that not been taken care of?’ We also noticed that this chain reaction evoked in the giver of the question, the urge to re-search what they knew or in fact, stretch the boundaries of that knowledge.

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Through the research continuum of this edited collection, we aim to provide avenues that transition into the ‘third space’ where negotiation and dialogue are central to our exploration and discussion of research frameworks. Further, we aim to explore alternate ways of doing research, taking into account the impact of social media and new forms of knowledge. We also aim to uphold and acknowledge that different methodologies are equally valid and valued in contributing to new knowledge.

As part of our objectives, we elucidate the irrelevance of certain methodologies and/or analytic categories to cultural frameworks. We critically engage with debates around particularism and universalism, difference and commonality. We provide a revalidation and legitimation of a history and tradition, which has been subjugated by the hegemony of Eurocentric and or Western theorizing. In following these aims and objectives, we show how we position research especially in relation to shifting paradigms, interdisciplinarity and indigeneity.

The structure follows a thematic progression of: ‘Perspectives from Early Career Researchers’ to ‘Indigenous and New Knowledge Systems’ and ‘Theoretical Approaches and Case Study’. It concludes with a chapter on ‘Extrapolating Research’. Our aim in writing this book, therefore, was to go beyond the dominant paradigms and recognize the interconnectedness, relationality and holistic nature of lived experiences and realities. A further aim was to critique existing methodological paradigms and provide new perceptions of phenomena encompassing various trajectories.

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In relation to this, in extrapolating the contribution of our contributors, who comprise early career researchers, academics, practitioners, researchers and scholars, we present the metaphor of ‘leaves and leafing’. ‘Leaves and leafing’ denotes the many facets of positioning research that this book has sought to ‘unearth’ and the way these have been ‘scattered’ in the arena of research.



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In leafing through the chapters, we expose our readers to what we term the ‘researchscape’ that traverses many fields. In this, we foreground the purview of ‘the gaze’ as perceived by the contributors. Our focus in foregrounding indigeneity is to foreground the many nations that comprise Indigenous communities around the world. We also acknowledge the many stratifications and hierarchical systems that contribute to the build-up of the many communities that comprise a nation. We foreground the tenuous nature of indigeneity by outlining how this term is conceptualized by organizations and communities.

Our gathering of the many facets of this ‘scattering’ involved a diligent ‘leafing’ through the many perspectives that were sent for review. The purpose behind this was to give our audience the best focus. In this way, we believe our ‘leaves and leafing’ metaphor depicts an unfolding of the varied perspectives that evolve to the conceptualization of shifting paradigms. It also depicts the way these shifting paradigms move into the ‘fields’ of interdisciplinarity and indigeneity to give us insights into how research can be viewed and positioned.

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Our purpose in deconstructing the concept of interdisciplinarity is to indicate paradigm shifts that could involve movement between disciplines rather than conducting research within discrete and what we term ‘disciplinic silos’. This in no way determines that in the carrying out of the study and or project that one discipline or body of knowledge will be compromised. Rather it determines a complementarity without binary axes and or anomalies leading to an ‘unearthing’ and unfolding of new perspectives in research through a structure that is unified, yet different. What this leads to is a process of ‘enabling’ where there is seamless boundary crossing into research projects that develop a performative stance of extending scholarship through ‘new’ knowledge systems, instrumental research tools and practice research.

Salient features emerging from this collaborative undertaking has brought together scholars, researchers, academicians and practitioners from different disciplines and theoretical orientations to discuss their perceptions of knowledge and scholarship. The discussion has questioned the availability of methodologies to respond to different ways of knowing and doing. It has highlighted the problematic nature of the contexts in which research questions are conceptualized and designed, and the implications of the research for the various partners and the communities that participate. In this, we are being conscientiously pedantic in emphasizing the prefix ‘re’ in arguing that by *re-examining*, *re-viewing* and *re-searching* the knowledge base that constitute research; we are bringing about a synthesis of disciplines, epistemologies and ontologies to *re-generate* existing structures as well as ‘unearth’ new knowledge.

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In turning to the last leaf of our ‘leafing and leaves’ metaphor, questions are asked to facilitate a moving into a ‘third space’ where negotiation and dialogue are central to exploration and discussion of research frameworks. Thus, this book emphasises that for research to continue, in a world that is increasingly becoming a global village, the exchange of knowledge is critical to engendering new fields of inquiry.



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Gender Socialization and the Making of Gender in the Indian context **Dr Sujit Kumar Chattopadhyay**

Locating gender in the socialization process and presenting gender socialization as the potent social, cultural, psychological and ideological technique of patriarchy for legitimizing and inculcating the patriarchal values is the most unique feature of the book, 'Gender Socialization and the Making of Gender in the Indian Context' and that way it can be said that this book is the first ever academic breakthrough on the subject. We find books on Gender Roles. But we hardly find books on Gender Socialization offering a clear thematic picture of the concept. Socialization when conceived in view of gender perception is called gender socialization. Under socialization programme society in general is the goal of all discussion but under gender socialization all discussion revolves round the concept of gender in particular.

Patriarchy makes this operation possible through very many social organizations, institutions and religious and cultural norms and practices which undermine the position of the women on the one hand and on the other hand, strengthen the command of the male authority. In order to reinforce these norms and practices in favour of male, various organizations and institutions (which are presented as agents of gender socialization in this book) are used for providing ideological support to this process.

It has been argued in this book that it is through the gender socialization that gendered norms and practices and discriminating gender messages are being sent to men and women since their childhood as a result of which inequality of sexes happen and continue. Since, unlike sex, gender is social and cultural construct, the process of gender socialization has a great role to play in the shaping of personality. As sex is assigned at birth, gender is assigned at the social and cultural level and it is never a matter of individual choice. Human being, men or women, pass through a number of primary and secondary groups, organizations and institutions since their birth and thus, they are influenced regarding their notion and approach to gender.

The process of gender socialization through different agents like family, peer group, school, media, religious norms and practices and religious myths and concepts is the most important process of internalizing the gendered norms and practices. Through gender socialization, the concept of gender comes to be implemented as a result of which a boy is inspired to be masculine and a girl is encouraged to be feminine and thus, gender socialization makes it difficult for boys and girls to be something like 'humankind'. Thus, this book documents the techniques and the operation of patriarchy by which people, especially the girls and the women, come to be socialized in respect of gender stereotypes, gender roles and gender norms and practices.

Patriarchy makes this operation possible through very many social organizations, institutions and religious and cultural norms and practices which undermine the position of the women on the one hand and on the other hand, strengthen the command of the male authority. In order to reinforce these norms and practices in favour of male, various organizations and institutions (which are presented as agents of gender socialization in this book) are used for providing ideological support to this process. So unfolding the proper role of these organizations and institutions is very important for understanding the process of gender inequality and gender discrimination in general and gender socialization in particular. Perhaps the objective and the unique role of these organizations and institutions is aimed at convincing women that the discriminatory gender treatment they are getting is perfectly natural as far as their biological and psychological nature is concerned.

Agents like family, peer group, school, media and religion have come to justify gender inequality by forwarding the necessity of functionalist stratification. Functionalism is the doctrine that social institutions and practices can be understood in terms of the functions they carry out in sustaining the larger social system. This theory is presented by Kingsley Davis and Wilbert Moor (1945) as the theory of functional stratification. To them, stratification is always a functional necessity in any society and importance of any individual or group must be proportionate to the roles they perform.

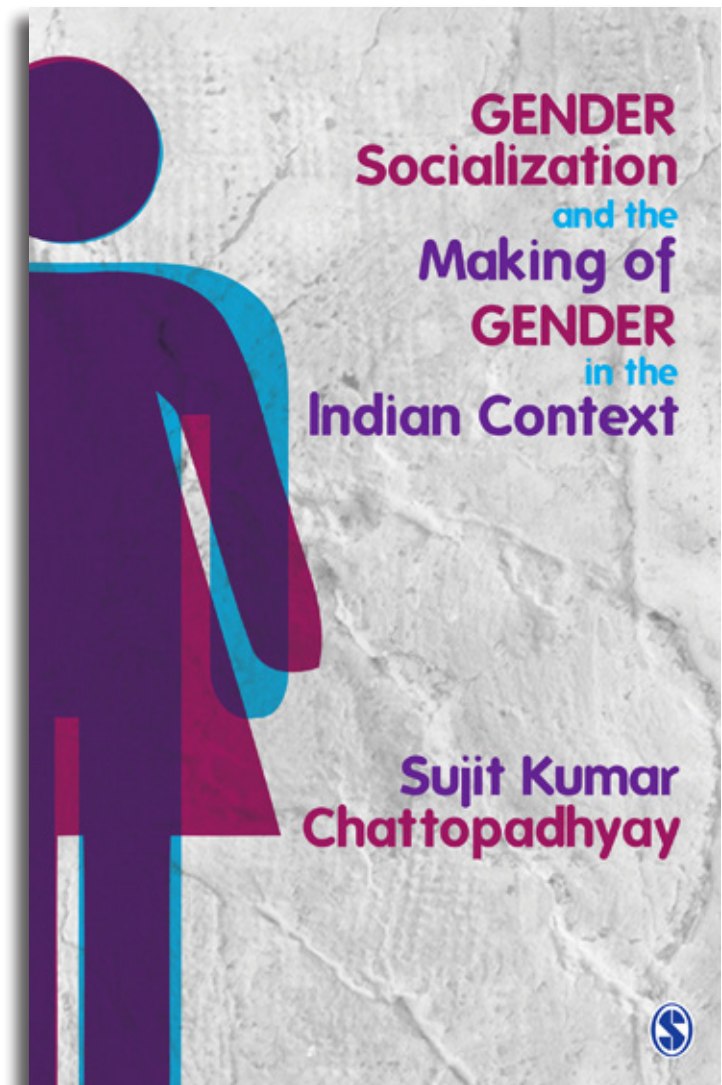
Another functionalist perspective of child rearing has been presented by John Bowlby who argued that 'The mother is crucial to the primary socialization of the children'. In fact, Sexual Division of Labour is different from the general view of Division of Labour. It is argued, 'Sexual Division of Labour is a division of work not between equals but between superiors and inferiors; (and) a relation which is imposed on women by social pressure'.

Subsequently this theory was also applied to the field of gender-based stratification. It is argued that there are differences between male and female in respect of their biological and psychological traits and it is such difference based on which the social role of each gender is determined.

Thus, it is seen that the regulation of social system, from the functional point of view, has resulted in strengthening the domination of man over woman in all societies and across all culture. Talcott Parsons (1902-1979) was a renowned preceptor of functionalist theory. To him, family directly works on the basis of sexual division of labour where women perform their role of child bearing, child rearing and providing mental and spiritual support to their children.

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In this way, biological and physiological differences create a difference in social role acquisition of male and female, highlight the gender role and resultantly gender inequality emerges as the retrogressive feature of the society.



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A serious social scientific study of interrelationship between agents of gender socialization and the process of gender socialization is absent in the existing studies of sociology. No serious attempt has been made so far in studying as to how various organizations and institutions such as family, school, peer group, media and religion can be used as ideological tool for making of gender, especially, in the Indian context and also for degrading the status of the women, not only in India but in all societies and across all cultures. This study is an attempt to fill the gap.

It is argued here that if the social and cultural institutions, organizations and religious practices are restructured with a gender free outlook then perhaps we will not have to lament as Beauvoir remarked, 'One is not born, but rather becomes, a woman...'. It is also argued that if the complex domain of gender socialization can be changed with a more moderate and progressive approach, then it is possible to create and seek a better world for women. If the traditional social, cultural and religious arrangements are restructured with a view to achieve gender equity then it is possible to allow the development of women in a more free and voluntary manner.

The intervention of different agents in the field of making of gender through gender socialization make the entire operation of all these agenda of patriarchy very easy and smooth. In this way, different agents i.e. these social and cultural organizations and institutions like family, school, peer group, media, religious norms and practices and religious myths and concepts continuously provide an ideological support to the gender ideology modeled upon patriarchy through gender socialization and accordingly legitimize their functions.

The book argues that if the ideological and institutional techniques of gender socialization (modeled upon patriarchy) are not properly understood, the struggle against gender inequality is bound to be futile. It is argued here that if the social and cultural institutions, organizations and religious practices are restructured with a gender free outlook then perhaps we will not have to lament as Beauvoir remarked, 'One is not born, but rather becomes, a woman...'. It is also argued that if the complex domain of gender socialization can be changed with a more moderate and progressive approach, then it is possible to create and seek a better world for women. If the traditional social, cultural and religious arrangements are restructured with a view to achieve gender equity then it is possible to allow the development of women in a more free and voluntary manner.

This book has responded to this long-awaited problem. A serious social scientific study of interrelationship between agents of gender socialization and the process of gender socialization is absent in the existing studies of sociology. No serious attempt has been made so far in studying as to how various organizations and institutions such as family, school, peer group, media and religion can be used as ideological tool for making of gender, especially, in the Indian context and also for degrading the status of the women, not only in India but in all societies and across all cultures. This study is an attempt to fill the gap. This book is not similar to any other book and it is an inter-disciplinary research work. With a lengthy and useful bibliography this book would benefit the students of gender study, sociology, rural sociology, social psychology, film study, comparative religion, media culture and also the film makers, social activists and policy makers.

The problem with regard to the study of the agents of gender socialization is that these agents are not static. Rather they are very much dynamic so far as the impact of technological inventions and globalization is concerned. The structure, nature and process of operation of all the organizations, institutions and practices have changed a lot in post-modern period. So, with all such changes in the nature and functions of different social institutions and religious norms and practices, gender socialization and its appeal must be changed a lot and the hints of these changes can be received in the book: 'Gender Socialization and the Making of Gender in the Indian Context'. This book is a step forward towards the formation of a new concept about gender and gender related norms and practices.

The content of the book is discussed in different chapters under two sub-headings: Themes and Perspectives. Discussions under themes are aimed at exposing the interrelation between gender study and social psychology, disseminating the theoretical aspects of gender with the exposition of its meaning, formation and effects and at introducing gender socialization as a new area of study covering all the theoretical details of its meaning, nature and scope. Discussions under perspectives aim at revealing the role of agents of gender socialization, the key-content of the book. Theoretical attempts for examining gender from newer angle are meager.



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Identity, Society and Transformative Social Categories: Dynamics of Construction, Configuration and Contestation

Dr Debal K. SinghaRoy

This book elaborates the process of construction of identity and its transformation through articulation of the identities of caste, peasants, class, indigenous people, ethnicity, nationality and citizenship those have intersected on the processes of social movements, colonization, globalization and the emergence of knowledge society.

Identities as the rejuvenated entities of individual and collective distinctiveness coherently govern one's self perception, form perception about significant others, and function as transformative and change agents of structure entities. They are circumscribed and structured by social, cultural and political arrangements of society and its dynamics of exercise of power and domination that shape the dominant culture. They also develop contestation against domination getting reconfigured and reconstructed. As they do not remain always constant to be historically given and fixed, they undergo reconstruction and reconfiguration from multiple directions cross-cutting each other's boundaries and acquire further uniqueness and plasticity. The process of acquiring such uniqueness and plasticity, are culture specific though, has been faster with the interpenetration of modernization, westernization, colonization, globalization, revolution in Information and Communication Technologies (ICTs), emergence of knowledge society, proliferation of social movements and also articulation of resistance of people against varieties domination in society.



Historically construction of identity has taken new turn in the colonized societies with interpenetration of the forces of westernization and colonization. The colonization however used the western innovations as tool in reconstructing primordial identities in terms of caste, religion and language etc. to convert the local communities into majority or minority, native or the ruling class.

As society progresses from traditional to modern and more towards the democratic arrangement people try to create their own space for the construction and configuration of their identities and tend to make choice from available alternatives. However, increasing fuzziness in constructed identities, growing individualism and alienation in public space often make people to accept primordial choice. Though primordial identities are founded on subjective connotation, they also remain to be objectively fixed to suffice to the situation.

All through the history, social movements have been the creative disruptive forces for the construction of new identities and rejuvenation of old ones. Contemporary world experiences the proliferation of new social movements those are essentially founded on the autonomy, cross-sectionality and multiplicity of identities. These movements have seen the formation of new identities grounded on intersubjectivity, conscience, morality, idealism, global and humanitarian concerns. Since independence India has seen the proliferation of varieties of social movements to redress social and political issues those have consolidated the identities of peasants, workers, tribes, forest dwellers, villagers, displaced persons, farmers, women, environmentalist, human rights and civil society activists, Dalits, and many other vulnerable social categories. Over the decades most of these social movements have got transformed to be institutionalized and now get expressed through the identities of caste, religion language and ethnicity. However, India now experience the proliferation of social movement society and movements of social movements in which all identities have got rejuvenated but do not remained fixed. They get consolidated at one end, and bring in fluidity in them on the other to reorganize the frame of their solidarity on a regular basis cross cutting the pre-defined ones.

Historically construction of identity has taken new turn in the colonized societies with interpenetration of the forces of westernization and colonization. The colonization however used the western innovations as tool in reconstructing primordial identities in terms of caste, religion and language etc. to convert the local communities into majority or minority, native or the ruling class. Experiences of colonization of indigenous people of Australia show that colonization has brought not only a systematic devaluation of identity of the indigenous people but also destruction to their local culture, environment and autonomy. Under the colonial rule they emerged to be dispossessed of their land, and natural resources. Many indigenous people became members of 'Stolen Generation' who were forcefully taken away from their parents on birth in the name of integration with the civilized white society. Over the centuries they have emerged to be poor, disempowered, marginalized and oppressed lots in contemporary Australian society and have consolidated their identity as aborigines reclaim their autonomy and to have control over their culture and environment. Though in the wake

For Gandhi nationalism was a universal struggle for liberty and justice. Against the backdrop of fragmentation of world and increasing hatred of one nation against the others in the name of income nationalism, Tagore described nationalism an end in itself, an instrument for self-preservation and as a great menace.

of recent reconciliatory initiatives by the state and in negotiating with their social development need the identity of the indigenous people has emerged to be multifaceted, they relentlessly endeavour to consolidate their indigenous identity as first citizen of the nation to challenge the domination of the colonizing forces to regain control over their culture, autonomy and environment.

In recent years in the wake of fast emergence of knowledge society, expansion of ICTs, increasing flow of information, images, goods, services, people and objects across the space, the process of formation of identities have got conditioned by strong sense of social de-contextualization on the one hand, and a new sense of belonging on the others. These are reflected in the increasing fuzziness, fragmentation, non-permanence, discontinuity, dispersal, hybridity and fluidity in identity on the one hand and formation of new forms on solidarity on the other. The penetration of knowledge society has been eclectic in India wherein formation of identities has been multiple in terms of widening gaps between the urban and rural, educated and illiterate, digitally rich and digitally poor, high and low castes, affluent and marginalized, and the prevailing gender divide in society. Along the line the pre-given social structure has increasingly become fragmented and de-contextualized. However, new form of contextualization of identity is now taking shape through the consolidation of both the primordial solidarities in the form of caste, religion, language, region, ethnicity etc on the one hand non primordial identities of citizenship, class etc on the other. Significantly, increasing interconnectivity has increased the marginalized people's access to information, reduced their dependency on the upper strata of the society and have contributed widely to the resurrection and assertion of their identity by consolidating their primordial roots as language of resistance against domination. Pre-existing dominated identities now creates the space for their expression and to have their share of power and re-construction of identities in their own terms.

In the contemporary world most societies encounter complex relationships among the identities of ethnicity, nationality and citizenship in the wake of increasing fluidly in constructed secular identities on the one hand, and consolidation of primordial identities on the other. While ethnicity pre-existed in all human societies, nationality as imaginary, and emotional bondage for geopolitical, cultural and political unity is a seventeenth century innovation of the West and got expanded to rest of the world. Over the centuries, it has acquired dichotomous manifestations as civic vs. cultural, western vs. nonwestern, secular vs. religious/ethnic etc nationalisms. In Indian context nationalism has become contest category. For Gandhi nationalism was a universal struggle for liberty and justice. Against the backdrop of fragmentation of world and increasing hatred of one nation against the others in the name of income nationalism, Tagore described nationalism an end in itself, an instrument for self-preservation and as a great menace.

Though Indian society has remained culturally and historically rooted in multi religious and multi ethnic fabric it has not experienced the proliferation of hyper and ethnic nationalism in religio-ethnic term as being experienced today. Though India got Independence with the experience of agonizing division of the country, that killed millions, left millions homeless, displaced, India remained founded on the spirit of a plural society and secularism.

Though after the anti-colonial struggle in the Indian sub-continent nation states were formed based dominant ethnic formation, neither the Indian freedom fighters nor the founding fathers of Indian constitution were in favors of a dominant religious/ ethnic character of Indian state which is historically founded on ethnic pluralism. For Gandhi, the Father of the Nation 'Free India will be no Hindu raj, it will be Indian raj based not on the majority of any religious sect or community, but on the representatives of the whole people without distinction of religion'. In fact, the plural foundation of nation-state of India is ingrained with the idea of social and political equality for the citizens that have been proclaimed in the constitution of the country.

However, the ideal of nation-state and citizenship have been introduced in Indian society that has remained traditionally unequal and stratified in terms socio historically acquired caste, class, gender and ethnic hierarchies. Furthermore, despite constitutional proclamation for equality, vast section of Indian citizen still reels under utter poverty, unemployment, livelihood insecurity, illiteracy, ill-health, lack of skill, knowledge and social mobility, capability and choice. Very often economic and political deprivation of vast sections of citizens have remained linked to their inherited ethnic and primordial status. Feudal domination and its strong primordial and ethnic interface regularly reinforced many of their deprivations, inequality and marginality. Many occasion the formal democratic practices and functioning of the state apparatus show close intertwining with the ethnic consideration as well. Failure of the development initiatives to integrate these people to the path of prosperity and livelihood security often create space for enrooting their association with their primordial identities. Taking advantage of their social and economic vulnerability and their ethnic interface the political entrepreneurs continue to manipulate ethnic identity for a narrow political gain.

Though Indian society has remained culturally and historically rooted in multi religious and multi ethnic fabric it has not experienced the proliferation of hyper and ethnic nationalism in religio-ethnic term as being experienced today. Though India got Independence with the experience of agonizing division of the country, that killed millions, left millions homeless, displaced, India remained founded on the spirit of a plural society and secularism.

India achieved its nation state hood after prolonged struggles against the British in 1947 through the division of the country that created a Muslim Nation state of Pakistan with two constituents West and East Pakistan, and a secular nation state of India. The division of the country and creation of two nations has brought unimaginable miseries for vast sections of population who immediately experienced dark heaps of uncertainty, hopelessness, physical threat, mass exodus, murder, riots

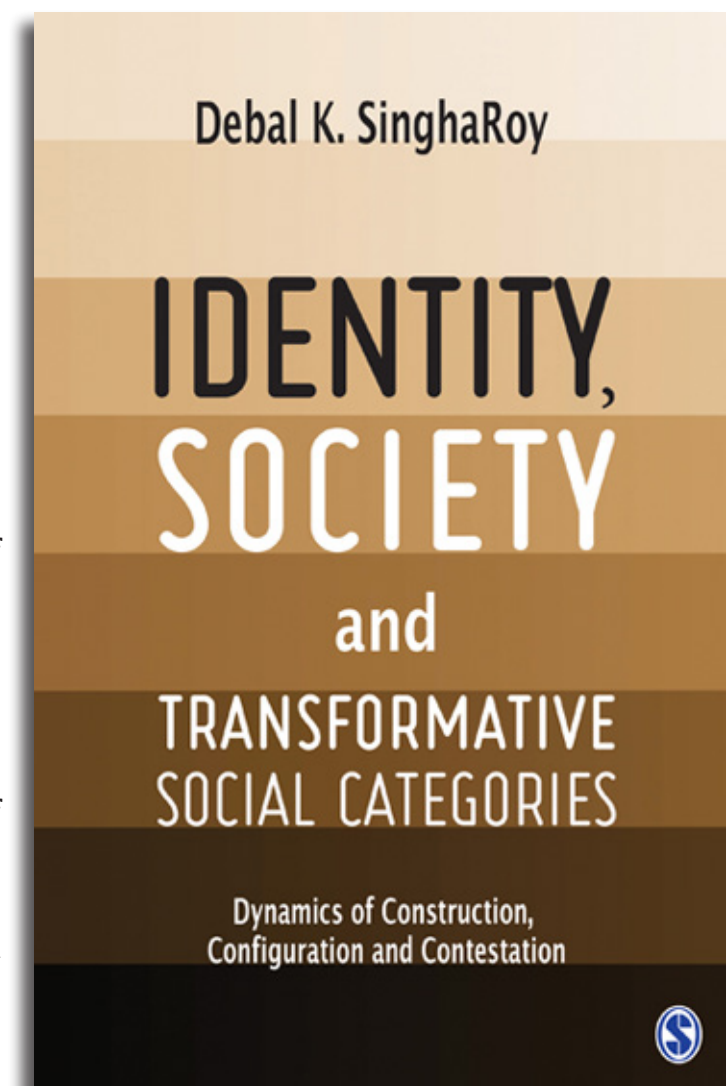
For many it has remained a life - long experience of shifting description of self from alienhood to nationhood, from ethnicity to citizenship, from civic to cultural nationalist or the vice versa.

burning and destruction of houses and property, gang rape and harassing of women and children. These created enemies out of old friends, 'we' and 'they' community of refugees and natives, and majority and minority in the name of religion and nationalism.

The shifting dynamics of identity and its intersectionality with ethnicity, nationality and citizenship has been a part of biography of many people in the Indian subcontinent that is founded on everyday tension between secularism on the one hand and primordiality on the other.

For many it has remained a life - long experience of shifting description of self from alienhood to nationhood, from ethnicity to citizenship, from civic to cultural nationalist or the vice versa.

In India many people have the composite lived-in experience of trauma of partition, dislocation, separation, every day humiliation in early part of their lives and the subsequent acquiring of the identity of nationality of his love and citizenship of his choice through a hard-earned process in later part of their lives. Like most Indians they strongly stand for an identity that ensures religious tolerance and cultural pluralism even paying a cost to enjoy the foundation of secular citizenship and constitutional nationality India.



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R Ramachandran is a retired professor of Geography from the Delhi School of Economics, University of Delhi. He has held positions as the Head of the Department of Geography, the Dean of the Faculty of Social Sciences, and the Director of the Delhi School of Economics at various points in time. His first book *Urbanisation and Urban Systems in India*, was published in 1989 and has been reprinted every year since. After retirement in 1996, the author has been devoting himself full time to the study of Hindu scriptures in original Sanskrit. In 2010, he published his first book on the nature of Hinduism---*Hinduism: In the context of Manusmriti, Vedas & Bhagavad Gita*.

Why write a book on history of Hinduism?

Professor R Ramachandran

The answers can be varied. However, I have written a book on a history of Hinduism because I am passionately attached to the subject matter of the book. I was never a religious person, but I do value my childhood experiences and I do take a little pride with my heritage.

The book is the result of a lifetime of devotion to the subject matter, the purpose being to unravel the mystery of Hinduism. I may add now that the objective is also to help Hindus and non-Hindus to understand the religion better.

The history of Hinduism was a series of puzzles within puzzles and no one had a satisfactory solution. When I entered college as a student in the 1950s, I found the situation very baffling; my immediate response was to get away from it all. I became an agnostic.



For a coherent narrative of the history of Hinduism we need several paradigms. I discovered three during the course of my reading. The first was to establish a clear chronology of Sanskrit texts on Hinduism. This would not seem to be too difficult but for the fact that the texts as we understand it today did not exist in the past. Take for example Rigveda. The tribal communities in the Indus basin had no written texts and what they knew varied a lot from one tribal community to another; that is why Brahmanas invariably used the word 'shakha' (branch) in relation to the Vedic study.

Nevertheless, I could not get away from the subject of religion altogether, for I was destined to become an academic in the area of social sciences. My student days widened my understanding of religion. I did an honors course in geography at the University of Madras and I was drawn towards a subject that was called 'human geography' which is more or less the same as social anthropology. I learned about the relationship of man and environment with the whole world as the laboratory. Later in my life when I studied Rigveda in original Sanskrit, it immediately struck me that the Rigveda should in fact be interpreted as a study in human ecology.

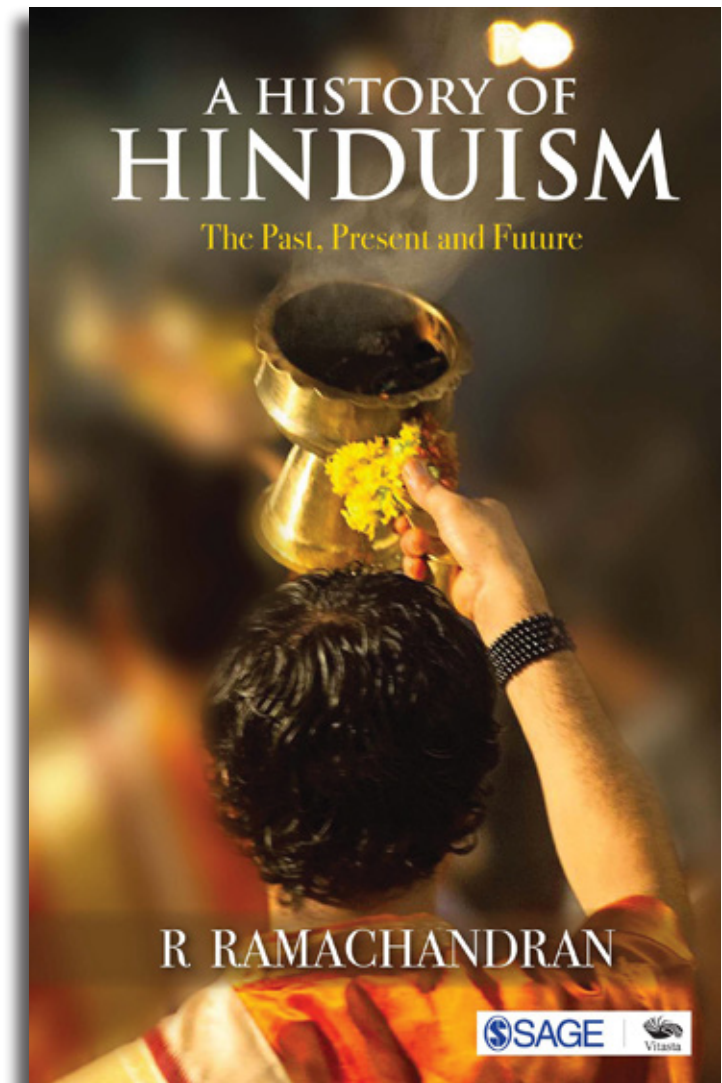
I had also developed an interest in early Indian History; one of the books that I bought early in my teaching career was *An Advanced History of India* by three authors – which was a standard text at that time. I widened my knowledge by reading other texts and my favourite authors were A. L. Bhasham and Romila Thapar. These forays into history equipped me to write two chapters on the history of urbanization in India in my first professional book on the subject (published in 1989).

Despite the broadening of my knowledge of history, I was unable to make sense out of the history of Hinduism. I realized that I had to learn Sanskrit and study the Hindu scriptures in original if I want to understand Hinduism. English translations of Hindu scriptures are not adequate and one has to go to the original. This is what I did after retirement in 1996. In over a decade of labor I published my first book on Hinduism. At that time I thought I had done a good job and that I was able to present a holistic view of Hinduism. Still, I was not fully satisfied. While I did cover the multi-dimensional aspects of Hinduism through a critical review of its principal scriptures, I failed to produce a coherent narrative of its evolution from Rigveda to the Puranas. This prompted me to do further reading on Upanishads, epics and Puranas; aspects that I had neglected in my first book.

For a coherent narrative of the history of Hinduism we need several paradigms. I discovered three during the course of my reading. The first was to establish a clear chronology of Sanskrit texts on Hinduism. This would not seem to be too difficult but for the fact that the texts as we understand it today did not exist in the past. Take for example Rigveda. The tribal communities in the Indus basin had no written texts and what they knew varied a lot from one tribal community to another; that is why Brahmanas invariably used the word 'shakha' (branch) in relation to the Vedic study. Secondly, the ten thousand and odd verses were composed over centuries; and I would think that most of the verses were composed during the Mimamsa or later Vedic period. All the early Vedic texts had a vertical dimension covering centuries. Hence one has to use a dual approach: treat history as happenings over a specific time period or treat history as process over time. One could also combine both the approaches. I think I have managed to do this pretty well in my new book.

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A second paradigm is a geographical one. This involves the migration of Rigvedic people from the Indus basin to the Yamuna basin around Delhi, and then on to the middle Ganga plains in eastern Uttar Pradesh and Bihar. External forces compelled the Rigvedic people, in particular Brahmanas, to take two more migratory leaps – the first to the valleys of the Narbada and Godavari and the second to the Cauvery delta in the far South. This five stage model of migration combined with the chronology of Sanskrit texts forms the back bone of my book on the history of Hinduism. However, the two paradigms are not quite enough; they only tell us what happened and not why. The texts in Sanskrit were written, for the most part, by Brahmanas. The question then is what motivated them to write these texts? This leads to the third paradigm. Sanskrit texts were written by Brahmanas so that they can earn a living. When the tribal Rigvedic society merged into the peasant society around 1000 BC, they devised a system of life cycle rituals, which was later elaborated and came to be known as Mimamsa. In the same way, newer texts emerged from time to time. The emergence of Buddhism and Jainism and the influx of Yavanas (Greeks) and others had remarkable consequences. The result was a shift to a Brahmana-Kshatriya coalition as envisaged in the Smrities and later in epics and Puranas. The Puranas introduced Gods in human form and idol worship as the new and common form of worship. This to a large extent replaced the Vedic form of worship, namely, homa and the worship of the fire God.



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The development of the Puranic religion has more to do with peninsular India than the Ganga Plains, clearly a reflection of Brahmana migration to the South. Further, Brahmanas interacted closely with the Tamil culture in the Cauvery basin; The Tamils in the far South had already developed an advanced culture with their own literature. They had a religion of their own and various forms of worship based on temples of Gods. The Tamil bards – Nayanmars and Alvars – propagated the bhakti form of worship, which was already in existence from the Sangam period – from 300 BC- to 200 AD. The presence of Brahmanas lead to the Sankritisation of the Tamil culture and gave rise new languages of the South.

Brahmanas earned respect from the ruling class who were for the most part from among the Shudras, particularly in central and south India. Brahmanas were treated well in the South with large land grants and a new form of settlement known as agraharam came into being. I have visited many agraharams and lived in one for short periods of time. Brahmanas who lived in thousands of such agraharams in the South practiced both the Mimamsa and Puranic religions. While the practice of Mimamsa was a debt that they owed to the Rigvedic poets, Puranas and associated forms of worship connected them well with local cultures. The Puranas eventually became a composite religion in itself serving a wide audience of the ruling class and the upper sections of the rural society. Nevertheless, the tribal gods, rural village gods, and regional gods and associated forms of worship continued their sway without any input from Brahmanas, who were generally absent from a majority of villages both in the North and the South.

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The rise of the bhakti movement in the South through the contributions of Ramanujacharya, Madvacharya and Basava in the 11th and 12th centuries had a lasting impact not only in the South but the whole of the North as well.

At this time the North has come under the influence of Muslim rulers and the Mimamsa religion had been almost eliminated for lack of support from the ruling class. Puranic religion and forms of worship influenced by the bhakti movement replaced the old Vedic religions through the contributions of Tulsidas, Surdas, and others. The epics took hold of the North, leaving the Vedic religion to the agraharams in the South. The Vedic religions further collapsed when British rule covered the whole of India including the South. In the South the decline of the Vedic religion started in the middle of the 19th century.

There is no hierarchy among Brahmanas and no organization that exercised control over them. The priestly class of Brahmanas has been reduced to middle or lower middle class status during and after British period and Vedic Hinduism has all but vanished from the agraharams in the South. Brahmanas, a majority of them, are now well educated but delinked from their traditional occupation. They have practically no knowledge of Sanskrit or Vedas.

The rural folk religions of India remain as vibrant as ever.

Hinduism does not entertain the idea of conversion; Brahmanas never tried to convert the tribal or even the rural folk to Vedic forms of worship; Vedas and Vedic religions were almost entirely confined to Brahmanas; others, particularly Kshatriyas and Vaisyas participated as 'yajamanas'; in return, they gave gifts to Brahmanas. Brahmanas as a priestly class were always self-employed. From 1000 BC they competed with each other for patronage from Kshatriyas and Vaishyas.

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Arnab Chatterjee is former Associate Professor in Humanities and Social Sciences at the School of Law at Auro University, Surat, Gujarat. He was a Fellow in social and political philosophy at the Indian Institute of Advanced Study (IIAS), Shimla, India. With diverse departmental affiliations and degrees in political science, social work, sociology, history and philosophy, he has been a faculty in pluridisciplinary social sciences at various institutes and universities across India and West Bengal, including Yashwantrao Chavan Academy of Development Administration (YASHA-DA), Pune; Jadavpur University, Kolkata; Vidyasagar University, West Bengal University of Technology etc. teaching social philosophy, applied sociology, social work, jurisprudence, political thought, engineering ethics, and more. He has held Ford Foundation and Enreca (the Netherlands) research fellowships from the Centre for Studies in Social Sciences (CSSSC), Kolkata, and the SARAI initiative of the Centre for the Study of Developing Societies (CSDS), New Delhi. His first book *Categorical Blue: Personal Ethics in Social Work and Other Structures of Helping* was published in 2017.

Is the personal beyond private and public?

New Perspectives in Social Theory and Practice

Dr Arnab Chatterjee

A year ago, in an electronic exchange with a historian I was reminded of that famous fallacious question, “Have you stopped beating your wife?” Since her work harped on presuppositions, she readily argued how in such a question the presupposition that one is (always already) married and one abuses one’s wife is immanent, and how—getting out of the rhetorical trap is nearly impossible: If I say “yes”, that would entail I used to hit my wife; my “no” will mean I continue bashing my wife. My resolution is threefold of which I had quoted just one part in the above exchange: the first is, it is a prototypical personal question which could be easily construed as a personal attack meaning an attack on the persons’ privacy – to whom the question is addressed; secondly, I could retort in a similar manner: have YOU stopped beating your wife?—and turn the table. Thirdly, and this is a more modest response—which was offered to the historian: if I have a foreknowledge that somebody does beat his wife, then this question would not be illegitimate or a trap—at all. However, what is this foreknowledge? This foreknowledge is personal knowledge—a kind of an a priori which foregrounds all subsequent iterations. (Allen Ginsberg used to say, “Once I’ve known you, I shall always know you!”)



Photograph © Joo Peter

This was my fundamental, keen question. Having begun here—with this “gentle irony”, this book transformed itself to have become an intervention which distinguishes the private from the personal-- thus introducing and reinstating the personal as the originary (first) register (before and beyond the private and the public) to define and demarcate modernity and its contemporary or post’ avatars.

This is not a matter of a private episteme—that I should be prohibited from declaring to the public world, or own up the fact completely (albeit---beating each other as a part of organic erotic enjoyment – what shall we make of that?). Similarly, in the world of politics, personal attacks are not always attacks on a person’s privacy, as we are quick to colour them, radically.

Infact the intermixing of the personal and the private is a trap and a pursuit, and not the denial of public disclosure of privacies as some would have us believe. The book—a work in progress for over thirteen years-- hammers this foreknowledge!

But, at least once in a tremulous life, who hasn’t used private and personal interchangeably? Me too. And more so in an unabashed manner if we were to remain historically modern, still—when history not only gives us a headache, but exorbitantly—becomes one.

“There is no aspirin for the historical hangover.” Because modernity is well known by its private/public divide where the personal is used interchangeably with the private; even the indigene, vernaculars lack two different words. But is the personal the same as that of the private?

This was my fundamental, keen question. Having begun here—with this “gentle irony”, this book transformed itself to have become an intervention which distinguishes the private from the personal-- thus introducing and reinstating the personal as the originary (first) register (before and beyond the private and the public) to define and demarcate modernity and its contemporary or post’ avatars. Unlike the classical plotting of modernity from the personal to the impersonal -- I argue-- it is rather a journey from (natural) personality (of you and me—human persons) to (artificial or juridical) personality (of the institutions), and not impersonality.

This might help us guess--why do institutions burden and bore us? Because they, like persons, imprint upon us --the burden to be “sociable—to talk merely because convention forbids silence, to rub against one another in order to create the illusion of intimacy and contact.”

They impinge upon us the repetition of thinking “about pension, rather than death!” Is death personal, private or public? The book elicits a new, eternal quiz.

Private/public being legal juridical categories have specific indicators. The absence of these indicators makes personal relationships—like love or friendship remain outside legislation.

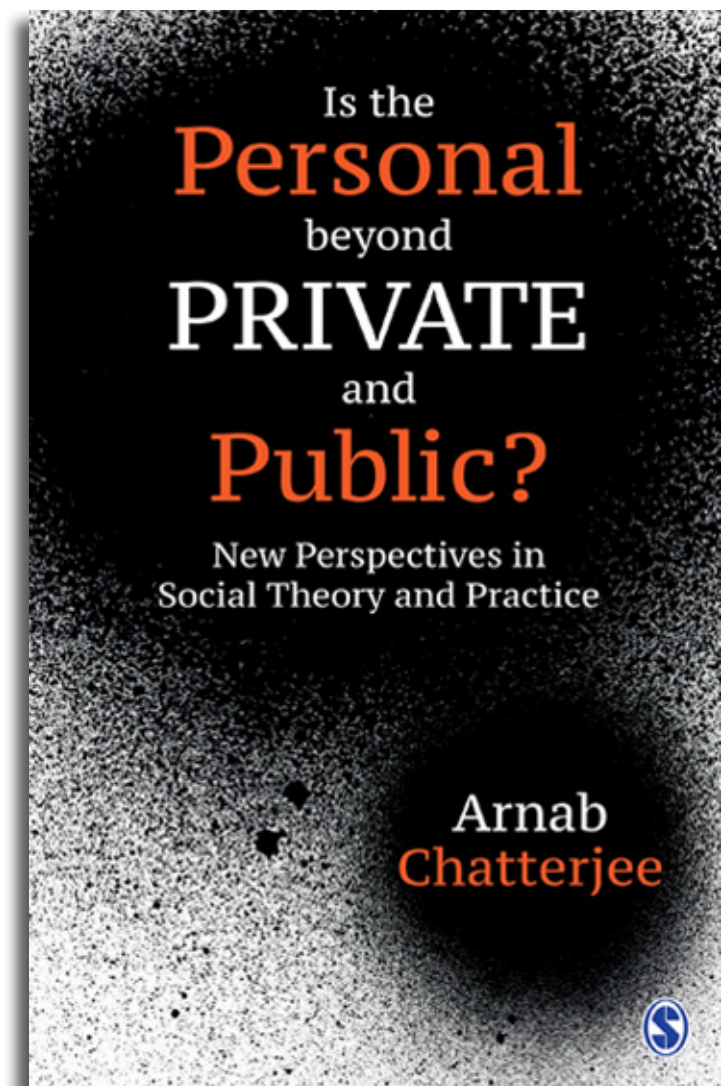
This outside, contingent, arbitrary, irrational and nonmathematical movement of the (new) personal that is recovered from the lineaments of the private is charted throughout the book in an over grasping sweep of nearly all discursive departments-- politics, ethics, history, theory, culture, and Law.

From the personal attacks in political Greece to the personalist forms of helping in colonial and postcolonial times in U.K or India via cultural vernaculars and history’s darkness--the contingent, arbitrary, whimsical, incalculable and non-juridical movement of the personal runs amok in the book and grounds it.

This outside, contingent, arbitrary, irrational and nonmathematical movement of the (new) personal that is recovered from the lineaments of the private is charted throughout the book in an over grasping sweep of nearly all discursive departments-- politics, ethics, history, theory, culture, and Law.

An approach which is ‘personalytic’ makes the personal so aggressive and invasive—like never before. The recuperation being complete, it is then interpretively applied to colonial and post-colonial theatres and helping rubrics (from charity to social work) to interrupt the global-universal mechanics. Therefore, not simply a lexical reordering, the book sees that the new personal is historically recovered, theoretically ‘proved’, culturally debated and practically deployed.

In this book I try to correct the perpetual night of a nearly irremediable failure to recover from the modern binary of the private/public (either through alternate privacies or counter publics), and preempt, again for the first time, the philosophical discourse of an alternative modernity; in other words, it rewrites modernity, for the last time!



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For democracy then, two options remain: one, to be public-ethical – when by trying to institute answerability (lover’s community vis-à-vis other communities, and between lover and lover), we democratically ‘codify’ intimacy.

At the heart of the book is this bleached fatal: an excess that overcomes all normalizations set up by the private and the public. “Come and ‘rehearse the intervals of this utter jubilee.’”

Now, with this new ternary (personal, private, public) being introduced –historically and theoretically- in place of the old (private, public) binary, we are challenged to see modernity and our everyday life in unforeseen, alternate ways. Are we ready?

And what is the impact—by way of an example? Consider love and seduction; seduction and its laughter: “Laughter is a fraud practiced on happiness” and we are most happy, pace Gandhi (on which a dedicated chapter is here) and De Sade, when we (gender neutrally) have a whip in hand (“Yes, I do beat my husband/lover and he beats me, too, and we enjoy!!”)-- regulating what Barthes said, a pornogrammar where sex is nearly syntax (which otherwise feeds on private/privacies and remember- -crime is deep private and secret): “no longer spoken but acted, a language of crime, or a new code of love, as elaborate as the code of courtly love.”

Then personal is equal to (=) love=sex=death? Oh Jesus! “Jesus ‘lack of moral principles’. He sat at meal with publicans and sinners, he consorted with harlots. Did he do this to obtain their votes?”

For democracy then, two options remain: one, to be public-ethical – when by trying to institute answerability (lover’s community vis-à-vis other communities, and between lover and lover), we democratically ‘codify’ intimacy.

Secondly, from the personalytic ethical angle, to side with the betrayer and change the conception of betrayal itself, for when we are allowed to have many friends, but not many lovers; one is compelled to hide or betray the first lover to reach the second one and so on; continuously done it becomes an enabling vector.

For this, hear a Czech novelist: “Betrayal means breaking ranks.... And going off into the unknown But if we betray B, for whom we betrayed A; it does not necessarily follow that we have placated A..... The first betrayal is irreplaceable. It calls forth a chain reaction of further betrayals, each of which takes us farther and farther away from the point of our original betrayal?” Where? Our answer is: it makes us love and reach the majority, from one or two, two to too many.

In love then not with a (wo) man anymore but with the simple majority of (wo) men; in love with the simple majority, in love with the shadows of the simple majority. This is love in the night of parliamentary democracy! This is sex in the days of ‘silent’ majority!

In other words, DEMOCRATIC INTIMACY! INTIMATE DEMOCRACY! DemoDemoDemocracy DEMONocracy more and more! Yeh (This) ‘dil’ (heart) mange (desires)? More and more.

At the heart of the book is this bleached fatal: an excess that overcomes all normalizations set up by the private and the public. “Come and ‘rehearse the intervals of this utter jubilee.’”



Prem Shankar Jha is an independent columnist, a prolific author and a former information adviser, Prime Minister's Office (India). He completed his master's in philosophy, politics and economics from the University of Oxford in 1961. Over the past few decades, he has been Editor in The Economic Times, The Financial Express, and Hindustan Times, and the Economic Editor in The Times of India. Jha has many published works to his credit. Some of them are given as follows: India: A Political Economy of Stagnation (1980), In the Eye of the Cyclone: The Crisis in Indian Democracy (1993), A Jobless Future: Political Causes of Economic Crisis (2002), The Perilous Road to the Market: The Political Economy of Reform in Russia, India and China (2002), The Origins of a Dispute: Kashmir 1947 (2003), The Twilight of the Nation State: Globalisation, Chaos and War (2006), Managed Chaos: The Fragility of the Chinese Miracle (SAGE, 2009), A Planet in Peril (2009) and Crouching Dragon, Hidden Tiger: Can China and India Dominate the West? (2010).

Making development sustainable

Prem Shankar Jha

In contrast to most books on Global Warming, *'Dawn of The Solar Age-An End to Global Warming, and to Fear'* concentrates not on the threat that Climate Change poses to humanity, but on what needs to be done to avert it. It begins by describing how the threat was identified, as far back as in 1969, and goes on to highlight a second threat to Humanity's future. This is the finding by two recent studies that the Club of Rome's 1972 warning, that the attempt to achieve exponential growth on a finite planet will lead to economic collapse by the middle of the 21st century is also dead on track. It concludes that nothing short of a complete shift of our energy base out of fossil fuels, will avert these twin threats and points out that Humanity has very little time left in which to do this. However, it asserts that contrary to near-universal belief, an alternative to fossil fuels not only exists, but has always existed. This is the boundless energy of the Sun. And again, contrary to general belief, the technologies that can harness this energy not only exist, but have been under development for the past forty to a hundred years.



When completed, the Pavagada solar park in southern India is expected to generate 2,000 megawatts of electricity, making it the world's largest solar station. (Karnataka Solar Power Development Corp.)

Despite the fact that outside Brazil the replacement of gasoline with corn-based ethanol has ground to a halt, and cellulosic ethanol has so far been a non-starter, there has been virtually no attempt by policy makers to explore the gasification route to transport fuels and petro-chemicals.

But developing countries, and particularly the oil importers among them, cannot afford the luxury of neglect, because for them this is the shift of energy base that holds out the greatest promise for the future.

Five core chapters of the book describe what these technologies are. They also show that far from being uneconomic they have now reached a stage of maturity where they can compete with little or no subsidies. However their deployment has been delayed by an over reliance on the Market Economy to choose the right technologies. And the Market Economy, which is governed by the search for ever-quicker profits, has been leading investors and governments up a succession of blind alleys. Two examples are Solar Photo-voltaic and wind power. Both have seen phenomenal technological advances that have made them become cheaper than coal-based power but both have one crucial drawback that prevents them from replacing it. This is that they generate power intermittently: neither has been able to supply power for more than a quarter of the hours of the year. Solar PV is at least predictable, but wind is not even that.

The second is that Thin Film technology, which is responsible for boosting the efficiency of solar panels, requires cadmium and tellurium, and there simply isn't enough of either in the earth's crust to replace even a significant proportion, let alone all, of the power generated from fossil fuels today. Battery storage can increase the availability of Solar PV power, but it faces the same problem: With today's technology there isn't enough minable Lithium in the earth's crust to meet the demand for Lithium-ion batteries to store PV power, let alone the millions of electric cars that the auto majors have promised to roll out in the next dozen years.

Solar Thermal Power

While the market has relentlessly promoted Wind and Solar PV power, it has neglected the one source that can meet base load demand. This is Concentrating, Solar-thermal (CSP) power. CSP has begun to deliver power round the clock because it can store the sun's heat in molten salts for long periods at negligible cost. CSP power plants are simple to construct, require only mild steels and other easily available materials of which there is no dearth. They also fit into the energy infrastructure of the world without creating any 'stranded assets'. In the past three years the cost of generating power from CSP power stations has fallen rapidly, till it is now well below the average sale price of power in the US and Western Europe.

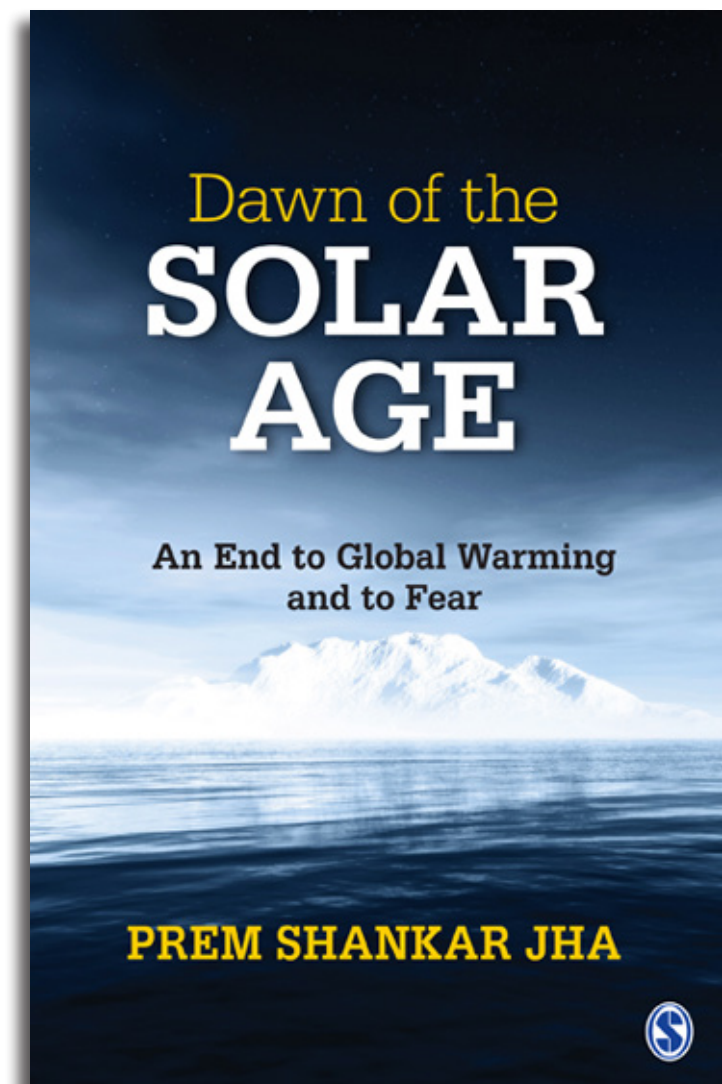
Biomass-based Transport fuels

The Sun can also meet humanity's need for transport fuels and petrochemicals via biomass. The technology that does this is the Gasification -- also called destructive distillation -- of biomass. This yields mainly carbon monoxide and hydrogen, which are the basic building blocks of the entire

petrochemicals industry. Biomass was used as a feedstock for producing methanol -- an alternative to ethanol as a transport fuel -- in the early twentieth century till it was supplanted by natural gas. When oil and gas prices shot up in the seventies and again in the 2000's, it could easily have been revived, but by the search for alternatives to fossil fuels then in the industrialised countries had focused on power generation to the virtual exclusion of transport fuels.

As a result, the only biomass based transport fuel that has come into general use so far is ethanol, which is produced by fermentation. Despite the fact that outside Brazil the replacement of gasoline with corn-based ethanol has ground to a halt, and cellulosic ethanol has so far been a non-starter, there has been virtually no attempt by policy makers to explore the gasification route to transport fuels and petro-chemicals. But developing countries, and particularly the oil importers among them, cannot afford the luxury of neglect, because for them this is the shift of energy base that holds out the greatest promise for the future.

The biomass that they have in abundance is crop residues and urban solid waste. Transforming these into transport fuels or petro-chemicals will not only save them valuable foreign exchange, of which most of them are chronically short; but clean up their cities by giving a monetary value to every scrap of solid waste. On the farms it will double incomes by enabling the farmers to sell their crop residues in addition to their main crop.



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The longer term impact of the shift to solar and biomass energy will be to close the ever widening between the global North and the Global South, and the urban-rural income gap in the developing countries. Desert, arid and semi-arid areas of the earth, which cover two thirds of its surface, will become the sites for solar power generation, as is already happening in Australia, California, Israel, Dubai, Morocco, Saudi Arabia, China, and India.

It will at the same time reduce farmers' vulnerability to drought by leaving them at least the crop residues to market, if their food, or main cash crop fails

Longer term impact of the shift to solar energy

The longer term impact of the shift to solar and biomass energy will be to close the ever widening between the global North and the Global South, and the urban-rural income gap in the developing countries. Desert, arid and semi-arid areas of the earth, which cover two thirds of its surface, will become the sites for solar power generation, as is already happening in Australia, California, Israel, Dubai, Morocco, Saudi Arabia, China, and India.

Lastly, the decentralization of energy production will decentralize urban development, and avoid the creation of megalopoli, and the economic and social cost that their management entails.

I have saved the best for the last. If solar energy can replace fossil fuels then every country will be able to generate it, in one form or another, all over the world. This will eliminate the need for assuring a continuous supply of oil and gas that many consider the most important underlying cause of the near-constant war that the world has witnessed in the last three decades.

What the shift out of fossil fuels entails

How fast does the transition out of fossil fuels need to be? The consensus target, which is reflected in the IPCC's 5th Assessment Report of 2014, is to bring the net emission of fossil fuels down to zero before the end of the century. But this is not fast enough to stop global warming and limit climate change. This is because CO2 concentration will have reached 450 ppm or thereabouts by the time that happens, and 30 per cent of the CO2 added till then will remain in the atmosphere for another 100 years, while 15 per cent will continue to affect the climate for the next 1,000 years. To get an idea of what the full impact on climate will be, we need to remember that in the Pleistocene period, three million years ago, when the CO2 concentration in the air was only 360 ppm, and the mean temperature was 30C higher than it was in 1900, the whole of south-western Africa was a sea of shifting sand, the American South-west and all but a small part of south-Asia was a desert and the sea level was several metres higher than it is today.

The world will attain this target only if it is able to shift out of fossil fuels by 2060 at the latest. Nature's sinks will then do the rest by taking approximately 18 GT (billion tonnes) out of the atmosphere every year.

To survive, therefore, the world needs an even stricter target: As James Hansen had warned some time ago, we must bring the concentration of CO2 back to the 310-312 ppm that had existed in 1950. That will be only 30 ppm above the pre-industrial average and will stand a good chance of re-establishing the equilibrium in the biosphere that has existed for the past 7,000 years.

The IPCC's 5th Assessment Report has also calculated that the CO2 added to the atmosphere will increase from 531 GT over pre-industrial times in 2012 to 723 GT by 2030. That will push CO2 concentration up from the present 404 ppm to over 420 ppm. Since 7.8 GT of CO2 needs to be extracted to reduce its concentration by one ppm, our target has to be to take more than 700 GT out of the atmosphere between 2030 and 2100, an average of 10 GT a year.

The world will attain this target only if it is able to shift out of fossil fuels by 2060 at the latest. Nature's sinks will then do the rest by taking approximately 18 GT (billion tonnes) out of the atmosphere every year.



S. K. Kulshrestha is an internationally renowned urban and regional planner with five decades of experience in teaching, research and professional practice.

India's Urban Transformation¹

Dr S. K. Kulshrestha

Introduction

India is progressing on the path of change. There appears to be change everywhere including approach to spatial planning. The current (2018-2019) political climate, in the country, is favourable for this transformation. Action in one hundred cities has started for transforming them to be smart under the Smart City Mission. Some 500 cities are being regenerated under the Atal Mission for Rejuvenation and Urban Transformation (AMRUT). Railway Ministry is redeveloping 400 railway stations in the country to improve their functional efficiency and make them attractive to the passengers. To attract tourists to explore India and have unique experience, Ministry of Tourism has launched two initiatives which include (a) redevelopment of 13 theme-based tourist circuits under Swadesh Darshan and (b) renewal of 23 tourist destinations under Pilgrimage Rejuvenation and Spiritual Augmentation Drive (PRASAD).

Starting since 2006, with the introduction of Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission (JNNURM), urban renewal has become a strong public policy supported with impressive fund allocation by the Government of India. It indicates the political will to transform cities, improve their quality of life and functional efficiency and make them vibrant and liveable centres of economic opportunities. The present Government has allocated a combined sum of INR 113,123 crore up to the year 2020.

¹ This article is based upon the Author's forthcoming (2018) book 'Urban Renewal in India: Theory, Initiatives and Spatial Planning Strategies', (Sage Publication, New Delhi, India) and may be referred to for further details.

² One crore equals to ten million and one US\$ is equal to INR 65 approximately.



Photograph [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Corner_of_Harrison_Street_\(Burra_Bazar\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Corner_of_Harrison_Street_(Burra_Bazar))

By 2050, more than 50% of the country's population is projected to be living in urban centres. There is a trend of excessive concentration of urban population in million-plus (M+) cities. This is evident from the fact that in the year 2011, there were 53M+ cities accommodating 42.63% urban population. Large cities and their peri urban areas are under stress to accommodate ever growing urban population meet economic development demand.

Why Urban Renewal?

Indian cities are aging and about 1,800 cities are more than 100 years old. The core areas of most of existing cities are congested and dilapidated due to unplanned growth and lack of infrastructure. Due to introduction of liberalisation of economy, in 1991, and resultant impressive flow of foreign direct investment, large cities and their peri urban areas have become centres of attraction and preferred destinations for investment. Their liveability, however, is poor and require rejuvenation.

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The result is unplanned urban sprawl and rapid transformation of villages from rural to urban centres. On the other hand, there are several planned and unplanned areas, within municipal limit of these cities, that are unutilised or underutilised and form fit cases for redevelopment.

Initiatives

Brief History

Urban renewal, in India, is not a new subject and has been in practice since 18th Century. Shahjahanabad, the Walled City Delhi, was rejuvenated after its destruction by Nadir Shah (1739). The British soldiers destroyed Shahjahanabad after the 1857 mutiny (the First War of Indian Independence) and city was redeveloped and the historical mosque, Jama Masjid, was conserved with great difficulty as a religious place because there were different proposals regarding its use.

In early 20th Century (1919), Patrick Geddes redeveloped Bara Bazar in Calcutta (now Kolkata) Urban renewal, in the Post Independence Period (after 1947) has been, generally, limited to slum clearance and improvement.

Master plans of various cities incorporated urban renewal policies and programmes which, among other proposals, included upgradation of slums and decongestion of city core area. These policies, however, were implemented in piecemeal manner with hardly any visible impact.

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Large and polluting industries were closed down in Delhi and Mumbai, but, nothing was done at the vacated mill sites for decades.

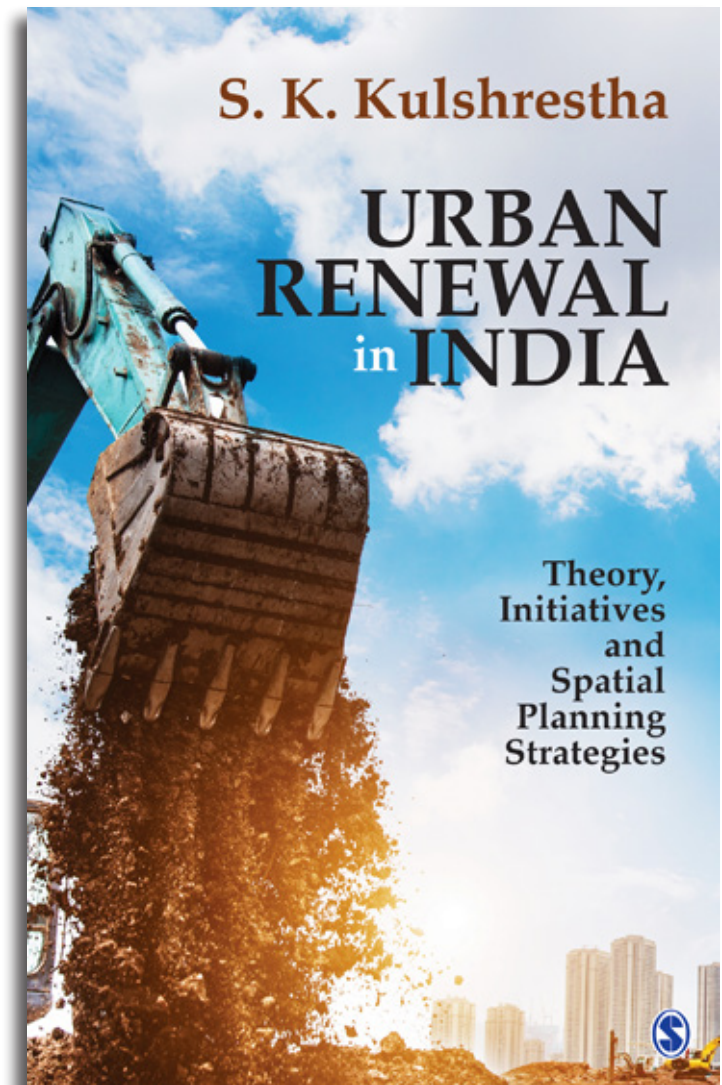
Large number of people living in slums in India constitute solid vote banks and attract political patronage. As a result, renewal of slums has become a regular and popular exercise before elections. This trend, to harness vote bank through improvement of living conditions in slums, is likely to continue in future.

Central / State Government Initiatives

In India, the land, land use and land management are subject matters that fall in the functional domain of the state governments. Accordingly, the national initiatives remained limited to urban renewal programmes and guidelines to be implemented by the respective state governments and their urban local bodies (ULBs).

JNNURM was the first programme of the Government of India that earmarked, for urban renewal, a large sum of INR 100,000 crore. The present NDA (National Democratic Alliance) Government introduced many programmes for urban transformation in 2014-2015.

These programmes include Smart Cities Mission, AMRUT, PRASAD, Swachh Bharat Mission, Heritage City Development and Augmentation Yojana (HRIDAY), and others.



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Mumbai initiative appears to be a good example where urban renewal has been implemented with innovative approaches, tools and techniques which are being followed in other cities also. Redevelopment of Bhendi Bazar, Dharavi and textile mill area are good examples from the city. Initiatives of other cities were limited to selected areas of concerns which could be renewal of slums (Indore, Kolkata,), river front development (Ahmedabad), renewal of core area of city or heritage conservation (Kolkata, Mysore, Pune).

City-level Initiatives

Among cities, Delhi appears to be the most comprehensive in term of addressing the issue of urban blight. The Master Plan for Delhi 2021 covers the entire city and has identified four types of areas for urban renewal which include (a) special areas comprising traditional city core, (b) unplanned / unauthorised areas which include urban villages; unauthorised colonies; regularised- unauthorised colonies; and slums, (c) planned blighted residential, commercial and industrial areas, and (d) heritage areas located in the city. Theoretically, it is impressive but Delhi failed to implement most of the proposals.

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Urban Reforms

Urban transformation in India covers both spatial and non-spatial interventions and urban reforms fall in the second category. Reforms improve urban governance and ease the administrative, legal and technical bottlenecks to facilitate the process of urban renewal. JNNURM may be credited as the first reform-oriented programme of urban renewal that introduced 23 reforms. Looking critically, JNNURM could only inculcate awareness regarding the need for introducing efficiency, accountability and transparency in functioning of urban local bodies. This had been due to the fact that to implement 23 reforms in a period of 7 years was a bit too ambitious. Some of the reforms that needed amendments in laws, and devolution of duties and functions to ULBs required political will, leadership and administrative support which seemed to be lacking, especially, in case of devolution of town planning function to ULBs. Introduction of reforms like user charges required change in mindset of the people and politicians which is a long process.

In 2013, the reform agenda of JNNURM was carried forward by Rajiv Awas Yojana (2013-2022) which reduced the number of reforms from 23 to 9 and created a Reforms Incentive Fund to give fiscal incentives to encourage state governments to take up the optional reforms.

As urban renewal is evolving in India, To build depositary of knowledge on the subject, outcome assessment, feedback and research need to be promoted. Marketing of urban renewal projects is another important action for the success of such initiatives and their acceptance by people. Urban renewal is the future of Indian cities. The next decade will be the decade of urban renewal.

Following the new mantra – ‘reform perform transform’ given by the Prime Minister Narendra Modi, the agenda of urban reforms continues under AMRUT. There are 11 reforms. These include 5 JNNURM-reforms and 6 new ones. The new reforms include efficient urban planning. These reforms are incentive-driven and time / target-oriented. Attaining the milestone and meeting the timeline entitles ULBs to incentive reward. It is a new approach and appears to set a new work culture and healthy competition among ULBs.

Way Forward

Urban renewal is like harnessing a gold mine. Land in core areas of old cities and unutilised/under-utilised areas, located within their municipal limits, have immense potential which needs to be utilised for resource mobilisation through land use planning and application of tools like Floor Area Ratio (FAR) and Transferable Development Rights (TDR).

Urban transformation efforts, should follow the following four principles which state that urban renewal should:

- be humane and provide social justice;
- strike balance among physical, economic and environmental concerns;
- conserve socio-cultural values, public spaces, and heritage monuments, buildings and sites: and
- involve stakeholders at all stages of the renewal process.

To be effective and acceptable to the stakeholders, urban renewal efforts need to address five common considerations which include:

1. Ensuring accessibility and connectivity;
2. Achieving balanced interrelationship among density, FAR and infrastructure;
3. Promoting pattern of mixed land uses;
4. Ensuring inclusion and spatial equity; and
5. Taking implementation actions which could be comprehensive, strategic and /or tactical.

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Kalinga Seneviratne is Lecturer in the Faculty of Communication Arts, Chulalongkorn University, Bangkok. He is a media analyst with many years of experience in journalism. He was the Australia and South Pacific correspondent for the Inter Press Service news agency. From 2005 to 2012, he was the Head of Research at the Asian Media Information and Communication Centre, Singapore. Dr Seneviratne has been an award winning radio broadcaster in Sydney. He received the Media Peace Award (1987) from the United Nations Association of Australia and the Educational Award (1992) from the Community Broadcasting Association of Australia. He writes for several news services and has several published works to his credit.

Developing a “Human-centric” Journalism Practice

Dr Kalinga Seneviratne

The new title *Mindful Communication for Sustainable Development: Perspectives from Asia* released by SAGE is a result of an UNESCO-IPDC funded project implemented by Chulalongkorn University in Bangkok to incorporate Asian philosophical concepts into a journalism curriculum. I offered this project proposal to Chulalongkorn University and UNESCO about 4 years ago after seeing how tertiary institutions in Asia teach mass communications and journalism straight out of American textbooks written for American universities, that basically ignores the realities, cultural norms and philosophical/cultural perspectives from Asia.

Thus young communicators graduating from Asian universities look up to the West, mainly to the US, for solutions to their communication problems and are not encouraged to look within for solution that are culturally more sensitive and understanding of the Asian socio-economic realities.

One could argue that the book is geared to “de-colonise” the minds of Asian communication lecturers as well as their students.



Many of us felt that the style of journalism practiced in Asia – which has been borrowed from the West – is too adversarial and focus on conflicts rather than helping to solve the social, economic and environmental problems facing humankind. Thus the news media is making people depressed rather than giving them hope for the future.

The project included a two-day seminar of Asian communication and philosophy scholars in December 2015 to discuss and focus on Asian philosophical ideas/concepts that come from Buddhist, Hindu and Confucius teachings that could be used in drafting the curriculums. After the curriculums were drafted by a team of lecturers based at Chulalongkorn University, we organized a weeklong workshop in July 2016 for communication lecturers from across Asia to introduce the curriculums and fine tune it for use in Asia. This book is a result of this workshop and the curriculum development process. The chapters are written by those who were involved in the seminar and workshop.

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With the United Nations promoting sustainable development, we felt that there is much to learn from ancient Asian philosophical teachings that could be adopted in communicating for sustainable development such as mindfulness, sufficiency economics and paths of understanding and addressing issues of unsatisfactoriness known as ‘dukkha’ in Buddhism. All these concepts are secular in nature and you do not need to become a Buddhist or Hindu to adopt these ideas in your journalism and communications practices to promote sustainable development.

As I pointed out in the preface, the word ‘development communication’ was coined in the 1960s and 70s mainly by western scholars, where the western model of development was seen as universal. The communicator was supposed to wean away the peasants from their traditional lifestyles into a more consumption-oriented society. So tradition became old fashioned and greed became development/modernization. The East was supposed to embrace West’s wisdom and discard their ‘mythologies’.

But today, in the second decade of the 21st century, especially after the economic crisis in the West questioned this consumerist development model, Eastern ‘mythology’ is now becoming modern wisdom. Yet, East is also following the consumerist model of development that is resulting in much social and environmental damage across the region, while at the same time millions of people are ‘enjoying’ the middle class consumerist lifestyles.

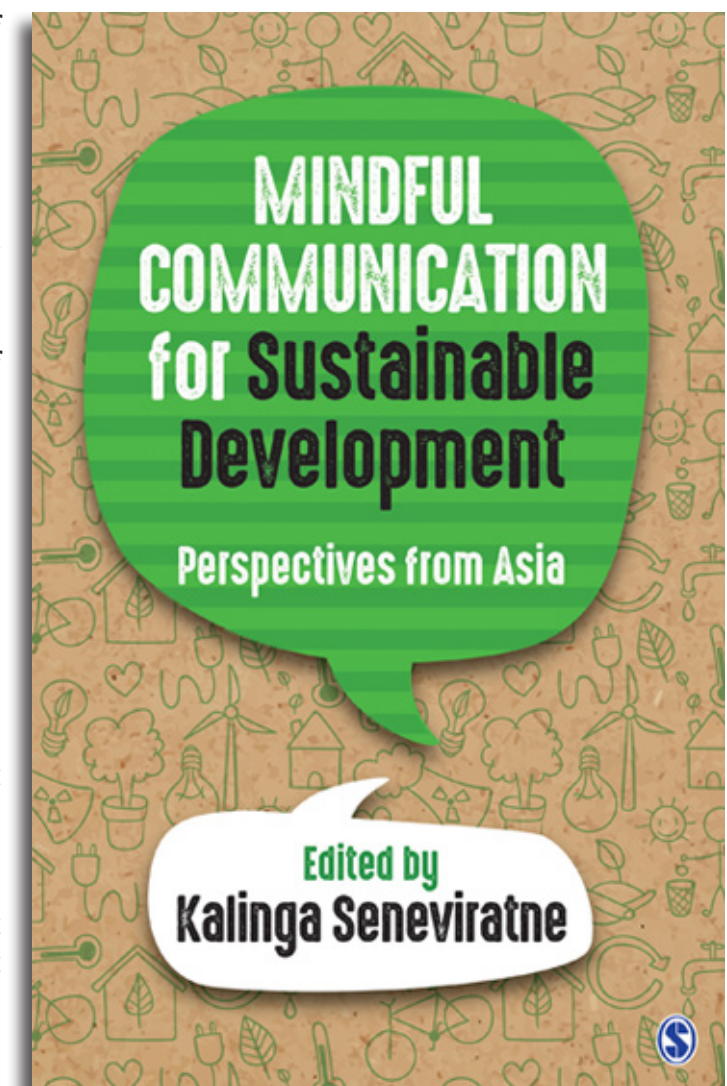
Mindfulness is today the biggest fad sweeping across the West - particularly the U.S. – we in the East have known this as Vipassana Bhavana for the past 25 centuries. Right at the beginning of the book we have made it clear that mindfulness should not be seen as merely training your mind to be in the present and be focused.

This book is designed to address this dilemma of development and communicating a future development model that is economically, socially and environmentally sustainable, drawing ideas from eastern philosophical thought.

Mindfulness is today the biggest fad sweeping across the West - particularly the U.S. – we in the East have known this as Vipassana Bhavana for the past 25 centuries. Right at the beginning of the book we have made it clear that mindfulness should not be seen as merely training your mind to be in the present and be focused.

This focus has to be accompanied by the development of compassion and loving kindness towards humanity, especially towards the less well-to-do about whose welfare the sustainable development communicators should be focused on.

In chapter 2, Bhikkhu Phuwadol Piyasilo, a Thai forest monk and a mass communication graduate warns that secularizing of mindfulness as practised in the West could be harmful to humanity as it could create a wrong self-centred focus. He argues that mindfulness needs a moral framework so that it could work with communication itself. He says, as Buddhists we can look at how we analyse suffering and help other people to reduce their sufferings in everyday life. So this is something we can contribute to making communications better. Not promote more conflicts and sufferings.



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A major aspect of the journalism curriculum that was developed for the project was what we call the “human-centric journalism” which is explained in chapters 8, 9 and 10 by Thai communicators Jirayudh Sinthuphan, Suppapron Phokaew and Pipope Panitchpakdi. These include creative research methodologies incorporating mindful compassion concepts that includes training future communicators with deep listening techniques (which could include meditation sessions during journalism classes), a ‘Kalama Sutra’ (charter of free inquiry) model of new journalism, which may not be all that different to the western model of investigative journalism.

In chapter 3, Thai social critic Sulak Sivaraksa also warns about using mindfulness in a selfish way to improve your concentration (focus) but not caring about the injustices and suffering in the society. He argues that the global and local economic systems are based on “structural violence’ and mindful communication need to develop a mindset of focusing on such violence (which need not be expressed in overt violence that the media is good at reporting) if we are to promote sustainable development that benefits the poor. Sivaraksa expressed this danger of mindfulness very clearly, thus:

Without a sense of universal responsibility, corporate CEO and others will relieve stress and focus their minds so that they can be more clever businessmen and make more money without improving themselves or the world. Mindfulness without ethics will reduce stress and focus their minds to pursue corporate goals including activities that would promote pollution of the environment and ultimately result in global warming. These type of practices have the potential to building a world facilitating more greed and delusions.

The above quote is reflective of the major theme of the book, which attempts to develop a new generation of development communicators with a new paradigm that incorporates compassion and kindness. In chapter 5 Korean Professor Kwangsoo Park in presenting a Confucius view of communications also discuss the need to address the injustices of the global economic system and the need for journalists to bring in new “ethical values” to the practice of journalism, especially in reporting economic issues. “A goal of journalism is to stimulate harmony among people by encouraging them to celebrate diversity while at the same time realizing the common thread that connects them all,” he argues, adding: “When Confucius discussed ambition with his students he did not suggest that higher your ambition the better.”

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...the book, while not rejecting this notion, tries to make the point that being “watchdog” need not be a negative form of communication. As Panitchpakdi notes in chapter 10, “news has to be critical, but being critical doesn't have to be confrontational. Being critical is looking at it objectively but the approach of doing it doesn't have to be negative”.

Bhutanese communication specialist Dorji Wangchuk discusses in chapter 12 a “middle path journalism” model that incorporates the Gross Happiness Index model the tiny Buddhist kingdom introduced to the world. In discussing economic and development communication many of the authors have reflected upon the Buddhist concept of ‘sufficiency economics’ which was initially mooted by the late Thai King at the height of the 1997 Asian Financial Crisis, which now encompasses many of the Sustainable Development Goals of the UN.

Chapters from Filipino and Malaysian communication scholars focus on the adoption of mindful communication techniques in analyzing media reporting such as President Duterte’s ‘war on drugs’ and socio-religious conflicts in a multicultural society such as Malaysia. Their findings would have lessons for journalists – both in the East and West – on analyzing and reporting conflicts from a people-centric perspective rather than just focusing on the violence and its perpetrators.

Chapters by Sanjay Ranade from India and Kanako Wanatabe from Japan reflects some interesting Asian ways of communication that needs an understanding of the cultural norms of the society to interpret its message and meaning. As Wanatabe discuss, even silence could mean something, while emotions and taste could also be communication methodology in the Asian context as Ranade discuss. The book is basically an attempt to open up the minds of Asian communicators in particular, to wean them away from the adversarial model of journalism, which may sometimes be termed as “watchdog journalism”. But, the book, while not rejecting this notion, tries to make the point that being “watchdog” need not be a negative form of communication. As Panitchpakdi notes in chapter 10, “news has to be critical, but being critical doesn't have to be confrontational. Being critical is looking at it objectively but the approach of doing it doesn't have to be negative”.



Manoranjan Byapari has worked at many kinds of jobs and also been writer-in residence at Alumnus Software, Calcutta. He never went to school or university. He is a popular writer in the literary magazines and in 2014 received the Suprabha Majumdar prize awarded by the Paschim Banga Bangla Akademi. He was awarded the 24 Ghanta Ananya Samman in 2013. He and his writings are well known as he speaks about Dalit issues in Hindi, becoming proficient in the language while he was with the Mukti Morcha of the late Shankar Guha Neogi in Chhattisgarh.

Translated from Bangla by Professor Sipra Mukherjee

My experience of this book

Manoranjan Byapari

J for jail.

J for Jijibisha.

J for Jivan.

At the same time, J is for 'jiddi' (ziddi= stubborn)

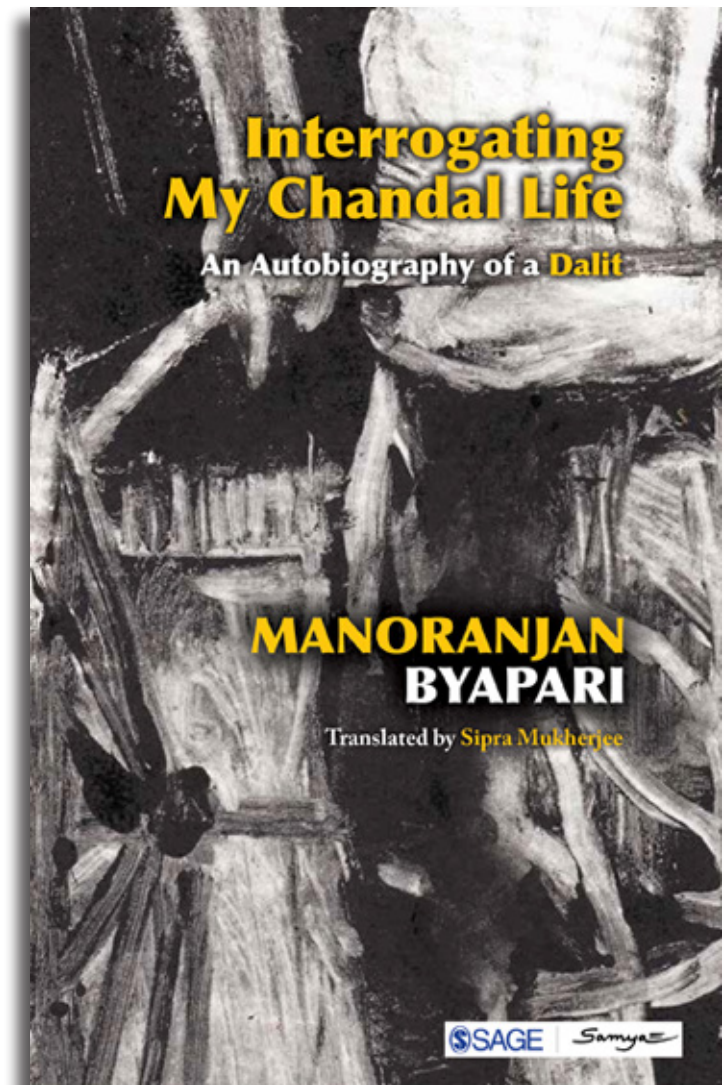
J is for 'jung' which means battle in Hindi.

J is also for Jai that is victory.

Much in this way, my autobiography spans a wide range from the miseries of the jail to the thrill of a 'jai'.

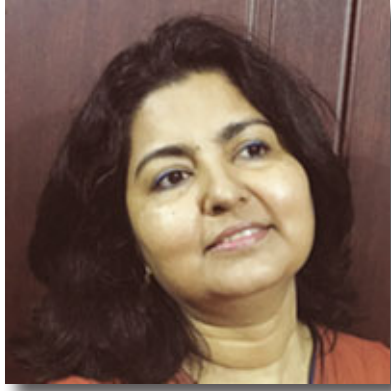
Chandal refers to an untouchable caste, but at the same time, the word 'chandal' in Bangla is also an adjective used for a man who is filled with fury. The person who this book deals with is one who is both. Victim of the Partition of India, he begins his life as a goatherd. At the age when others go to school with books and pencils, he tended the goats and cows with a stick in hand. And then, shivering with cold, washing glasses and cups at a small shanty tea shop. When a little older, he worked as a coolie, as a rickshaw-wallah, driven by hunger snatching bread from the jaws of a dog. And then at a later stage, running through the streets of the city with a knife or a bomb in hand. Such a life usually ends as a corpse spread out on the post-mortem table, or else in the darkness of the dungeon. It is such a man who tells his story in this book. The story can thus be described as the story of a man who was not supposed to have lived this long. A man who has clung to life with all his limbs in an octopus-like embrace, struggling to live in the hostile environment of poverty, starvation, exploitation, oppression. In the prison at the age of 24, learning the alphabet by etching the letters on the earthen floor of the prison house, and from there to University of Hyderabad, to Delhi University, to West Bengal State University, to Presidency University, to the Tata Institute of Social Sciences, the Paschim Banga Sahitya

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Sansad, Jawaharlal Nehru University, and then to Jaipur Literary Festival. This book tells the tale of my struggle, from my boyhood to the publication of my first book. I had sat myself down on the field at the Calcutta Book Fair and sold my books. How is this any less of an achievement than the climber who ascends Mount Everest sans all life-support? It is unlikely that this book will help my readers with their examinations or interviews. But it may just help them to turn around and fight the injustices and despairs of life. I have indeed been fortunate to have readers who have said as much when they met me: "You gave me the courage to go ahead, to not succumb and commit suicide. If you could live despite such agony, then perhaps I can too."

I do not know what the aesthetic or artistic value of my work is, but I do believe that if can give strength to those who have been weakened and downtrodden, then my book is successful. I have been writing since 1980 and so have been writing for the past 30 to 38 years. I have published about 12 or 13 books, and have written much for journals. Many manuscripts lie with me, incomplete. Yet I am hesitant to call myself a writer. I would rather call myself a person who has kept continuously writing, persistent 'lekha', to become a 'lekhowar', like those who practise their games persistently to emerge after the incessant 'khe;a' as 'khelowars'. I have raised my voice against oppression and injustice, against the arbitrary persecution of the poor and the weak. I believe myself to be a representative of resistant humanity. It is for them that I write. It is on their side that I am. When I take up my pen it is for them and for their rights. For them I will write, I will join the michhils, I will shout. I do not believe in caste, religion, colour, sect. I know that there are only two kinds of human beings on this earth: good and bad, the oppressor and the oppressed, the dalak and the dalit. My life is dedicated to the latter of these. I have no weapon but my pen, and that too a cheap one, but I will fight as long as I can wield it. This promise marks every page of my book, *Interrogating My Chandal Life*.



Sipra Mukherjee is Professor, Department of English, West Bengal State University. Her research interests are religion, caste and power. Her interest in literatures of the margins began with research into early missionary journals of Northeast India. She has since worked on small religious sects and is presently trying to archive the local cultures of North 24-Parganas at her university. She has published with Brill, Oxford University Press, McGill-Queen's University Press, SAGE, Sahitya Akademi, Ravi Dayal, Routledge and Permanent Black.

Translating Byapari's *Chandal Life*

Professor Sipra Mukherjee

Translating Manoranjan Byapari's book has been quite an experience. As a reader and translator, one moves from the agony of a young boy, haunted by hunger, to the thrill of a tipsy Manoranjan impatient and irritated in Bastar, snatching the microphone from a political leader, to script a 'proper' speech for him. It is a tale that moves between the urban and the rural space, taking you through lows that are dark in their unplumbed depths, to unexpected highs that speak of the grit of the human spirit and the generosity of human nature. Moving from an East Pakistan just after the chaotic Partition, to the refugee camps in West Bengal, through the Food Riots, to the margins of the city of Kolkata still reeling from the impact of the bloody Partition and the influx of thousands of refugees, this is a story of Bengal that has remained largely untold. This statement may come as a surprise since Bengal and the city of (then) Calcutta are both subjects that have had tomes of works written on them. Yet this book, set in close proximity to the history of the mainstream: Partition, Communism, Naxalite movement, - narrates a story that amazes and shocks. It is for this reason that Binayak Sen said that "this incomplete history, which had for long assumed the partial to be the whole, the sectional to be the national, is sought to be completed through Manoranjan's pen." Possibly the one experience that dominates the life of the boy Manoranjan who runs away from home, terrified by the prospect of facing daily hunger - is one of just that which he sought to escape: hunger. Hunger is the one persistent certainty that dogs his footsteps. The slightly older teenager with him who, like Manoranjan, lives off the streets, expresses surprise that Manoranjan neither smokes nor drinks. "So, what is your vice?" he asks Manoranjan. "Rice," answers Manoranjan after pausing to think, "Rice is my vice". One feature of the language that made translation into the language of English simpler is the 'universality' of the language that Byapari uses. Rootless from birth, his language is only minimally rooted in the specificities of one urban or one rural locale. Moreover, this is the story of a desperate man, who is exploited, is pushed to the edge repeatedly, and who learns early that offence is the best defence.

In circumstances such as these, language can be largely bare and unadorned:

There was a broken bit of a brick lying on the ground before me. Without stopping to think and with the speed of lightning, I picked it up and, gathering all my body's strength in my two arms, thrust the brick into the forehead of the boy with the knife. I aimed for the centre of the forehead, a spot which, if struck with force, usually kills. The knife fell out of his hand as he dropped to the ground with a groan. I pounced upon the Kanpuri and, with it in my hands, turned round at the remaining two.

'Come, who is it now!'

But they did not come. They ran away, into the darkness, leaving their moaning friend on the ground.

This is not to say that there is no sentimentality, a feeling difficult to put aside when one is recounting incidents in one's own life when one was helpless and victimized. But Byapari steers his way through this expertly by distancing himself, the writer, from his younger self, by naming that youth, preyed upon by one wolf then another, Jeeban, and therefore making it a third-person narrative in these places. Translating this book did not come with the usual difficulties that are recounted by translators of dalit prose. The language was not 'different', the words and terms used were not of another reality and unknown to me, an upper caste mainstream-educated translator. But in all likelihood, this is how many of the modern dalit narratives are going to be, with the earlier 'differences' between the Dalit and Upper-Caste literatures fading. With hunger, poverty and violence exploding the earlier comfortable distances between classes and castes, the erstwhile separation of narratives that had characterized earlier literatures will in all likelihood minimize. West Bengal may just be one of the provinces where this is easier to catch, with the Partition causing many to flee the more agrarian East Bengal into India.

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Live encounters

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