

EDUDOC SERVICES: BOOK REVIEWS



Book Reviews

August - 2019



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INTRODUCTION

Book Reviews aims to identify the books published recently on all the subjects relevant to NCERT.

Book Reviews have been selected from Learned Periodicals & Newspapers received in LDD during the month of **August, 2019**.

Book Reviews are arranged under broad Subject Headings. Details about the Author, Title, Place of Publication, Name of Publisher, Year, Pages, Price, ISBN followed by analytical review with exact reference to periodicals in which reviewed appeared. It will be our endeavour to bring out this Book Selection Reference Tool.

Book Reviews will be useful to our faculty members in selecting / recommending relevant books for our library and also to keep abreast of latest publications in their specialization.

We eagerly await to receive your views and comments.

Chairperson, LDD

CONTENTS

Title and Author	Sources	Pg. No.
ANTHROPOLOGY		
Communication and anthropology, by Gaya Pandey	Man and Life, Vol. 45., NO.1-2, Jan-June, 2019	1
ARCHITECTURE		
The architecture of a Deccan Sultanate : courtly practice and Royal Authority in late Medieval India, by Pushkar Sohoni	Frontline, August 2, 2019	2-4
ECONOMICS		
Dispossession, deprivation and development: essays for Utsa Patnaik, edited by Arindam Banerjee and CP Chandrasekhar	Economic & Political Weekly, Vo.LIV No.35, August 31, 2019	5-6
Macroeconomics of the black economy, by Saumen Chattopadhyay	Economic & Political Weekly, Vo.LIV No.33, August 17, 2019	7-8
EDUCATION		
The search for better educational standards: a cautionary tale, Martin Thrupp, with responses from Bob Lingard, by Meg Maguire and David Hursh	Journal of Education for Teaching, Vol.44, No.5, December, 2018	9-11
ENVIRONMENTAL SCIENCE		
Domestic water consumption pattern in urban areas: retrospective and prospective analysis, by Jasdeep Kaur	Man & Development, Vol.XLI, No.2, June, 2019	12-15
Cities and canopies: trees in Indian cities , by Harini Nagendra and Seema Mundoli	Resonance Journal of Science Education, Vol.24, No.7., July 2019	16-19
HISTORY		
Early Indians: the story of our ancestors and where we came from, by Tony Joseph	Frontline, August 2, 2019	20-23

Violence and non-violence across time: history, religion and culture, edited by Sudhir Chandra	Economic & Political Weekly, Vo.LIV No.31, August 3, 2019	24-25
INTERNATIONAL RELATION		
Legitimacy of power: the permanence of Five in the UN Security Council, by Dilip Sinha	Frontline, August 2, 2019	26-28
JOURNALISM		
Poverty matters: covering deprivation in India, by K Nagaraj	Economic & Political Weekly, Vo.LIV No.33, August 17, 2019	29-30
LAW		
Labour law reforms in India: all in the name of jobs, by Anamitra Roy Chowdhury	Economic & Political Weekly, Vo.LIV No.32, August 10, 2019	31-34
LITERATURE		
Lifescapes: interviews with contemporary women writers from Tamil Nadu, by K. Srilata and Swarnalatha Rangarajan	Frontline, August 30, 2019	35-36
Hazaaron Khwahishein Aisi: the wonderful world of Urdu Ghazals, edited by Anisur Rahman	Frontline, August 30, 2019	37-38
Love without a story, poems, by Arundhati Subramaniam	Outlook, August 12, 2019	39
PHILOSOPHY		
Looking within: life lessons from Lal Ded, edited by Shonaleeka Kaul	Frontline, August 16, 2019	40-43
Violence: humans in dark times, by Brad Evans and Natasha Lennard	Frontline, August 30, 2019	44-46
Gandhi and philosophy: on theological anti-politics, by Shaj Mohan and Divya Dwivedi	Economic & Political Weekly, Vo.LIV No.31, August 3, 2019	47-49
POLITICAL SCIENCE		
Awakening Bharat Mata: the political beliefs of the Indian rights, by Swapan Dasgupta	Outlook, August 5, 2019	50-51

POLITICAL HISTORY		
Conversations with Ambedkar: 10 Ambedkar memorial lectures, edited by Valerian Rodrigues	Economic & Political Weekly, Vo.LIV No.35, August 31, 2019	52-53
RELIGION		
The Churches of India, by Joanne Taylor	Outlook, August 19, 2019	54
RESEARCH METHODOLOGY		
Anthropological research: methodology-theory and practice, by Gaya Pandey	Man and Life, Vol.45., No.1-2, January-June 2019	55-56
SCHOOL EDUCATION		
School social workers roles and contributions in child learning, by Arti Mann	Man and Life, Vol.45., No.1-2, January-June 2019	57-58
SOCIOLOGY		
Holy science: the biopolitics of Hindu Nationalism, by Banu Subramaniam	India Today, August 26, 2019	59
Visible Muslim: invisible citizen, by Salman Khurshid	India Today, August 12, 2019	60
Developing the underdevelop: a study of tribal development in India, by Pradip K. Bhowmick, PC Coomar and Mita Sarkar	Man and Life, Vol.45., No.1-2, January-June 2019	61-62
Between development and displacement, by Lalita Prasad	Man and Life, Vol.45., No.1-2, January-June 2019	63-65
Indo Nepalese socio cultural dimension, by K.K. Muktar	Man and Life, Vol.45., No.1-2, January-June 2019	66-67
TEACHER EDUCATION		
Teacher educators in the twenty-first century: identity, knowledge and research, by Gerry Czerniawski	Journal of Education for Teaching, Vol.44.,No.5., December 2018	68-70
ZOOLOGY		
Giant hearts: travels in the world of Elephants, edited by Jean-Philippe Puyravaud and Priya Davidar	Frontline, August 16, 2019	71-72

COMMUNICATION AND
ANTHROPOLOGY

Author: Gaya Pandey

Publisher: Concept Publishing
Company Pvt. Ltd. New Delhi (ISBN
13:978-93-86682-2 (H.B.) and
13:978-93-86682-49-9(P.B.) pp
xiv+442,

Price: Rs. 250 (paperback edition),
2018.

The book under review is highlighted various aspects of communication from the angle of anthropology.

Communicational Anthropology is though taught in both postgraduate and undergraduate level in many Indian Universities, yet there is an acute paucity of book and literature which covers all aspects of communicational anthropology and related communicational research under a single cover. Moreover, none of the book is available in the market as per the knowledge of the present reviewer covers the entire spectrum of prescribed syllabus of Indian universities on the topic of communicational anthropology.

The present book under review fulfil the need of the students and researchers in holistic manner. The book is also substantiated with Indian expressions whenever required. The book is divided into as many as sixteen chapters namely introduction, meaning, definition,

role and function of communication, nature and characteristics of communication, type, method, technique and tools of communication, impediments to communication, communicational law and skill, channels and agencies of communication, media of communication, communication revolution, development and business of communication, approaches to the study of communication, ethnography of human communication and finally structure of human communication.

The book is a humble and outstanding efforts to solve the problems of the researchers by providing all materials related to communicational anthropology in simple and lucid English with ample Indian expressions. The book is extremely important for the scholars, researchers, students and teachers interested in communicational anthropology. Both the author and publishers deserves special thanks and appreciation for publishing such an important text book on communicational anthropology. The price of the book is also within the easy reach of the ordinary readers.

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Deccan architecture

Architectural exploration in the sultanate of Ahmednagar can provide deep insights into the political history of the Deccan. BY VIKHAR AHMED SAYEED

BY the late 15th century, the Bahmani kingdom that had ruled much of the Deccan since its establishment in 1347 was imploding because of internecine differences among its nobility. Westerners, or the “Afaqis”—immigrants from Persia and Central Asia—had differences with the natives, or the “Deccanis”, an eclectic group of nobles that consisted of descendants of the early Delhi sultanate migrants, local converts to Islam, Habshis (Africans) and Marathas. The weakening of the kingdom was accompanied by ambitious provincial governors declaring independence one after the other, leading to the emergence of five separate principalities, or sultanates.

The earliest to break away and proclaim himself sultan was Ahmed Nizam Shah I, who was the governor of the north-west province of the Deccan, later to be known as Ahmednagar, after the name of the city he would build and designate as capital of the sultanate. Of the four other sultanates that would cleave away chunks of the Bahmani kingdom,

Bijapur and Golconda were the large and important ones to emerge.

Ahmednagar survived as a robust Shiite polity for more than a century, until 1600, and then in a feeble form until 1636 before the Mughals, with their unceasing imperial ambitions, completely swamped the city. It took 50 more years for the Mughals to subjugate all the kingdoms of the Deccan when Aurangzeb finally defeated the sultanates of Bijapur and Golconda in 1686 and 1687 respectively. Even though it was the first sultanate to fall to the Mughals because of its location, Ahmednagar survived as an inde-

pendent state for more than 100 years.

During this time, it carved out a distinct identity in statecraft apart from leaving behind a fairly rich architectural legacy, which is the subject of study of the book under review. With this clearly defined ambition, Pushkar Sohoni, who is an architectural historian, has turned the spotlight on the sultanate of Ahmednagar and presented a method by which architectural exploration can provide deep insights into the political history of a geographical region.

The art and architecture of the Deccan sultanates was the focus of many

scholars in the past. In pre-independent India, the region’s architecture was studied as an addendum to the Islamic architecture of northern India (for example, the second volume of Percy Brown’s seminal work on Indian architecture, 1942). More recently, the study of the Deccan as an independent area has come into its own, with scholars such as George Michell and Mark Zebrowski (*Architecture and Art of the Deccan Sultanates*, 1999) publishing detailed studies.

Among exhaustively edited volumes on the same theme, a few stand out in recent times, including *Silent Splendour: Palaces of the Deccan, 14th-19th Centuries* edited by Helen Philon (2010) and *Sultans of the South: Art of India’s Deccan Courts, 1323-1687* edited by Navina Najat Haidar and Marika Sardar (2011).

Richard Eaton and Phillip B. Wagoner have published a book titled *Power, Memory, Architecture: Contested Sites on India’s Deccan Plateau, 1300-1600* (2014) that looks in detail at secondary urban centres of the Bahmani and Deccan Sultanate era such as Kalyana, Raichur and Warangal.

Coming to the scholarship on individual sultanates: Pramod B. Gadre has studied Ahmednagar in some detail (*The Cultural Archaeology of Ahmadnagar during Nizam Shahi Period, 1494-1632*, 1986); Deborah Hutton has looked carefully at the art of Bijapur (*Art at the Court of Bijapur*, 2006);

THE
ARCHITECTURE
OF A DECCAN
SULTANATE

Courtly Practice and
Royal Authority
in Late Medieval India



PUSHKAR SOHONI

**The Architecture of a
Deccan Sultanate**
Courtly Practice and
Royal Authority in
Late Medieval India

By Pushkar Sohoni
I.B. Tauris & Co. Ltd,
London, 2018

Price: Rs.5,646
Pages: xviii + 289

Marika Sardar has extensively studied the fortifications of Golconda (“Golconda Through Time: A Mirror of the Evolving Deccan”, unpublished PhD thesis, 2007). The book under review adds to this burgeoning bibliography on the art and architecture of the Deccan sultanates.

In his prefatory chapter, Sohoni makes a forceful case for the independent study of the Deccan, which had a distinct identity from “Hindustan”, or northern India, for most of the past. He writes: “The deep connections of the Deccan with West Asia, completely independent of Northern India, along with the autonomous cultural and historical developments in the south have shaped the Deccan very uniquely. Detailed studies of the politics of the Deccan, therefore, of architecture and statecraft, need to be undertaken in order to explain how, in moments of disengagement with the north, unique formations were created independent of developments in North India.”

This disconnectedness from north India led to the emergence of a distinctive architecture as the Nizam Shahis developed their own style. Sohoni’s argument is that the “...architecture of the Nizam Shahs does not follow a linear development from its Persian origins to the creation of a regional style. The buildings are variously of broadly Persianate and Indic characteristics, at times both, but to call them derivative is unfair, as the kingdom of the Nizam Shahs was trying to create a new architectural

language as a regional claim.”

This study of architecture and the politics of Ahmednagar also leads Sohoni to argue ingeniously that the Deccani kingdoms saw themselves as “regionalists” who were resisting the “Hindustani” expansion led by the Mughals. This is an interesting perspective of medieval India.

Thus, the Deccan kingdoms were resisting the cultural expressions of the north by forging links with Persianate lands, which led to autonomous architectural representations. Chaul, Dabhol, Bhatkal and Goa were the principal ports through which connections with the wider Persianate world were forged independently, bypassing north India. In their architecture and in other aspects such as coinage, literature and painting, the Deccan sultans intended to bolster their

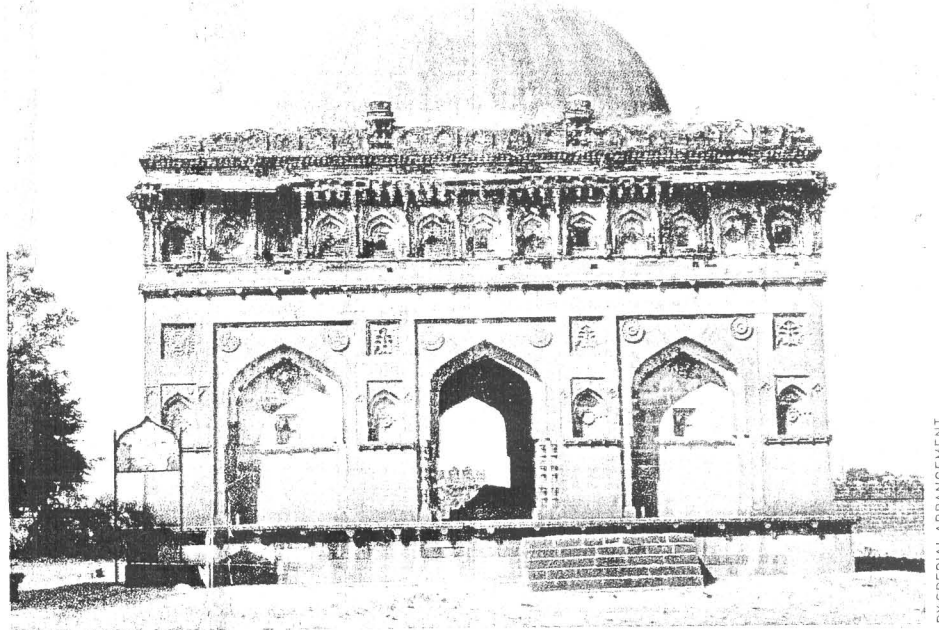
independent claims as Deccan potentates. At the time, the Deccan was a multi-ethnic society with strong and independent connections to Persia.

There was also a great deal of cultural interaction and churning in the region involving ethnicities as diverse as African, Arab, Central Asian and South Asian. Thus, Sohoni provides ample evidence to back his argument that the Deccan has to be studied independently from “Hindustan”.

Sohoni’s intervention is valuable for the much-needed nuance it provides to the story of medieval India. In the reductive nationalist and colonialist versions of the time, Muslim rulers are seen as invaders “...upsetting indigenous practices until the ‘Hindu revival’ under the Marathas in the seventeenth century which is a simplistic and naive model of regional history”.

Through Sohoni’s work, we see that the Nizam Shahi’s forbears were Brahmins who converted to Islam. Sohoni goes on to demonstrate, through his close reading of visual architecture, that the Nizam Shahi state “...formed the basis of the nascent Maratha state that emerged in the mid-seventeenth century under Shivaji Bhonsale”.

Sohoni delineates his method of studying architecture: “In this book, art-historical methods of visual inspection and formal analysis, along with documentation of architecture and construction, expand on earlier attempts to overcome the limited interpretations of previous text-based histories.” His book has a detailed historiographical note on the Nizam Shahis combined with the study of other aspects, such as the role of guilds and the material used in buildings of the



BAGH RAUZA (c. 1509), the tomb of the founder of the dynasty, Ahmed Nizam Shah I.

BY SPECIAL ARRANGEMENT

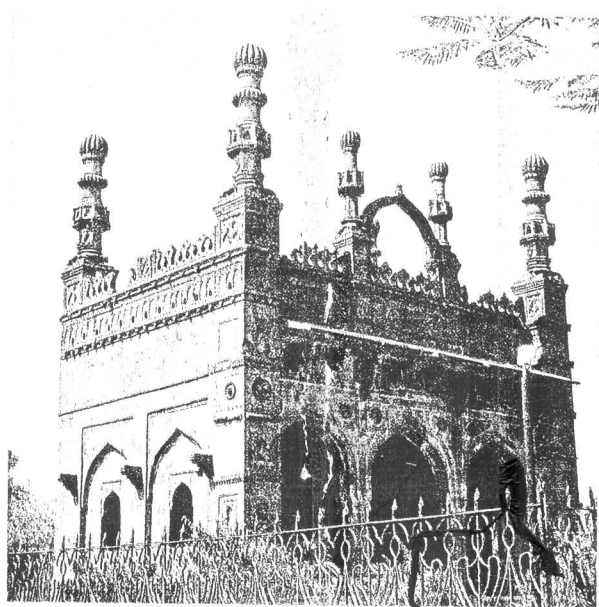
time, providing a fulsome interpretation of architecture.

Sohoni also looks briefly at the literature, visual culture and coins of the Nizam Shahs. It is interesting to note that Ahmednagar started minting its own coins only in the second half of the 16th century, and this was done only when it realised the implications of Mughal expansion and had to symbolically demonstrate its independent status.

Commencing his detailed look at the architecture of Ahmednagar, Sohoni dedicates a chapter to urban patterns in six settlements of Ahmednagar: Junnar (the first capital of the Nizam Shahis), Daulatabad (the older capital of the northern Deccan), Ahmednagar (the capital built from scratch by the Nizam Shahis), Chaul (a major seaport), Parenda (a fortified military centre built by the Bahmanis) and Sindkhed Raja (the hereditary fief of the Jadhavs, Maratha nobles at the court of the Nizam Shahs). He also looks at the water technology and the fortifications in these settlements.

In the next chapter, Sohoni looks at the palaces and mansions of Ahmednagar such as Farah Baksh Bagh, a large building originally set on a raised platform in a pool of water. Sohoni spends some time on this monument before moving on to detailed discussions of other monuments such as the Hasht Bihisht Bagh, Manzar-umbah and Kalawantinicha Mahal.

In a subsequent chapter, Sohoni discusses the architecture of 12



BY SPECIAL ARRANGEMENT

DARGAH-I-MOSQUE (c. 1562). In one chapter of the book, the author discusses the architecture of 12 mosques spread across various settlements in Ahmednagar.

mosques spread across various settlements in erstwhile Ahmednagar. Interestingly, Sohoni points out that there was no main congregational mosque in Ahmednagar where proclamations of sovereignty could be made on Friday, which is something unique and can be attributed to the Shiite orientation of its rulers. In the next chapter, Sohoni looks at tombs. One would imagine that like their royal forbears and peers among the Deccan sultanates the Nizam Shahis would also have grand tombs, but barring the first king of the dynasty, none of the other kings are buried here as their bodies were embalmed and sent off to Karbala (Iraq) in homage to their Shiite belief.

Thus, the 14 tombs that have been discussed are of the higher nobles who were buried in the region and memorials that are attributed to Maratha nobles, such as the ancestors of Shivaji in Verul and

that of Lakhuji Jadhav in Sindkhed Raja. Another chapter is dedicated to the discussion of miscellaneous buildings, including royal *hamams*.

Sohoni does not claim to have catalogued all the extant buildings from the Ahmednagar era, but his list is fairly thorough and includes all the prominent monuments in the region.

Through his work, the author sounds an urgent note of caution as many of these buildings are in a poor state of preservation with a few even slated for demolition. Several noteworthy monuments are not even protected by archaeological authorities. Sohoni has provided accompanying photographs and architectural plans for many of the monuments in his work. His detailed appendix is also useful as it provides an annotated listing of inscriptions on several monuments.

Sohoni concludes by providing an overview of what the Nizam Shahis

represented. They were the last medieval state that the early modern Mughal state encountered as it swept across the Deccan.

He writes: "This study locates the Nizam Shahs as a critical component of the architectural and political history of the sixteenth-century Deccan, and hopefully can restore to them some of the status that they once commanded in their own time." Drawing a direct link from the Nizam Shahis to the incipient Marathi state that emerged, Sohoni contradicts reductive scholarship that sees the Marathas as breaking from an Islamicate past. He writes that "...it is possible to conclude that there was no nationhood or polity based on an ethnic identity, and that their ethnic identity was a marker of social rise through military service. The cultural forms of the greater Islamicate world, as expressed in the Deccan by the Bahmanis, the Vijayanagar kings, and the later sultanates, were also adopted by the Maratha courts. In conception, execution, and ornament, the architecture of the early Marathas was exactly the same as that of their sultanate overlords and peers. The structural forms, decorative details, and planning logic conform to the Islamicate architecture of the Deccan sultanates."

This book is valuable to architectural historians and historians of medieval India. A logical expectation would be for similar research to be done on the other Deccan sultanates, each of which represented robust regional resistance to the imperial policy of the Mughals. □

- 4 -

Neo-liberalism, Development and Deprivation in India

ISHAN ANAND

In 1960, Joan Robinson wrote in the *Economic Weekly*: "I am concerned particularly for India and other developing countries whose economic doctrines come to them mainly from England and in English. Is what we are giving them helpful for their development?" (Robinson 1960). She was worried that the economics departments in Britain, which used to attract some of the best minds from the third world, were indoctrinating students with "notions soaked in a prejudice for laissez-faire." Orthodox teaching led students to distrust their native common sense, submit to the orthodoxy and perpetuate the cycle by going back to the country of origin and disseminating those ideas in the third world. Robinson gives a specific example of teaching theories in support of the free market and free trade in British universities; ideas which were once favourable to Britain and damaging to India's interest. She hoped that with proper training, a "generation well-educated, resistant to fudging, imbued with the humility and pride of genuine scientists" could make significant contributions to knowledge and the state of affairs. Utsa Patnaik, in honour of whom the book under review is written, is among the few in India to challenge the conventional and self-serving body of economic thought originating in the first world. In her illustrious career, Patnaik has been an inspirational teacher and worked tirelessly towards developing alternative frameworks of analysis that further the interest of the downtrodden and the developing world.

Dispossession, Deprivation and Development: Essays for Utsa Patnaik comprises 10 chapters on themes that are central to the academic work of Patnaik. Chapter 1 by the editors trace her academic contributions. This chapter highlights the contributions of Patnaik in the mode of production debate, developing of the labour exploitation criterion to study agrarian

Dispossession, Deprivation and Development: Essays for Utsa Patnaik edited by Arindam Banerjee and C P Chandrasekhar, New Delhi: Tulika Books, 2018; pp x + 270, ₹ 750.

class formation, critique of "neo-populism," role of income deflation in immiseration and exposing the conceptual and methodological errors in the official poverty lines. Patnaik has identified distinct mechanisms in the development of capitalism in the North. These include capital accumulation using the drain of wealth from colonies, deindustrialisation of colonies through distortionary trade practices and export of unemployment, and mass outmigration of Europeans to other parts of the world. The pattern of capitalist development in the North, therefore, cannot be replicated across the developing world today. Patnaik's recent work is a strong critique of the structural adjustment programmes (SAP) pushed by the Bretton Woods organisations that led to income squeeze in countries such as India.

Agrarian Economy

Chapters 2 to 5 deal with different aspects of the agrarian economy. In Chapter 2, Sam Moyo, Paris Yeros and Praveen Jha outline the persistence of agrarian crisis in Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) and suggest ways to overcome it. Agrarian change in SSA traversed a variety of paths, given the heterogeneity in peasant farms, agroecological and climatic conditions and historic specificity. The peasantry in SSA is faced with high levels of disparity and concentration of landholdings, declining per capita arable land, exploitative labour relations such as bondage in some areas, low productivity driven by limited access to inputs and credits, vagaries of weather and volatility of markets. While peasant farms have shown resilience in dealing with existing challenges, climate change brings a new set of risks, mitigating which will require

large-scale public investment in research and development. The authors call for equitable distribution of land and strengthening the capabilities of peasant farms through institutional support.

The next three chapters deal with aspects of India's agrarian economy in the context of pro-market reforms. Banerjee examines the implications of neo-liberalism on the contemporary agrarian question in India. The study uses Patnaik's labour exploitation index to study peasant classes using data collected from the states of West Bengal and Andhra Pradesh. The author discusses a high degree of peasant differentiation in the villages studied, with the average labour hiring-in being many times more among the rich peasants in comparison to the poor, small and medium peasantry. The analysis of household assets reveals the concentration of wealth and capital at the top end of the peasant class structure, which leads to further accumulation and control of capital by rich peasants and landlords. An analysis of crop incomes reveals high levels of disparity between poor and rich peasants and the presence of negative incomes across classes owing to outstanding interest payments. Peasant classes are shown to be in a perpetual debt trap, and much of the informal indebtedness is linked to input dealers. The author notes that while peasantry is not homogeneous, neo-liberalism has adversely affected all peasant classes and the agricultural sector as a whole is in a state of crisis.

In the next chapter, Sudipta Bhattacharyya revisits the mode of production debate. This study uses field survey data from West Bengal as well as the National Sample Survey Office (NSSO) data and compliments Banerjee's study. The empirical exercise does not find evidence for Chayanov's claim of higher consumer-to-worker ratio being positively related to higher family input. The author rejects the inverse farm size-productivity hypothesis and shows high levels of disparity in land, yield and access to input and output markets. While arguing that class analysis remains relevant, the author concludes that neo-liberal policies have rendered agriculture unviable. Suneet Chopra discusses the crisis in Indian agriculture and suggests solutions to resolve the crisis. He notes that

the severity of the agrarian crisis can be seen in the swelling ranks of agricultural labourers. Neo-liberal policies have led to a decline in jobs in agriculture, without creating alternative opportunities elsewhere. Chopra critically discusses the adverse impact of demonetisation on agriculture, transfer of resources to big capital, reversal of land ceiling laws, large-scale dispossession of traditional forest dwellers, worsening food security and cow-vigilantism. The common thread in the chapters on agriculture is the recognition that neo-liberalism has pushed the agrarian economy into crisis, and the worst affected are the agrarian classes at the bottom end of the distribution.

Neo-liberal Reforms

The chapter by Smita Gupta is an analysis of the debates surrounding the concept of primitive accumulation in Marxist theory, and the process of dispossession and displacement in India. In the first part of the chapter, Gupta contests Harvey's theorisation of "accumulation by dispossession" as a spatio-temporal fix adopted by capitalism, and also argues against the formulation that primitive accumulation precedes capitalism and is in that sense a relic of history. She contends that primitive accumulation is a "premise of existence" for capital, and separating the masses from the means of production is an intrinsic process to the logic of capital accumulation and concentration.

Following this formulation, the author argues that neo-liberal reforms in India have continued to dispossess people of land through legislations and extra-economic coercion by the state, actively working on behalf of global capital. Coercive land evictions for development projects, reversal of land reforms and creation of slums in urban areas have resulted in a large number of displaced and disposed people. Robert Pollin and Shouvik Chakraborty explore the possibility of a growth strategy for India which generates employment opportunities while curbing carbon dioxide emissions. Their estimates show that with an economic growth of 6.5% per year and investment of 1.5% of the gross domestic product (GDP) on clean renewable, and energy efficiency for an investment

cycle of 20 years, the emission per capita in India can be reduced drastically. This would require changing India's energy mix by reducing reliance on coal and fossil fuels, and increasing the share of low-emission bioenergy and other sources. The authors are also able to show that the move towards a clean energy programme would require significantly more labour inputs than the current energy mix, thereby creating millions of jobs while reducing emissions.

Vikas Rawal and Partha Saha analyse the trends in women's employment patterns in India. Arguing that the existing explanations for declining the labour force participation rate (LFPR) are inadequate, they explore the NSSO employment-unemployment surveys for 1999-2000, 2009-10, and 2011-12 to find satisfactory explanations. They show that the low and declining trends in women's LFPR are largely driven by a fall in agricultural employment, which is directly linked to the rise in landlessness in India. Increasing concentration of land and labour-displacing mechanisation has drastically reduced female labour absorption in agriculture. At the same time, women have not been able to migrate or commute to access construction and other alternative jobs due to hurdles in physical mobility. With dismal levels of education and technical training, women are further denied employment opportunities. The authors show that among women who are principally engaged in housework, a substantial number engage in care work and obtain various items for household use. It is argued that these women should be considered a part of the labour force.

The paper by Chandrasekhar traces the evolution of macroeconomic policy in India in the post-liberalisation era and studies its effect on employment generation. The author argues that the macroeconomic policies in the post-liberalisation era in India were not effective for labour market outcomes, and employment and work conditions were adversely affected even with high economic growth. He calls for a proactive fiscal policy and state investment in areas of physical and social infrastructure. It is also argued that monetary policy must not be restricted to inflation targeting, but should be part of the overall development

strategy and focus on employment generation and poverty reduction. Malini Bhattacharya then discusses the process of communalisation in society, in the context of rise of right-wing political forces in India. The author notes that even though secularism in India evolved through the anti-colonial struggles, the state has time and again jeopardised its secular credentials. The author discusses the role of the ruling classes in stoking communal passions when it suits their class interests. The rise of Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS) and Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) is discussed in the context of growing anti-democratic tendencies under the neo-liberal regime, which the Indian state has been embracing to be able to serve the interests of global finance capital. The author urges the left forces to go beyond the liberal agenda of tolerance and actively intervene in educational, cultural and social spheres to challenge the deeply entrenched caste and communal prejudices in society.

The chapters in the book are based around the academic work of Patnaik and are also connected in contesting neo-liberal economic reforms in different areas. The neo-liberal regime has brought upon us a crisis of agricultural growth, but also a much deeper agrarian crisis which is devastating people's livelihoods, creating and perpetuating economic disparities, dispossession and social oppression. While India's "transformation" has been much celebrated across the world showcasing high growth and decline in poverty based on a botched methodology, it is important that voices of reason stand up to the dominant orthodoxy in the world of academics and policy. At the same time, it is important that we understand the changes in the sphere of economy and society that has led to a discernible rightward shift in recent times. This book is a testimony to the work that Patnaik did and inspired others to do, maintaining methodological rigour, understanding history, and seeking truth from facts, even if it upsets the conventional wisdom.

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A Post-Keynesian Approach to Understanding the Black Economy

ALEX M THOMAS

The aftermath of demonetisation witnessed several books engaging with the black economy. However, the seminal work on the black economy in the Indian context is Arun Kumar's *The Black Economy in India* (1999). Saumen Chattopadhyay's *Macroeconomics of the Black Economy* is an extension of his PhD thesis which significantly draws on Kumar (1999).

Chattopadhyay's book is divided into six chapters. After outlining key concepts and definitions in Chapter 1, Chapter 2 undertakes a survey of the empirical literature on black economy. Chapters 3, 4, and 5 examine the effects of the black economy on the real sector, monetary sector, and open economy respectively. Chapter 6 appraises policies such as demonetisation, the goods and services tax (GST), and education. It ends with a discussion on the necessary features of a macro model for the Indian economy, perhaps in lieu of a concluding chapter.

The author favours the post-Keynesian approach to macroeconomics and is critical of the dominant neoclassical approach. In terms of accounting, Chattopadhyay employs the stock-flow consistent modelling proposed by Godley and Lavoie (2007). The core argument is based on the principle of the circular flow of income. In a two-sector economy with just households and firms, the equilibrium condition is given by equality between planned saving and investment and in general, it is given by the equality between injections (investment, exports) and leakages (saving, imports). But, note that the consumption and investment out of black incomes are injections. Indeed, Chattopadhyay is correct in pointing out that "the black economy is not a parallel economy," but is intertwined with the white economy (p 77) and that this fact receives inadequate attention in macroeconomic debates

BOOK REVIEWS

Macroeconomics of the Black Economy by Saumen Chattopadhyay, Hyderabad: Orient Blackswan, 2018; pp xx + 276, ₹795.

and policy. To put it differently, black incomes are generated endogenously alongside white incomes (p 96). Moreover, "the leakage of foreign exchange reserves and investment in gold remain trapped in unproductive investment" and consequently having an adverse impact on the expenditure multiplier and therefore on employment (p 160). Chattopadhyay's key point is that in an open economy, the "adverse impact of black investment can outweigh the positive impact of black consumption" and therefore negatively impact output and employment levels (p 170); this is because black investment, unlike white investment, is a leakage from the circular flow of income (also see p 183).

Since the tax is deducted at source (TDS) for wage incomes, Chattopadhyay argues that the main source of black income in India is profits (which evade taxes). He highlights the role of transfer payments in contributing to the black economy because it generates money flows without any corresponding commodity flows. Another chief route of black income generation is via transfer pricing, the "manipulation of prices charged for international transactions between the subsidiaries" (p 33). In the discussion of such illicit capital flows in an open economy (Chapter 5), Gabriel Zucman's (2015) work on tax havens is conspicuously absent.

The author endorses Kumar's estimate of the black economy which is "around 60 per cent of the reported size of the economy, that is, the GDP" (p 68). According to Chattopadhyay, black incomes are "mostly concentrated in businesses and

self-employed tax paying individuals" through the "under-reporting of output" and "over-reporting of costs" (pp 73–74). Other channels of black investment are "informal sector saving," "holdings of gold, silver and gems," "mis-invoicing of exports and imports," "speculation in non-reproducible goods," and "illegal activities such as smuggling and drug trafficking" (pp 86–87). And, illegal activities generate the demand for and supply of foreign exchange (p 150), an estimate of which is important for the management of foreign exchange, thus pointing to the importance of understanding the black economy for monetary policy.

A key point which Chattopadhyay highlights is the frequent conflation of black money, a stock variable with black income, a flow variable by the policymakers. In an introductory economics class, this would be seen as an elementary mistake. Therefore, the author criticises demonetisation because it only targeted the stock, and that too, unsuccessfully. However, he notes that the move towards GST was in the right direction because it has the capacity to curtail the generation of black income and, therefore, its flow (p 190).

Chattopadhyay points out that a 30%–40% tax on half of the estimated black income would yield 6%–7% of gross domestic product (GDP) as additional tax revenue (p 178). Given the significance of public expenditure on education, health, and the environment, such additional revenues are paramount and this is all the more reason for targeting both black incomes and money. In a way, alongside monetary disincentives to curb black incomes, Chattopadhyay also highlights the importance of good "moral sentiments," to use Adam Smith's term (p 195).

Theoretical Issues

The analysis in the book, according to the author, "is derived from Keynesian and post-Keynesian perspectives of the economy as a whole, i.e., both the white and the black" (p xiv). The key features of this theoretical standpoint are the following: (i) there exists no real-monetary dichotomy, (ii) aggregate demand determines

aggregate output and employment, and (iii) money is endogenous.

Chattopadhyay is critical of the mainstream approach to macroeconomics, and in the context of analysing the black economy, notes that most of the empirical literature adopts a "micro-theoretic" perspective. Mainstream neoclassical macroeconomics is rightly criticised for its adherence to methodological individualism (where the fundamental unit of analysis is an individual), use of the production function, and belief in Say's law (p 80). And consequently unemployment is explained by recourse to rigidities and imperfections in the system and not treated as a permanent feature of a competitive economy.

Although Chattopadhyay explicitly adopts the Keynesian approach, when he discusses black savings and white investment, he implicitly assumes an anti-Keynesian causation which runs from saving to investment (p 53). This could partly be due to the focus on macroeconomic accounting (or macrobalance) which accounts for the investment-saving gap in terms of sectoral (households, firms, banks, rest of the world) balances (pp 139-46). But, this provides an answer to the what-question and not the why-question, although there are some important pointers: white saving is invested in the illegal sector via chit funds and black profits is invested in the real estate sector via *benami* accounts (pp 144-45). Therefore, it would have been good had there been a section on how black and white saving and investment are brought into equilibrium in the neoclassical and Keynesian approaches. Similarly, a longer discussion on the determination of the rate of interest in both the approaches is warranted. The book contains only half-a-page of discussion on endogenous money (p 133), an aspect which is central to post-Keynesian macroeconomics. The history of endogenous money is much older and begins with the work of Thomas Tooke in the 19th century (see Smith [2014] for a detailed account).

Given Chattopadhyay's dissatisfaction with neoclassical economics, it is very odd to see him taking the assistance of an "educational production function" when discussing corruption in education. In

fact, the inclusion of corruption in education in the final chapter (pp 210-17) appears out of place.

Methodological Considerations

The book has a rich assortment of methodological points which deserve separate mention because they can enrich both economics research as well as teaching. Chattopadhyay rightly notes that "exogenous preferences are better treated as endogenous as people evolve through their experiences in their interaction with the people, the institution and the society" (p 7). He also criticises the Laffer Curve hypothesis since it is based on the neoclassical "microtheoretic framework" (p 187). While discussing the measurement of the black economy, the author points out that although "household production [and] gathering of nature produce for household production ... add to the well-being of the household [they] cannot be valued because of the absence of market" (p 26). The question of valuation is central to economics. However, it is important to debate whether the market is the only institution which is capable of valuation. Given the recent surge of experiments in economics, Chattopadhyay's words of caution are pertinent: "In experiments, social pressure and stigma are absent, and results would vary depending on who is included in the population" (p 49).

With the advent of powerful computing, quantitative data analysis has become easier and this has resulted in the proliferation of empirical papers in economics. The empirical turn in economics has led concepts and definitions to be determined by the available data and methods of estimation. Chattopadhyay argues that the "definitions of the underground economy" should precede the "method of estimation" (p 62). It is true that mainstream macroeconomics is yet to satisfactorily incorporate a stock-flow consistent accounting framework; in assessing the macroeconomics of the black economy, the author calls for analysing the changes in stock and flow together (p 82). Owing to the presence of a significantly large black economy, when employing the quantity theory of money in empirical work, it should be noted that "the transaction velocity may actually be

unstable as well as higher than the income velocity of circulation" (p 119). Moreover, "to capture the true velocity of circulation, the appropriate database should be weekly or monthly" and not annually (p 132). In a way, this underscores the fact that specific demands on data come from theory. While discussing the level of money supply in the presence of black money, Chattopadhyay prefers to focus on the "potential" than the "actual" level (p 121). It is important to point out that while the latter is calculated based on past data, the former is a theoretical position and, therefore, any estimation of potential values should be critically assessed.

Attention to Black Economy

While the book explicitly adopts a post-Keynesian framework, a greater theoretical engagement would have been beneficial, especially with respect to the saving-investment dynamics and endogenous money. In terms of macroeconomic accounting, Chattopadhyay's book makes an important contribution not only to the macroeconomic aspects of the Indian economy, but also to the teaching of macroeconomics and Indian economy (especially the tables on pages 91 and 141, and in Chapter 6). The readers obtain a good understanding of the nature of black incomes, especially its sources and uses, in the Indian economy. While most of the policy discussion is around taxation, the last chapter engages briefly with demonetisation and GST. The book has been successful in conveying to us that more attention to the black economy is warranted in macroeconomics teaching and research so that appropriate policies can be formulated.

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- 8 -

beginning teacher educators and Czerniawski offers a critical reading of the key texts in the field. This is a valuable guide for *all* those involved in teacher education, in in-service education and staff development: the writing is research informed, it is not limited by boundaries of geography or policy and Czerniawski offers an authentic consideration of what it means to be *in* and *be* a teacher educator as we look towards the twenty-first century.

It is a pleasure to know and work with Gerry Czerniawski, who demonstrates expertise, enthusiasm, professional commitment and empathy to all those he engages with. In this guide he celebrates the work of teacher educators and (while I disagree with the language of 'service' (2)) I appreciate the international perspective of this guide, his reflexive stance and his positivity about the future of teacher education. I finished reading with a feeling of hopefulness – no mean feat in the current English educational context!

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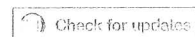
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✓ The search for better educational standards: a cautionary tale, Martin Thrupp, with responses from Bob Lingard, by Meg Maguire and David Hursh, Springer Verlag, Cham, Switzerland 2018, 244 pp., £89.99 (hbk), ISBN: 978-3-319-61957-6

Early 2007 I leave New Zealand to take up an academic post in England, passing briefly at the New Zealand Association of Research in Education conference Martin Thrupp who recently returned to New Zealand after six years in England. In the first couple of years I retain direct interest in New Zealand politics and policy, and write a chapter for the book edited by Thrupp and Ruth Irwin, *Another Decade of New Zealand Education Policy: Where to Now?* (2010), on learning and diversity in New Zealand schools. As we write we find need to reflect not just on the last ten years of a Labour led government's education policy, but also its electoral defeat and the election of a new conservative National Party government in 2008. In my chapter I reflect on the potential pitfalls of the new government's decision to respond to Aotearoa New Zealand's diversifying population by assessing the distribution of literacy and numeracy defined through a set of national standards they propose to construct.

In *The Search for Better Educational Standards: A Cautionary Tale* Thrupp (2018) shows in detail the progress of the national standards policy, that he terms Kiwi Standards and Ngā Whanaketanga Rumaki Māori (the version constructed for indigenous Māori immersion education), from its conception through to enactment and implications. He is careful in

describing the detail of a national education policy context that may be unfamiliar to the book's readers and making links to global policy discourses such as high-stakes testing, performativity, privatisation and global education reform that he must presume are familiar since they are also undefined. The book is a critical account rather than theoretical analysis of the policy, written to support an overarching argument. The main line of his argument is that the New Zealand government, aware of problems other nations encountered with high-stakes testing, sought to do national assessment of primary aged children differently by avoiding normative national testing and placing assessment of Kiwi Standards in the hands of teacher professional judgement, yet in the doing of it reproduces similar disparities to those found in national testing regimes. He delves into some other significant areas such as tense relations between teacher unions and education policy-makers, reconceptualising policy implementation as policy enactment, and the experience of being an activist academic. I return to New Zealand in 2017, ten years on from my departure and witness another change of administration from a National to Labour led coalition. The new government throws everything we know about education up in the air, and seeks a national conversation on education policy that they promise will underpin reforms not seen since 1989. Thrupp's book was too late to document it, but Kiwi Standards have been thrown out the window.

For an international readership the main purpose of the book could be to confirm for them that New Zealand's liaison with the national assessment of primary school children is another example of regulatory global educational reform, and dispersal of the policy discourses of supranational organisations like the OECD (mentioned throughout the book). As someone who has been deeply invested in New Zealand education policy yet whose current perspective is still affected by the filter of ten years in the English policy context, what strikes me is the specificity of Thrupp's account. The policy discourses connect with globalised currents of change, yet there is a distinctly New Zealand character to the story and the familial, cultural and geographical relations it describes. The story of the intended, actual and enacted policy (Ball & Bowe, 1992) of national standards is one where policy is constructed in email conversations, private and public meetings, news and social media. Education experts, parents and teachers are consulted along the way, and voices raised throughout to express their point of view. This apparently open and varied debate might be mistaken for democracy, yet in Thrupp's account while the mandate for the government originated from the election, the electorate had to weigh up many different priorities in their decision to vote and could not represent a clear directive for a single policy. Thrupp also suggests that initially the electorate could not have known what the policy was, nor what its implications might be. Their ignorance puts into question their capacity for deliberation and informed decision-making. Those who were most knowledgeable had little effect on the direction of the policy, for example when Minister of Education Anne Tolley met with international assessment experts, her perception of their advice was coloured by a predisposition towards the policy. Even in the construction and development of Ngā Whanaketanga Rumaki Māori, where sustained consultation is a priority and expectation of the Māori community, the consultation did not lead to consent to the standards that were developed.

The book concludes with three responses to Thrupp's analysis, one each from Bob Lingard, Meg Maguire and David Hursh that close the book and work in reference to the book's opening dialogue between the Kiwi Standards and globalised approaches to testing as represented in Australian, English and American education policy. Lingard comments that 'from an outside perspective, it seems extraordinary that the Kiwi Standards were introduced in such a top-down, political *force majeure* kind of way' (p.217). From a position of familiarity with the history of New Zealand education policy this seems less extraordinary, when compared with the deep transformation of schooling that occurred through the top-down

Tomorrow's Schools neoliberal administrative reforms of 1989 (Wylie, 1999). Thrupp's book suggests New Zealand is susceptible to this kind of thing. In my view, the more valuable lesson from this book on global educational reform is not the sameness of policy discourses across national contexts, but how they are recontextualised according to local conditions.


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Book Review

✓ Domestic Water Consumption Pattern in Urban Areas: Retrospective and Prospective Analysis by Jasdeep Kaur, New Delhi (2017) pp xxiii + 261, Price: Rs. 1100/-.

Is water an economic commodity which has to be suitably priced so that its regular supply is ensured with curtailment on its wastage, or is it a basic human need, the sufficient supply of which must be ensured treating it as an intrinsic part of right to life enshrined in Article 21 of the Constitution of India? The tension of this dichotomy runs throughout the book under review.

As the title of the book itself suggests, in her maiden book, the writer endeavors to make a bird's eye view on not only on the past and present of the state of domestic water supply and consumption in the urban areas, but also suggests a roadmap for future. While the study is based on the field research-work done by the writer during her doctoral research in the city of Ludhiana in Punjab, it also uses the of secondary data, the necessity of which is imperative in such studies.

The writer is an economist engrossed with the real life situation and grapples to make analyses of the problem of domestic water supply threadbare to find some realistic solution. The grooming of the writer as researcher with roots on earth is manifested throughout the book. Her deep concern and commitment for the poor and deprived sections of our society is reflected when she writes:

The coverage of population with water supply has been increasing over the years but due to financial and technological problem the water supply services are less than satisfactory for all the sections of the society. But for poorer sections of the society conditions are comparatively worse. The equity principle in water distribution has not been followed. Since water is a basic necessity, it is the duty of the government to provide drinking water in required quantity and quality to all the sections of the society.

There should not be any discrimination on any ground i.e. whether rich versus poor; large versus small plot size; posh or slum localities etc. Water should be equitably distributed between the rich and poor household. (p72)

The writer has made a very extensive review of literature on the topic which includes international, national, state and local level studies by various experts in this field. The writer makes use of the Dublin Principles that envisage fresh water as a finite and vulnerable resource, essential to sustain life, development and environment; that water development and management should be based on participatory approach involving users, planners and policy makers at

all levels; that women play a central part in the provision, management and safeguarding of water; and that water has an economic value in all its uses and should be recognised as an economic good. These are used as guiding principles but the real grit is provided when she reviews all the legal and policy developments in India and Punjab.

Historical Perspective

The writer gives a very brief historical sketch of development from community control of water resources to the government control with an emphasis that the major work has been done only after India became a Republic and the first five year plan (1951-56) was announced, making water supply and sanitation a national agenda, sanitation being mentioned under water supply for the first time. However, the National Water Policy (NWP) could be drafted only in 1987 by the Ministry of Water Resources, which prioritised drinking water with an emphasis on domestic water supply, protection of ground water and water quality monitoring and mapping. In the year 2002 NWP was revised to accord priority to villages that did not have adequate sources of safe water. In 2012, the NWP was again revised and now drinking water was given utmost priority. Punjab adopted the 1987 NWP in 1997 and the later water policy was adopted in the year 2008. As the writer has studied the urban domestic supply only, she does not mention the Punjab State Rural Water Supply and Sanitation and Water Policy, 2014.

Profiling of Domestic Water Supply on Macro and Micro Levels

The writer comes out with the data on percentage of population covered with water supply based on the Census of India from 1971 to 2011 (chapter 4). But the real challenge is to provide hygienic drinking water free from disease causing organic and inorganic foreign materials. The writer catalogues the incidence of water borne disease in major states which speak volumes about the poor quality of water supplied to the household. In the city of Ludhiana, over-exploitation of ground water leads to contamination of water and serious health problems crop up, the author writes. There is no perennial source of water in the city of Ludhiana except ground water as Sutlej river is approximately 15 km away from the city and remains dry most of the time of the year, *Budhanallah* being used for dumping industrial affluent and untreated sewerage water, is highly polluted and water of Sidhwan Canal being meant for irrigation, cannot be used for domestic use in the city (p109).

Profiling of the Sampled Households and Method/Statistical Techniques

In addition to various secondary sources for data on use of domestic water in urban areas in general, the writer collected cross sectional data from 360 households in Ludhiana by categorising the household into six income cluster namely, Very High Income Group (VHIG) in well-planned areas with plot size more than 400 square yards; High Income Group (HIG) in well-planned localities

with plot size varying between 250 to 400 square yards; Middle Income Group (MIG) again in well-planned areas with plot size varying between 125-250 square yards; Low Income Group (LIG) in well-planned localities with plot size less than 125 square yards; Mixed areas within unplanned areas with varying sizes of plots; and Slum areas. Four localities for each income group were selected and from each from each locality 15 households were selected for survey through a structured questionnaire (p 115). Various other factors such as age-wise distribution of respondent households, the household type (nuclear/joint), household size, educational level of the head and other members, occupational profile and household income etc. have also been collected and analysed. The method of sampling is well planned and representative of the target populace. The writer specifies that the reference period for the study is 2009-10 and elaborates the use of various statistical techniques used in her study. This makes this study open for any academic scrutiny and manifests high professional ethics and standards of the writer.

The results of the study show that contamination by entry of sewerage water or other pollutants through leaking pipes during the non-supply hours due to low pressure inside the supply pipes is rarely an exception. Whereas, the VHIG, HIG and MIG household are conscious about the quality of water and use different methods such as boiling, aqua-guards and R.O. systems depending upon their economic status and perception, however, the LIG and Slum dwellers are not very conscious and therefore, suffer most from the water-borne diseases and have to pay the economic cost for the same. The study found that majority of the people from all strata were unaware/unconscious about conservation of water which, the writer says, can be overcome by continuous, public awareness programmes. Sanitation being an intrinsic part of water supply, the utilities were found lacking with regard to the sewerage system as 42 percent of the VHIG household were found dissatisfied and LIG and slum dwellers were found to be least conscious about defective sewerage system.

Since water has economic value in all its uses and hence should be recognised as an economic good. But can water as an economic good should be let behave like any other good governed by the principle of demand and supply and sold in a competitive market? This question is tackled by the author in chapter 11. In case of water, the concept of Water Demand Management (WMD), which includes various measures including water conservation measures, water pricing measures with tariff structures, information and educational measures, legal measures, ecological measures and institutional measures (pp166-179). It is a fact that tariff of water and sanitation cannot be determined like other economic goods because the major chunk of the population belongs to LIG/mixed areas and slum areas, the most deprived sections of our society who need equal hygienic water and sanitation as every citizen of India is guaranteed the right to life. At the same time the writer is concerned about the financial viability of the utilities

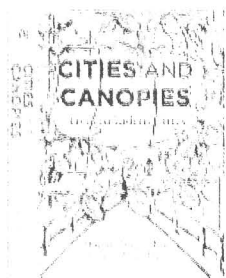
providing such supplies so that their operative costs are recovered. The study clearly delineates that the factors like leakage, pilferage through unauthorised connections and unmetered connections devour a major part of the potential revenue and at the same time make unscrupulous users less responsive towards conservation of water. Therefore, the over-hauling of the water supply system coupled with installation of meters to all connections and strict action against pilferage would not only augment revenue but also make the whole system more effective and efficient. The writer also suggests that to ensure supply of safe drinking water to 100 percent households, it is imperative that water is not treated just an economic good, however, it should be adequately priced may be at differential and progressive rates, where the high income groups pay more and the poor are subsidised using the principle of cross-subsidisation. The increasing linear tariff is suggested as the best option to improve the financial health of the Ludhiana water utility.

In short the book under review, small in size, comes out as an encyclopedic compendium on the urban domestic water supply and sanitation in India and Punjab with matter of fact study of the Ludhiana water supply utility.

Deepratan Singh Khara

Democratizing Science and Redefining Education*

Raghavendra Gadagkar



Cities and Canopies: Trees in Indian Cities

Authors: Harini Nagendra and Seema Mundoli

Published by: Penguin-Viking 2019

Pages: 256 pages

Price: Rs. 499

Cities and Canopies: Trees in Indian Cities by Harini Nagendra and Seema Mundoli of Azim Premji University, is one of the most unusual books I have read in a long time. In this brief essay, I wish to say a few words about the research that has gone into the book, about the book itself and more importantly, about what we can do with their book – we must read it of course, but I think we can do much more, we *must* do much more.

The Research

A great deal of research and of a rather unusual kind has gone into writing *Cities and*

Canopies. Most ecologists like to study forests (preferably pristine forests, whatever that means), exotic species and habitats, or rare and obscure species that no one has heard of, let alone seen. They take great pride in studying the unusual and the uncommon. Like many scientists I am afraid, they revel in researching what is unfamiliar and rather uninteresting to common people. That is what they believe, puts them on a pedestal and gives them prestige and power. This is sometimes known as the ‘ivory tower’ and better characterized as the ‘fear of being understood’!

Harini Nagendra and Seema Mundoli are refreshingly different. They research the common and the mundane, the familiar and the apparently well-known. They conduct their research in our backyards, our gardens, our streets, our temples, mosques and churches, our graveyards and cemeteries, our schools and our homes. And yet, they produce new knowledge that is at once, eye-opening, fascinating, understandable by everyone in the age group of 10 to 100 years and supremely relevant. Clearly, they are not afraid of common people, and they have no fear of being understood. Their prestige and power come, ironically, from the absence of a pedestal. They so effectively bridge the gap between scientists and the public – a gap that should have never existed in the first place.

*DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12045-019-0839-8>

The Book

Cities and Canopies is a work of science and art par excellence. It is a beautifully produced book with an elegant design and layout and clever and innovative illustrations. You will discover, or at least your children will, that it is also a colouring book, extending the age of enjoyment even below the 10-year lower boundary I have mentioned. Its text is more remarkable still. The 22 chapters alternatively cover general tree-talk and factoids about iconic trees found in Indian cities. You will not just read the book, you will live it every day of your life because it touches on everything in your life, you cannot escape it. In short, it is a guide to living in cities. It succeeds in breaking all boundaries. It is at once about trees and canopies, about towns and cities, about gardening and horticulture, about fun and games, about cooking and eating, about history and geography, about botany and zoology, about worshipping and faith, about ghosts and myths, about legends and stories, about kings and commoners, about ecology and environment, about past and future, about Vedas and Ayurveda, about Greeks and Buddhists, about Hinduism and Christianity, about Silicon Valley in California and in Bengaluru, and much more. I could go on and on. And yet, everything is connected to everything else.

Doing research and communicating it to a general audience are two very different enterprises. Research needs concentration and focus and digging deep at chosen points. Writing a book about the research requires tak-

ing a distant view of the matter and making connections and interpretations and seeing the whole as being greater than the sum of the parts. There is almost inevitably a trade-off between the skills needed for these two enterprises, if you are good at one and then almost by definition, you are bad at the other. The genius of *Canopies and Cities* and of Harini and Seema lies in how they avoid this trade-off – you don't know where their research ends, and their communication begins – it's a Möbius strip.

What Can We Do With It?

We should all read *Canopies and Cities*, that goes without saying. We cannot only admire the drawings but customize our copy of the book by coloring the drawings in our own unique way, so that there will be no need for us to write our names on it in order to recognize it as our copy. This also means that every member of the family deserves a separate copy if you can afford them – I suspect that there will soon be an inexpensive paperback edition. There is already a Kindle edition which I have used, and I also hope that there will be an audio book, read alternately by Harini and Seema, in the not so distant future. The book is designed to be a companion in many of our daily activities, whether you are cooking, eating, gardening, teaching, travelling or even on a holiday. If you have read the book once, many of the memorable nuggets contained in it will come to mind repeatedly and I suspect every day because it refers to so many relevant things that comprise our world. This is all

pretty obvious, and I suspect that most owners of a copy will do all of this more or less automatically. I want to suggest that we do much more, but this won't happen automatically – it will require effort. It won't even happen deliberately unless we are willing to change our mindset about education.

We treat our students in schools and colleges as empty and passive containers into which we can dump all kinds of facts more or less in any order and in any quantity, at any time. The task of the student is to memorize and recall. This does a very effective job of killing all curiosity and initiative, and with time, students just get better at being passive receptacles. To change this mindset, we must banish teaching from education altogether and replace it with learning.

The purpose of education must not be to teach but to help the students learn. Learning should be an active process largely under the control and direction of the student. If that is our goal, then we should get rid of all existing textbooks and replace them with books such as *Canopies and Cities* and thus help our students to learn. With the widespread availability of the Internet, our textbooks have become absurdly outdated and inappropriate; it is a mystery to me that we have not yet understood this obvious reality. There is nothing in our textbooks that is not more readily and more accurately available on the internet. So, we must get rid of one of them, and I suggest that we ban textbooks rather than banning the internet as they do today in many educational institutions!

If there is one thing that cannot distinguish between the rich and the poor, the young and the old, the smart and the dull, the beginner and the initiated, it is the internet. What the internet cannot provide, however, is a narrative of the kind that is contained in *Canopies and Cities*. Armed with copies of books such as *Canopies and Cities* and access to the Internet, students of all ages can undertake their own journey of discovery. They will then be completely innocent of the artificial and destructive divisions between arts and science, humanities and commerce, between botany and zoology, between history and gardening, between cooking and studying, indeed between work and pleasure. If I were to use *Canopies and Cities* as a replacement for a textbook, all I would do is it to highlight some 20 or more words or phrases in each chapter to serve the students as starting points for their daily journey into cyberspace to explore the vast Venn diagram of facts, knowledge, utility and wisdom. As an illustration, these are some of the words and phrases I would highlight in Chapter 2 of *Canopies and Cities*, for my students to use as cues: Hinduism; Jainism; Buddhism; Jambudwipa; Vishnupurana; elephants; Charaka; Ramayana; Lord Muruga; Cholas; Babur; Mohammad bin Tughlaq; tannins; wine; chocolate; anthocyanin; antioxidant; mouth ulcers; dysentery; IIT Roorkee; fluorosis; honey; vitamin C; Rajpath; parakeet; astringency; sherbet, and I could add many more. Pick what takes your fancy and run away into cyberspace, I would tell my students.



The authors of *Cities and Canopies* Seema Mundoli (left) and Harini Nagendra (right) with the author of this essay, at the launch of the book in Bangalore on 20th June, 2019.

We should not underestimate the value of the students' own unguided exploration of the meaning, history and ramifications of words they come across in their reading. Besides, I do not know of any teacher who can predict the outcome of such an exercise, and let us not forget that there will be as many outcomes as there are students multiplied by the number of days. The only 'danger' is that there will be surprises galore and much for the teacher to learn. No teacher by herself can learn even a small fraction of what she will learn by taking a peek at the findings of her students. There will be learning all around, and the students will generate more knowledge than the teach-

ers, not only because there are so many more of them, but, let us face it, they are better at navigating through cyberspace.

This I guess is the real use we must put books such as *Canopies and Cities* to, and this is the real use that we must put our students to! Are we up to the challenge? In my experience, students are. What about the teachers? I very much hope so.

In summary, *Cities and Canopies* provides a roadmap for democratizing science and re-defining education. We must congratulate Harini Nagendra and Seema Mundoli for undertaking this remarkable project, Azim Premji University for encouraging them to do so and facilitating their work, and Penguin-Viking for producing an extremely attractive and elegant product. Their efforts will go in vain if we do not put this product of their labour of love, to full use.

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Of India's genetic roots

A remarkably accessible book about the ethnic foundations of the Indian people, dense with evidence from archaeology, linguistics, ancient texts and the recent study of ancient genes. BY KESAVAN VELUTHAT

EVER since similarities between Sanskrit and the classical European languages, namely Greek and Latin, were noticed and a common origin for their speakers was proposed, the “Aryans” were looked upon as foundational to Indian civilisation. The theory of the “Aryan race” has been most convenient to nearly everybody. The colonial masters used it to justify their rule over India. It was something like a soothing ointment for the newly emerging Indian middle class, which was licking the wounds of colonial degradation. Keshub Chandra Sen went to the extent of describing the coming of the English to India as a “reunion of parted cousins”. For the nationalists, the “wonder” that was “Aryan” India, with all that the Sanskrit language had produced, was something to which they could turn for inspiration.

In regional politics, too, it was useful: the Dravidian movement in Madras presidency drew its sustenance largely from the theory of the “Aryan race” and its “other”, the Dravidian greatness. The Dalit movement spear-headed by Mahatma Phule used it to show how the invading “Aryans” had dispossessed the rightful

owners of the land. A “theory” that explained nearly everything was, by definition, an impeccable theory.

The only difficulty that a section of the advocates of the greatness of the “Aryan” in India saw was that they came from outside: how can it be that the foundations of Indian civilisation were imported? For those who insisted that the *pitrubhumi* and *punjabhumi* of all authentic Indians should lie within the national boundaries—pray, which nation?—it was self-defeating to say that the “Aryans”, supposed to be the builders of the great civilisation, were outsiders like the Muslims.

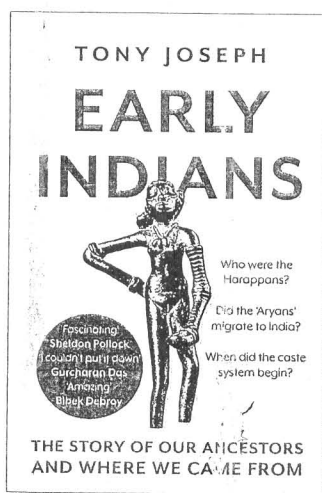
There was a dilemma when Bal Gangadhar Tilak wrote about the Arctic Home of the Vedas: on the

one side, there was no denying the nationalism of Tilak; on the other, it was a happy thing to lose the original home of the precious “Aryans”, even if it was Tilak who caused it. M.S. Golwalkar found a way out: the Arctic, the original home of the “Aryans”, was in India, in the region of modern Odisha and Bihar. It was the North Pole that took a zigzag course in a northerly direction while the Aryans stayed back! How do you like it?

The first jolt to the idea that the “Aryans” were foundational to Indian civilisation came when evidence of the Harappan civilisation was brought out in the 1920s. It was not only “non-Aryan” but also “pre-Aryan”. While the discovery was celebrated by many, including those who

looked upon the “Aryan” as invaders who dispossessed the rightful owners of the land, those who insisted on the “Aryan” foundations of Indian civilisation started gradually feeling uncomfortable. They looked for ways to claim the Harappan civilisation for the “Aryans”. To begin with, it was only a fad that would bring a smile to the reader’s face, but eventually, the comicality with which the Arctic home thesis was tweaked repeated itself: computer-enhanced images of the horse started turning up and Sanskrit was read in the Harappan seals, literally, left and right. Depending on the party in power, the Government of India spent huge sums of money in attempts to prove that it was not Indus Valley civilisation (why should you hand it over to those horrible Pakistanis?) but Sarasvati Valley civilisation (authentically Indian, claiming antiquity from the Vedic literature) and, therefore, “Aryan”. One thing about that discourse is clear: Indian civilisation owes itself to the “Aryans” and that the “Aryans” are, to the last person, born and raised in India. If you said anything different, you would be an anti-national.

Tony Joseph’s *Early*



Early Indians

The Story of Our Ancestors and Where We Came From

By Tony Joseph

Juggernaut Books, 2018

Pages: 288

Price: Rs.699

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Indians: The Story of Our Ancestors and Where We Came From is a book that will eminently qualify for such a description. No, it is not about the putative "Aryan race" or its original home. It is about the ethnic foundations of the Indian people. It seeks to raise and answer two basic questions: Who are we? and Where do we come from? "We" here includes all people of India from the earliest known period down to the present, people inhabiting this sub-continent irrespective of caste, creed or religion.

And the answer is complex, particularly because the ancestry of different sections of the Indian population is so intermixed, with strands drawn from different sources. Joseph summarises this complex answer in two simple (grammatically, that is) sentences: "We are all Indians. And we are all migrants" (page 221).

One of the more im-

portant revelations in recent years in the field of human prehistory results from the science of genetics. The developments in that discipline over the past decade are nothing short of explosive.

OUT OF AFRICA

Although evolutionary science had recognised the importance of distinguishing among the different species of early man, it is only in recent years that an Out-of-Africa (OoA) thesis of the migration of the anatomically modern humans, the *Homo sapiens*, was established unequivocally. Analysis of DNA made that possible. But more recently, the analysis of ancient DNA (aDNA) has given the scientist greater confidence to talk about the various strands that go into the making of the ancestry of individuals, groups of people and even whole populations. The realisation that the human population the world over

descended from a few *Homo sapiens* who migrated from Africa some 70 thousand years ago took the world by storm. Evidence of "human" life and operations before—long before—that was explained as belonging to the near-human species such as *Homo erectus*, *Homo heidelbergensis*, *Homo neanderthalensis*, and so on, but the weaker *Homo sapiens* succeeded in the race for survival, largely on account of better tactics and superior technology. That made sense.

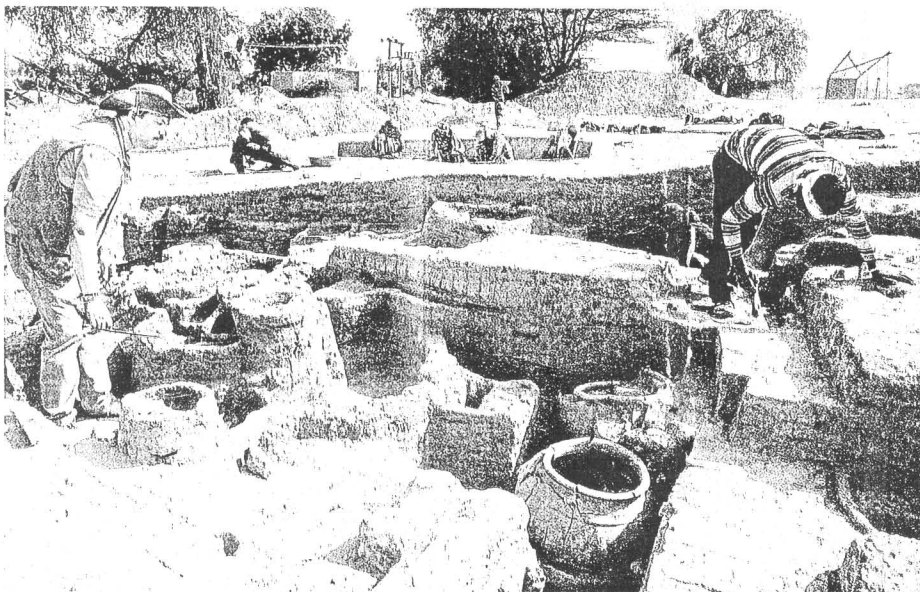
After making the methodology and logic of genetics, particularly the study related to DNA, clear to the lay reader, Joseph raises, and proposes his answers to, the question of peopling India. Although evidence of near-human species is available from 3,00,000 years ago, the earliest fossil of an anatomically modern human outside Africa, discovered at a rock shelter in north-

ern Israel, is only around 1,80,000 years old. And even that is only an isolated instance. The successful OoA migration occurred another 1,10,000 years later, around 70,000 years ago. Although humans or near-humans were around long before that, there is no trace of their having left behind successors. The OoA migration of modern humans arrived in India around 65,000 years ago. They may have come across earlier near-humans who were probably stronger than them. The OoA migrants avoided these physically stronger people to begin with and, later, equipped with better technology, such as the microliths, overpowered them. To be sure, the OoA migrants had gone to other parts of the world as well.

As the different parts of the globe were being populated, the OoA migrants were also undergoing mutations in their genes on account of the conditions under which they lived. While each group retained most of what it inherited, traces of new ones were making their appearance. That is how there are so many variations among the descendants of the OoA migrants.

These hunter-gatherers, with technological advances graduating from the microliths of the Mesolithic Age to the polished hand-axes of the Neolithic Age, started all that went with the transition: what Gordon Childe called the Neolithic Revolution.

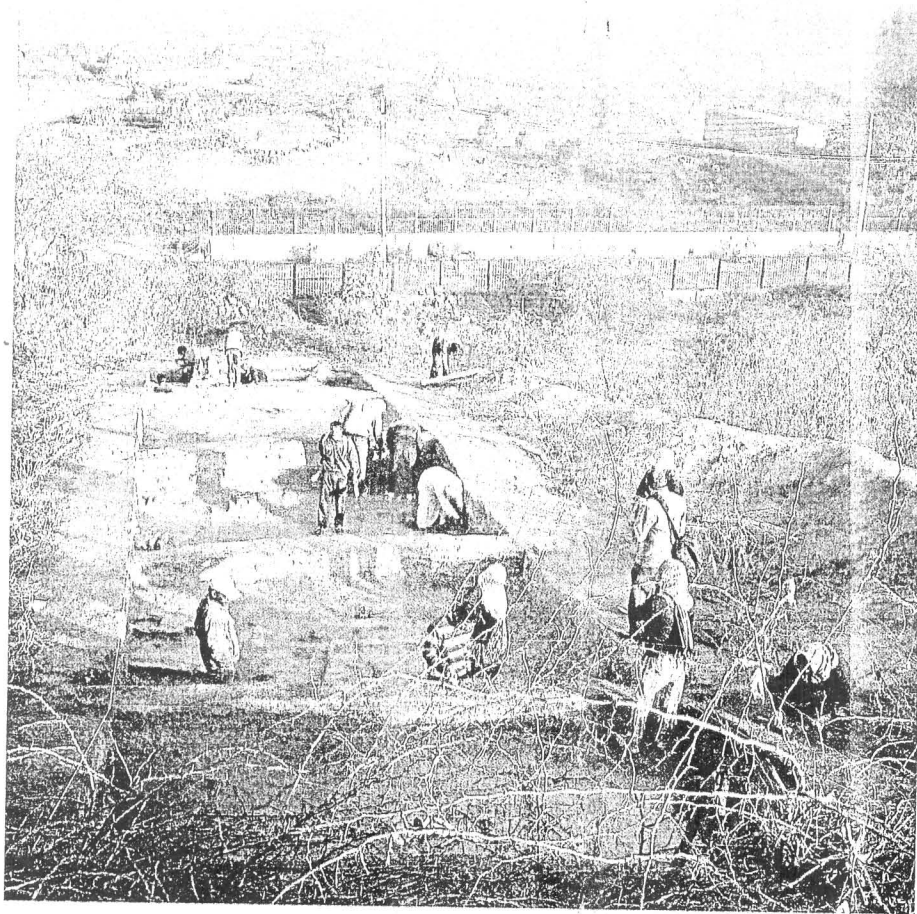
By 7000 BCE, a new agricultural settlement emerged at the foot of the Bolan Hills in Baluchistan,



V. V. KRISHNAN

AT BINJOR in Rajasthan, the 4MSR archaeological site near the international border with Pakistan's Punjab. It has both Early and Mature Harappan characteristics. Evidence of the Harappan civilisation in the 1920s gave the first jolt to the idea that the "Aryans" were foundational to Indian civilisation.

- 21 -



D. KRISHNAN

AT THE HARAPPAN SITE OF RAKHIGARHI in Haryana, excavation on mound four, RGR-4. The people who built the Mature Harappan civilisation were a mixture of the "First Indians" and the agriculturists from the Zagros mountains of Iran who had arrived at Mehrgarh around 7000 BCE.

in a village now known as Mehrgarh. That developed into one of the largest habitations of the period in the area between the Indus and the Mediterranean. At around this time, Iranian agriculturists from the Zagros region arrived there, which led not only to their mixing with the "First Indians"—that is, the descendants of the OoA migrants who had settled there—but also to changes in the cropping pattern. Geneticists believe that this took place by 4700-3000 BCE. Barley and wheat were cultivated and domesticated animals were consumed. Agricultural settlements had spread all across north-

western India by now—in the Indus and Ghaggar-Hakra valleys as well as in Gujarat. At the same time, evidence from Lahuradewa in Uttar Pradesh, in the Upper Ganga plain, shows that rice was harvested and life had become somewhat sedentary there by 7000 BCE. Mehrgarh was not an isolated case of experimenting in different kinds of agriculture.

During 5500-2600 BCE, agricultural settlements in the north-western part of the subcontinent developed into towns with their unique styles. Kalibangan and Rakhigarhi in what is now India and Banwali

and Rahman Dheri in today's Pakistan are among them. Distinct Early Harappan cultures such as Sothi, Amri and Kulli developed in this process. All these were subsumed in the process, and a higher level of standardisation evolved, with a complex script, seals, pottery, bricks, weights and measures, and so on. The Mature Harappan civilisation was born. The people who built this complex civilisation were a mixture of the "First Indians" and the agriculturists from the Zagros mountains of Iran; the admixture had taken place long before the first cities had come up. In one sense, it was authentically

South Asian inasmuch as the Asians, Americans and Europeans were not any more Africans! And they had no trace of Anatolian ancestry.

It is important that this genomic conclusion is independent of any archaeological or linguistic correlation. But those who studied Mehrgarh had come more or less to the same conclusion long before the genomic evidence was available. Linguistics, too, pointed to the same conclusion. Of the different Mesopotamian languages, the one that the Iranians from Zagros are likely to have spoken is Elamite. Linguistic similarities between Brahui, spoken in Baluchistan, and Elamite have been established. The kinship of Brahui with the Dravidian family of languages is well known. Thus, it turns out that what the genetic study points to is exactly what the earlier archaeological and philological studies had suggested: about a heavy Dravidian content in the Harappan.

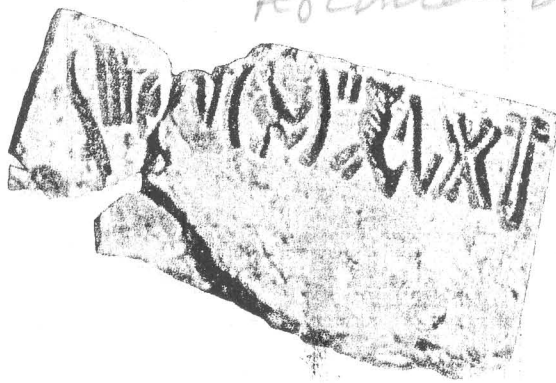
In fact, this is exactly what the most modern work on the Harappan script tells us. Asko Parpola and Iravatham Mahadevan have, in their independent studies, pointed out the possibility of the language of the Harappans being related to the Dravidian. No, neither claims to have *read* the language. It is the systematic study of the signs, their occurrence, their frequency, patterns of pairing and the context that led them to this conclusion. The attempts of Aryan/Sanskrit enthusiasts are rendered laughable by these studies.

22

History ✓
Archaeology X

The Mature Harappan continued until about the middle of the second millennium BCE. Perturbations in the isotopes of oxygen atoms present in the layers of a stalagmite growing from a cave in Meghalaya have now been accepted as proof of the failure of monsoons all over South Asia about 4,200 to 4,000 years ago. Joseph, in a lighter vein, suggests that it is Varuna, the God of water, who has to be blamed for the end of the Harappan civilisation—not Indra, as Mortimer Wheeler did about seven decades ago! Jokes apart, the Harappan civilisation had already declined by the second half of the second millennium BCE, when north-western India witnessed a fresh wave of migration as shown by evidence from genetics. Elements from the Eurasian Steppe make their presence felt in the DNA of the new migrants. What is interesting is that in the new wave of migration, it is the male element (represented by the Y chromosome) that is considerably more than the female element (represented by mtDNA).

Obviously, the new migrants were mostly men, and they mingled with women of the local population—that is, the admixture of the “First Indians” and the Iranians from the Zagros mountains. This evidence of a possible migration from the Steppe region is borne out by the archaeology of the Bactria-Margiana-Archaeological Complex (BMAC). A recent article by Michael Witzel (2018: “Beyond the Flight of the Falcon: Early ‘Aryans’



D. KRISHNAN

A THREE-CENTIMETRE SEAL with the Harappan script. A systematic study of the signs led to experts like Asko Parpola and Iravatham Mahadevan to point to the possibility of the Harappan and Dravidian languages being related.

Within and Outside India”, in Kumkum Roy and Naina Dalal (eds), *A Festschrift for Romila Thapar: Questioning Paradigms, Constructing Histories*, Aleph Books, pages 274-292) considers all the evidence that is available. Witzel makes the following statement: “The complex Indian data exhibits many overlaps in archaeology, genetics, linguistics and Vedic texts. When comparing the results of these fields they largely agree with each other and sustain an emerging picture of the origin and spread of the *arya*, their language, poetry, religion, ritual, culture, and even their genetic set-up.”

Although he is circumspect about the kind of evidence from these disciplines (“Just as the fields of archaeology and linguistics, the rather new branch of genetics, population genetics, has its in-built problems.”), his conclusion is clear: “In sum, neither was India ever isolated, nor did all facets of its archaeological, linguistic, textual, genetic/somatic data arise ‘on their own’ inside the Indian subcontinent; instead, they

look back up to some 60,000 years of Out-of-Africa history. Just like other Asian subcontinents—Europe, the once dry Sundaland, Northeast Asia—the Indian subcontinent presents a fascinating array of internal developments and external influences that only patient and unbiased study can reveal.”

Before these speakers of an Indo-European language describing themselves as the *arya*, migrating from the Steppes, arrived in what is now India, the ancestors of those who speak the Austroasiatic languages had come here. Two major waves of migration, one through an inland route via South-East Asia and the other an island-hopping one with its origin in China, had reshaped South-East Asia. Rice and millets had been fully domesticated in the Yangtze and Yellow river valleys long ago. The first migration brought with it the Austroasiatic languages, such as the Munda, new plants and a new variety of rice to India by the turn of the second millennium BCE. This recognition

shows that around the time that the Mature Harappan civilisation was about to bow out, there was the influx of another set of people coming through eastern India. Even in the case of the heirs of these migrants, their maternal lineages are of “First Indian” origin.

This last point is very interesting. Even in the case of the Steppe pastoralists migrating to India, there was a heavy predominance of men. Joseph shows a brilliant flash of insight in his observation that the convention that women speak Prakrit while the “high-born” speak Sanskrit in plays may be “because women may often have belonged to a different, a non-‘Aryan’, language culture than the high-born, or ‘Aryan’ men from the Steppes they were married to in the early period of their migrations”.

This book is remarkably accessible to the reader, dense as it is with evidence from multiple branches of knowledge such as archaeology, linguistics, ancient texts and, most notably, the recent study of ancient genes (aDNA). It goes without saying that not all scholars will agree with the conclusions drawn on the basis of results of individual disciplines; so also, some may doubt the validity of generalisations based on limited samples, especially in the study of genes. But, here is a firm basis on which the study of Indian history can begin. This is of especial importance in the context of the post-truth conditions of the present when myth-making seeks to replace authentic knowledge. □

23

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Interweaving Violence and Non-violence

ANIRUDH DESHPANDE

We live in a hopeless violent time and crave non-violence. We have tried to understand human violence since the time familial and social violence began, but our understanding of violence has failed to produce a non-violent world. In the process of understanding the binary of violence and non-violence, we often confuse non-violence with peace. Philosophically speaking, non-violence is a necessary condition of peace, but, is it a sufficient condition as well? The modern world has produced Adolf Hitler and M K Gandhi, Nelson Mandela and Idi Amin, the Ku Klux Klan and Martin Luther King simultaneously. Systems produce different men, and then, men produce different systems. Sudhir Chandra's admirable attempt to refresh and improve our study of violence and non-violence must be read in this context. Is non-violence enough or even desirable to create a new world based on peace? Is non-violence always possible? These are the ontological questions of our being today because violence is both individual and systemic. Unless it is addressed at the level of individuals and structures both, there is little point in researching it. Further, notice is to be taken of the fact that individual and communitarian violence are intertwined with social formations which produce them. In this sense all violence is ultimately structural violence.

The objective of this timely volume of collected essays, written by scholars in pursuit of diverse perspectives on the subject of violence and non-violence, is to arrive at a philosophical understanding of violence. After all, as the editor of this volume would have us believe, upon our understanding of violence in time and space depends our chances of rescuing humanity from the curse of violence. Violence began when humanity divorced

BOOK REVIEWS

Violence and Non-Violence across Time: History, Religion and Culture edited by Sudhir Chandra, South Asia Edition, New York: Routledge, 2018; pp 314, ₹1,095 (hardbound).

itself from nature. This divorce in "human history has been a force for good as well as evil" (p x). Civilisation would have been impossible if humans had remained enslaved to nature. But civilisation, as Marx held, also produced social inequality and, thereby, "structural" violence.

This book is a result of two workshops organised at the Nantes Institute for Advanced Study Foundation—in 2013 and 2014—to study why and how "in the evolution of human civilisation non-violence and violence have often so operated as to render their separation difficult" (p x). The rich essays in this volume are guided by the "imperceptibly operating interpenetration of violence and non-violence in human nature and institutions" (p xi). The overall viewpoint of the volume is Gandhian and treats Gandhi primarily as a philosopher of non-violence, leaving out his politics with which the scholars of structural violence may disagree. The offering is interdisciplinary with the motley group of contributors comprising 10 distinguished professors, one former teacher of English, one senior researcher and one Vedic scholar. The book is a sum of 13 contributions, some of which are difficult to read, and therefore, not directed at the plebian victims of quotidian contemporary violence. Further, the price of this South Asia edition will keep it away from many university students in South Asia. Hopefully a cheaper paperback will be made available in the Indian market soon.

The topics of the essays are diverse but thematically linked. The introduction

by Chandra speaks of violence and non-violence across time as a puzzle. Chapter 2 looks at the "negation of violence in the Vedic sacrifice." Chapter 3 raises the important question whether violence is "intrinsic to religious confrontation. Chapter 4 addresses the issue of violence and non-violence in Islam. Chapter 5 is an interesting piece on Japanese Buddhism and violence, based on a reading of the medieval Japanese "war chronicle," *The Tales of Heike*. This is followed by another intriguing essay on the "symbolic use" of elephants in European cultures in the context of military strength and non-violence. Chapter 7 looks at the violence in the philosophy of Hendri de Saint-Simon. Chapter 8 offers a "meditation" on non-violence, identity and sympathy. Chapter 9 provides some "unfashionable observations on non-violence." Chapter 10 looks at the "conditionalities of Dalits and slums" and comes to the Gandhian conclusion that to "change their situation, the Dalits need acceptance by the non-Dalits" (p 200). The chapter is based on a sociological survey of the 2 square kilometre-large Dharavi in Mumbai which, despite being densely populated, is largely non-violent. Chapter 11, one of the best in the volume, is worthy of special notice because it focuses on Palestine.

In Palestine the Gandhian techniques, tried by the colonised, failed against the Zionists in 1936 and then in the immediate context of the *Nakba* (catastrophe). Chapter 12 looks at medical ethics and violence against participants in clinical trials in India—a topic usually overlooked by Indian media and medical circles. It raises an important question: whether "war" against disease can be waged without the violence suffered by trial participants who often become unknowing victims of modern medicine. The last chapter counterposes violence as a "law of life" to non-violence as a law of "our Being" and upholds the life of Gandhi as "an invaluable testimony" (p 299).

In this scheme, where the negation of the ego becomes possible by an individual resort to truth, the success of morally persuading the other to eliminate the duality of the self and other is crucial.

History ✓
Sociology

The possibility of the other not conceding to satyagraha remains under-explored in the idealist Gandhian understanding of the world. Just hypothetically, place Gandhi in Nazi Germany or militaristic Japan in the 1930s to understand the point; Mussolini had called Gandhi a saint but it is doubtful whether he would have tolerated this saint in his own backyard.

Solutions to Violence

The editor is aware of the problems in assuming that non-violence is easily possible in this world. Yet, we must have “faith in non-violence even as we believe it to be empirically an impossible possibility” (p 1). One way of keeping this faith alive is to seek wisdom in the parables and syncretic traditions of civilisations. This is the way shown by the Sufi and Bhakti traditions which are under mortal threat these days. Since violence is seen to be bred by feelings of attachment, envy and revenge, it is best to understand its futility with reference to, say, Buddhist perspectives present in the Jataka tales. One Jataka tale is narrated by the editor in Chapter 1, with reference to the work of the famous Sri Lankan scholar Gananath Obeyesekere, to underline the virtue of forgiveness as a possible solution to the cycle of revenge and counter-revenge. The bigger question is whether humanity will learn from its past. For Gandhi, who referred to the *Mahabharata* and swore by the *Bhagavad Gita*, the issue was one of Dharma. His critics might say that for him it was more an issue of *varnashrama dharma* and *sanatan dharma* than anything else; that he was, in essence, an advocate of a humanised status quo. The editor is aware of this and refers to the “violence without which the iniquity of the hereditary Indian caste system could not have been possible” (p 6). What solution to this violence was offered by the master? A change of heart. This, according to Ambedkar, is impossible to square with a belief in the sanatan dharma. Gandhi sought solace in a mythical, romantic, non-violent village because his vision of life was idealistic and not grounded in history. He could, and did, inspire a band of followers, but failed to transform a society that was based on caste violence and influenced by

religious prejudices. The magnanimity of the editor is visible in the recognition of this, for he has included a history of Palestine in the volume which asserts that in particular situations non-violence can be “complicit with evil” (p 11). This is anathema to a Gandhian.

Many assumptions presented in this volume are sound. For instance, Cristina Ciucu points out two important things. First, that ahimsa can only be based on a “high degree of purity” of thoughts and actions and a “satyagrahi’s position can only be uncompromising or else risks being converted into its opposite” (p 260). Second is the recognition, via Hannah Arendt, that the glorification of violence is “entirely absent from the Western tradition of political thought prior to the modern age” (p 261). We may or may not agree with Arendt’s denunciation of modernity but the point merits consideration. Once again, we arrive at the binary which has guided modernity and its technological arrogance: history is made by men and nature by god. From this we infer that much of the violence in modern times is a result of the misplaced human belief in eternal growth, now made impossible by the terminal contradiction between private profit and the environment. The solution may be found in “forgiveness and non-retaliation” with respect to your “enemy” and, in our view, nature or whatever little remains of it. Yet, unless the structural roots of violence are addressed, forgiveness might seem a platitude doled out by the powerful. The structures remain important to the question of non-violence and violence.

An Impossible Non-violence?

Post 1989, the structures which influence human existence are the same which have dogged humanity since 1,500 CE, capitalism and its corollaries imperialism and colonialism. The sum of these is neoliberalism, fashionably called globalisation to deceive the media-controlled masses. The perspectives offered by Arendt, George Orwell and Noam Chomsky are important to understand the violence of totalitarianism which after the demise of the USSR and Maoist China, is present in the contemporary world as corporate-backed authoritarian populism. In the

essay on Palestinian society, Abaher El Sakka asserts an important point made by Georges Labica according to whom “contemporary colonial regimes render the realisation of non-violence impossible or nearly so” (p 205). This is largely true because non-violence requires a modicum of freedom and negotiating social space to operate; Gandhi could practice it because the British entertained a certain notion of civilisation about themselves. Even then they tolerated non-violent resistance only till a point. The modern ultranationalist state has no such illusion. In 1936 the Palestinians experimented with civil disobedience à la Gandhi but after the Nakba—the 1948 Palestinian exodus—this became impossible because Israel had arrived on the scene, ironically, comparable to a Nazi state. This brings up the point about the postcolonial states being, sometimes, more colonial than the originals. What alternative did this leave to the victims of Israel? So, “as long as the structural colonial Israeli violence exists, it will be countered by Palestinian resistance, be it classified violent or non-violent” (p 219). The coloniser sometimes does not leave any space for dissent. Thus Palestine “is in a colonial condition par excellence” and “must not be morally judged on the basis of the reigning international formulation of legitimacies which are totally controlled by the coloniser and the dominant powers of the world” (219).

Thus, the praxis of violence or non-violence is never outside the historical context. Further it is also historically wrong to assert that a “just” violent struggle will necessarily lead to violent outcomes. The examples of China (1919–49) and Vietnam (1942–75) prove this. The long Irish war against the English was both violent and non-violent, ultimately resulting in Irish independence. Finally, the limits of legitimate and illegitimate violence, both, must be analysed from the viewpoints of the oppressors and the oppressed to develop the potential of non-violence as an option of mass resistance.

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— 25 —

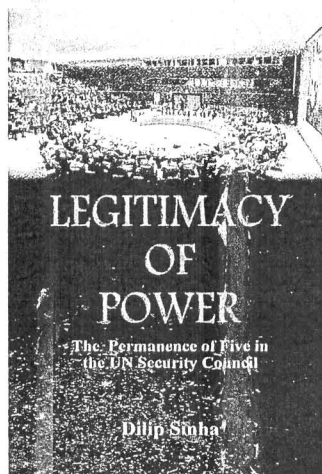
Making of the U.N.

This book by an eminent practitioner of multilateral diplomacy is not only for students of international relations and serving diplomats but also for the layperson in view of its lucid presentation of complicated issues. BY K.P. FABIAN

AMBASSADOR Dilip Sinha is eminently qualified to write on the Permanent Five (P5) in the Security Council. He was chief of the division in the Ministry of External Affairs dealing with the United Nations when India was in the Security Council in 2011-12 and, later, Permanent Representative to the U.N. in Geneva. His style is lucid, the research meticulous, and the jargon-free narration impeccable.

There are 16 chapters in all, apart from the conclusion. The author promises a "study of international security cooperation and its moorings in international law from the perspective of the countries in the South" (emphasis added.) He gives a historically sound account of the genesis of territorial states in Europe following the end of the Thirty Years' War (1618-48).

The account of the origins of international law shows analytic rigour. The Dutch jurist Hugo Grotius published *The Law of War and Peace* in 1625 when the Thirty Years' War was still raging. With the rise of the territorial states, the need



Legitimacy of Power

The Permanence of Five in the UN Security Council

By Dilip Sinha
Indian Council of World Affairs
Vij Book India Pvt. Ltd, New Delhi, 2019

Pages: 320
Price: Rs.595

arose for a law of nations "binding upon civilised states in their relations with one another". This called for a fundamental change in the concept of law, as law was commonly understood as a body of commands given and enforced by a sovereign. Who was the sovereign to enforce the laws among the states? As Immanuel Kant pointed out, Grotius and others like him were "sorry comforters" because such laws "do not and cannot have the slightest legal force since states as such are not subject to a common external constraint".

The concept of God-given "natural laws" is a partial answer to Kant. It is

partial as we do not see the enforcer.

The author draws attention to the difference between *collective security* and *collective defence*. The latter has been "the primary incentive for international cooperation". It means collective action by members against an external threat. *Collective security* deals with threats "emanating from an internal source against which all members accept the obligation to take joint action".

The U.N. was formed as a "collective defence organisation against the enemy states of the Second World War". The U.N. "created an international order in

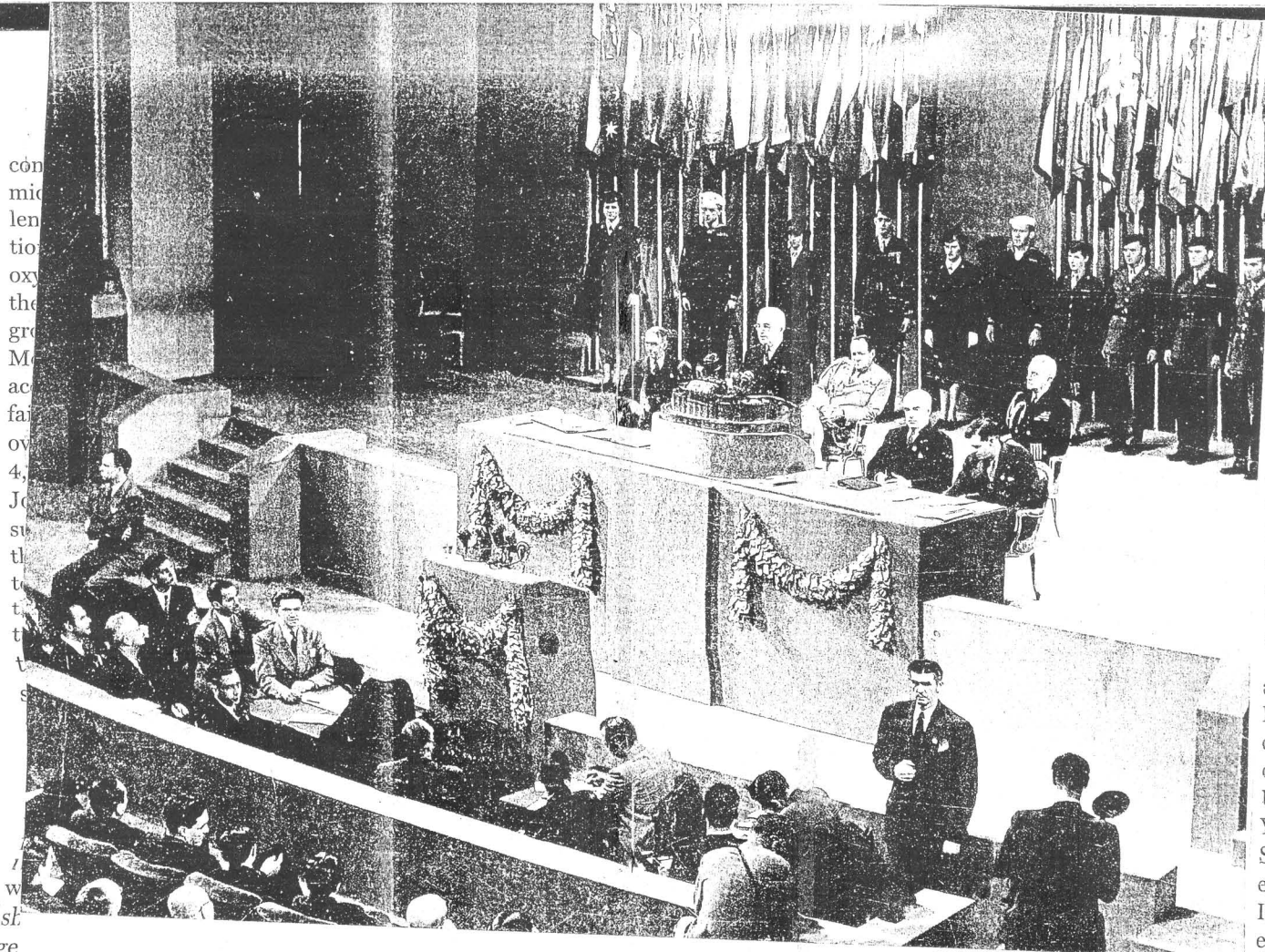
which member states agreed to restrict their sovereign right to wage war and to repose their faith in a small body of members of the Security Council".

We all have an idea about why and how the United States, the United Kingdom and the Soviet Union became permanent members of the Security Council. The author gives an insightful account of how China became a permanent member. But for President F.D. Roosevelt's determined insistence, China would not have been in. He fantasised about the immense market of 500 million in a China industrialised and "Christianised" after the war and the benefits for the U.S. from exporting to such a huge market. T.V. Soong, brother-in-law of Chiang Kai-shek, ambassador in Washington, enjoyed easy access to Roosevelt. Chiang Kai-shek, married to the daughter of a rich publisher of Christian missionary books, was a Southern Methodist Christian. Winston Churchill was scandalised to see China in. He pointed out repeatedly to Roosevelt that it was a big mistake to overestimate China's contribution to victory in the war.

To Churchill's chagrin, he found that some in Washington accorded equal weight to the British Empire and to China under Chiang Kai-shek. Roosevelt's trusted envoy, Averell Harriman, did not agree with him on accord-ing such an important place to China.

The reader will note the impact of individual

26



1945: U.S. President Harry S. Truman speaking at the closing session of the United Nations San Francisco Conference where the U.N. Charter was finalised.

judgment or prejudice on foreign policy decisions. She might also wonder whether Chiang Kei-shek was the only Chinese leader fighting the Japanese invader. How about Mao Zedong? Roosevelt was keen to include Brazil. Churchill was adamant on getting France in, though it was yet to be liberated, and Roosevelt had to agree. However, the Russian leader Joseph Stalin formally agreed to including France only at the Yalta Conference in February 1945, five months after the liberation of France in August 1944. If Brazil is in, there will be six permanent members, and in order to give notional majority to the non-permanent, there will have to be seven of them, giving a total of 13, a

number that Roosevelt disliked. It was Roosevelt's idea to give permanent membership to the "four policemen" (the U.S., the Soviet Union, the U.K. and China) who would keep peace in the world. (We are talking of a time before Roosevelt had accepted France.) Roosevelt shared this idea with Soviet Foreign Minister Vyacheslav Molotov in 1942. The latter added one more thought: the four "policemen" alone should hold weapons. Roosevelt, agreed as can be seen from Anthony Eden's book *The Reckoning* where Roosevelt is quoted as saying that the smaller powers

"should have nothing more dangerous than rifles". The first outline of a new organisation was prepared by Boris Stein, a Soviet diplomat, after the 1943 Tehran Conference attended by Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin, known as the Big Three. The first U.S. draft followed the Stein draft. There was disagreement about the name of the post-war organisation. Roosevelt wanted to retain the name "The United Nations", representing the Allies. Stalin opposed using a wartime name. He proposed "World Union" or "International Security Organisation". Churchill supported Roosevelt, and

Stalin yielded. The U.N. was not conceived as a universal organisation. Nor did decolonisation figure among its goals. The U.N. Charter has three articles (53, 77 and 107) that refer to possible action against "enemy states" despite the World Summit of December 2005 deciding to "work towards deleting the references", as the author puts it. The first two words, "work towards", are typical U.N. language. The "veto" power held by the P5 came in for much discussion. The Big Three were agreed on the need for the veto but worried about criticism from other member states. Confident of their ability to have ma-

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majority support, Washington and London were prepared to show some flexibility. Stalin objected. Finally, Roosevelt's formula, under which none of the P5 could prevent discussion of any issue but could veto enforcement action, was agreed to by Stalin.

This in brief is the account of the Dumbarton Oaks Conference held in 1944. The author gives an equally thorough account of the San Francisco Conference of 1945, where the Charter was finalised.

Chapter 5 is appropriately titled "Beginner's Luck: The Early Successes". The successes included the location of the U.N. headquarters in New York, the selection of a Secretary-General, accelerating the emergence of Indonesia as an independent state, and the U.N.-brokered ceasefire in Jammu and Kashmir.

Chapter 14, "Impermanence of the Permanent Five", makes important points. Except for a while between 1970 and 1990, the U.S. has dominated the Security Council. All Security Council resolutions authorising the use of force were either moved by the U.S. or had its support, with Russia and China either blocking or grudgingly supporting. These two seldom use the Security Council to promote their global interests as the West does.

Chapter 15, "Wars that Escaped Security Council Action", and the last one, "Security Council Reform", round up this exhaustive study. Let us look at the conclusions. The author starts by asking pertinent questions:



U.S. PRESIDENT F. D. ROOSEVELT and British Prime Minister Winston Churchill. Roosevelt wanted to retain the name "The United Nations" for the post-war organisation. Soviet Premier Joseph Stalin proposed "World Union" or "International Security Organisation".

How has the Security Council fared in performing its Charter responsibilities?

Has it fulfilled the expectations of those who drafted the Charter?

How do the current members of the U.N. evaluate it?

The author has pointed out, *inter alia*, that:

● In the absence of compulsory adjudication of disputes and a machinery to enforce verdicts, the Security Council's actions to maintain international peace and security become a reactionary preservation of the *status quo*.

● An increase in the permanent seats will make the Council more undemocratic. The debates will be longer and decision-making will be slower.

● All countries are not equal. Weighted voting can be introduced.

The author promised us a study from the perspective of the countries in the South. Therefore, the

reader might have expected a mention of India's important role in the Security Council on the Korean War. Sir Benegal Narsing Rao was India's Permanent Representative when India was on the Security Council in 1950-52. He played a crucial role in shaping the Security Council's decisions. Similarly, V.K. Krishna Menon helped to bring about a ceasefire by working out a formula on repatriation of the prisoners of war. India's resolution drafted by him was adopted by the U.N. General Assembly on December 3, 1952.

This reviewer mentions this matter because he has come across ignorance of India's role in the Korean War context on the part of the political science faculty in more than one university. The reader interested in knowing more on India's crucial diplomatic role might look up the book *Between the Blocs: India, the United Nations*

and *Ending the Korean War* by Robert Barnes, one of the rare books dealing with India's role. One can read it free on the Internet.

The book under review could do with more editing. For example, on page 39 we read: *The United Nations was formed as a military alliance during the Second World War. After the war, its three main allies—the United States, the Soviet Union and Britain converted it into an international organisation for continued collective defence against the enemy states, Germany and Japan.*

The reader might wonder about the need to seek collective defence against Japan and Germany, both under occupation.

These days one comes across concocted stories about Nehru's having rejected twice the offer of a permanent seat on the Security Council. The reader would have appreciated a paragraph or two on this, especially in the context of the rewriting of history gathering momentum these days. The author has made rather laconic references to the so-called offers.

The author has conclusively proved the illegitimacy of the P5 and hence the title is rather intriguing. All told, this well-researched book by an eminent practitioner of the art of multilateral diplomacy will be read not only by students of international relations and serving diplomats but also by the general public in view of its lucid presentation of complicated issues. □

K.P. Fabian is the author of Diplomacy: Indian Style.

— 28 —

Substantiated Storytelling

KAVITHA IYER

Some day in the foreseeable future, news may no longer live in a binary world of social media versus mainstream media. YouTube channels are already the chosen medium of many chroniclers of the current world, some with greater finesse or wider reach or sharper narratives than others. Tik Tok videos, Insta stories and many more hybrid models of storytelling will be de rigueur journalistic practice. And, while I am happy to report that good journalism in India does not expect to be rendered redundant any time just yet, the newspaper or television channel as we know it is already in the throes of metamorphosis. Whether you see it as journalism under siege or news-reporting 3.0 being liberated depends which side of the debate you are occupying, but, either way, one thing that is not difficult to agree upon is that books such as *Poverty Matters: Covering Deprivation in India* by are going to be important, key additions to the discourse on how journalism will stay relevant in the coming decades.

The book, part of the Studies in Journalism series of monographs, textbooks and edited volumes, is a distillation of a series of annual lectures delivered by visiting professor K Nagaraj at the Asian College of Journalism (ACJ) in Chennai between 2001 and 2016. The series editor is Nalini Rajan, also professor and dean of studies at the ACJ. According to the editor's note, the book has also used contributions, in the form of lectures, by P Sainath, Utsa Patnaik, C P Chandrasekhar, Jayati Ghosh, Balaji Sampath, Madhura Swaminathan, Kalpana Sharma, and others. While that makes it a book for practising media professionals and especially those starting out at this delicate juncture in history, the subject actually appeals to a wider audience, including those consuming the news with any discernment, as well as those with more than a passing interest in understanding deprivation in India. For the last set, the book is, additionally, a sort

Poverty Matters: Covering Deprivation in India

by K Nagaraj (based on lectures)/Nalini Rajan (ed),
Hyderabad: Orient BlackSwan, 2017; pp x + 172, price not indicated.

of guidebook on how to take a deeper dive into a range of associated topics ranging from population theory to neo-classical economics, from Amartya Sen to Thomas Piketty.

What to Avoid

Divided neatly into four sections, the book first looks at current trends in how Indian media portrays poverty and affluence today, and includes an early indictment of present-day business journalism in India, delivered as an example of what students of journalism must avoid:

Deprivation involves extremely complex, technical and contentious issues, and as a natural consequence, there are differing perspectives on each one of them. Whether it is about policy issues or the measurement and extent of factors underlying deprivation, the world is divided into different camps. Our perspective is uncommon in large parts of the media and in most academic discourse. Not everyone need accept and adopt this viewpoint, but any adopted perspective must be argued clearly and be open for challenge. Our perspective is hammered all through this volume for the reason that the alternate viewpoints are all around us, particularly in our pink press—the business newspapers. And all these perspectives tend to be biased towards the corporate sector.

Warning issued, the book goes on to grab the reader by the jugular as soon as it refers, in subsequent pages, to a news headline on “I am kids,” a news feature on the life and times of affluent youngsters zipping around an information technology hub in the wee hours in search of food and sustenance for the soul. Poverty and affluence, as the book tells young readers of the first chapters, are “two sides of the same coin,” because the 55 Indians who are “dollar billionaires” live cheek by jowl with millions who live on less than a dollar a day, since affluence sadly feeds on growing inequality.

The second section is a galloping study of data and technical matrices, tools for measuring poverty, the dimming relevance of using calorific norms for populations, the direct and indirect methods of assessing poverty levels, the Planning Commission's adjusting of the poverty line upon receiving the Suresh Tendulkar Committee report and, importantly, the possibility of some data in India being doctored.

The third section actually opens the book's dialogue, drawing in anyone with even a passing interest in reportage and writing on the Indian poor, and also those who may consume such reportage. In “Broadening the Concept of Deprivation,” the chapters address the post-1990 world of measuring deprivation, looking at how India has fared on the human development index (HDI) vis-à-vis other countries, how Indian states have performed, how some relatively poor countries may improve on the indices of health and education through appropriate policies, and how some very resource-rich countries remain tragically poor performers on HDI. The individual chapters on health, gender and literacy are solid, using broad brushstrokes but touching on various details. Students especially would find themselves returning to these chapters later, for they can offer a useful trajectory in the midst of a reporting or writing assignment.

It is the three chapters that comprise the final section of the book that breath-takingly tie it all together. A chapter on the theory of comparative advantage studies the idea of trickle-down effects versus inclusive growth, the poverty trap capital-scarce nations face, doubts surrounding trade as an engine of growth, the problematic assumptions of the free trade theory, how the dice is loaded in favour of developed countries, and the multiple internal contradictions of the theory. It sums up its argument against the free-trade champions thus:

What is the reality? In 2001, the International Labour Organization reported that as much as one-third of the world's workforce of 3 billion people is unemployed or underemployed. In the developed world alone, there was 3–25 per cent unemployment between 1993 and 2003. After the global crisis of 2008, the situation has worsened.

BOOK REVIEW

A chapter on population and a concluding chapter on various current aspects of policymaking follow.

A careful reading of this final section can enrich the discourse on any major news story of our times. What is the nature of growth that has left millions of forest-dwellers fearing eviction while a law to grant them rights over forest-land remains implemented in fits and starts? What are the contradictions in free trade theory for communities in mortal fear of carrying on traditional occupations? As Indian agriculture's absorption of labour falls, what are the big ideas for human capital? Is there specific data for jobs from the Make in India thrust? As fuel for fresh ideas, the final chapters are a gold mine for journalists and non-journalists alike.

Writing about the poor in India sometimes stumbles through the us vs them prism, either ignoring the injustice and multiple laws flouted in their inability to get redress or picking a romanticised, stylised narrative that is shocking and moving without positing their reality in relevant socio-economic data and trends. This straight-talking account of some basic tools is, in that sense, a useful reminder for practising journalists of some vintage as well, that journalism is ultimately making sense of society as it changes, or as it does not, and for that purpose narratives

spliced dutifully with data, context and scientific assessment do the job best.

Perhaps, because the chapters are based on lectures to a student community, the tone and tenor are often didactic, the early chapters clearly meant for students who are assumed to have not consumed any world-class journalism on the Indian growth story. In later chapters, there is sometimes a sense of hurrying along to cover a road map of subjects and issues, without pause for some non-essential but exciting digressions.

Surprisingly, and a little disappointingly, the book does not address the subject of caste in connection with deprivation. The centrality of the caste experience among the landless, the malnourished, those unable to access their rights on gender, nutrition, health and literacy is a common thread running through some of our big under-reported themes. One assumes the subject is omitted deliberately to be tackled exhaustively in a later title in the series. The other subject that was absent was the linkages between deprivation and climate crisis.

Old-fashioned Journalism

In times when journalism in the old-fashioned sense of the term is under attack, not just from the millions wielding a camera and the power to broadcast to

millions, but also from fake news and a post-truth world, the tools the book offers are going to be more, not less, important. Because professional journalists now find they must go increasingly off-camera, where TikTok cannot go. Data journalism, good, old-fashioned storytelling substantiated by rigour and context, investigations, all of these require grounding in technique. But, while the rules of journalism are being rewritten, who's to say that a TikTok video cannot tell an important story of deprivation and loss? Mobile journalists are already publishing very powerful stories and eventually all scholarly work on journalism will have to acknowledge this new form of news story, and assess whether it sets its reportage in scientific matrices too. Social media has ushered in passionate daily debates on everything from Swachha Bharat to smoke-free kitchens to women's literacy.

Arguably, these may not be the most well-informed or nuanced. But, what if they were, what if they could be? Journalists have long carried the cross of educating and re-educating themselves, and now the practitioners of new forms of journalism might find impactful gains from doing so as well. This book is therefore essential reading for them too.

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Unpacking the Motives of Neo-liberal Regimes

D NARASIMHA REDDY

The economic reforms that unfolded under the neo-liberal regime in India, as elsewhere, have been premised on a number of postulates. These include the postulate that: any intervention in the free operation of the markets would distort resource allocation resulting in inefficiency, and thus act as disincentive to investment and affect growth of output and employment. Therefore, the dismantling of the regulatory regime assumes instrumental primacy. In the case of the labour market, the prevalence of too many labour laws, even though most of them are confined to the organised sector, have been seen as an obstacle to competition and efficiency resulting and translating into disincentives for growth of investment and employment. The Second National Labour Commission's (2002) recommendation for rationalisation of labour laws, including retrenchment, and lay-offs of workers and closure of units by suitable compensation, to facilitate labour market flexibility gave credence to this approach.

For almost two decades, ever since the labour law reforms were brought on the policy agenda of successive governments, there have been a number of empirical studies, examining the veracity of the argument for labour market flexibility. In spite of the gestalt that implies the shift in labour laws, there have hardly been any attempts to examine the nature of the theoretical underminings of these reforms. That gap is sought to be filled by the book under review, *Labour Law Reforms in India: All in the Name of Jobs* by Anamitra Roychowdhury. One of the stated main objectives of the book is to study the logical consistency of the theoretical framework and empirical underpinnings underlying labour market flexibility. It begins with a thorough analysis of the current status of legal provisioning

BOOK REVIEWS

Labour Law Reforms in India: All in the Name of Jobs by Anamitra Roychowdhury, *Oxon and New York: Routledge, 2018, pp xxii + 313, ₹1,695 (hardcover).*

relating to labour, and the main proposals put forward in the labour market flexibility (LMF) debate for rationalising labour laws in India, followed by an extensive review of the debate on LMF which has been mostly in empirical terms. It then turns to critical examination of the theoretical framework underlying the arguments for LMF and their internal consistency. Towards the end it shows not only how the results suggested by the neoclassical theoretical underpinnings are logically inconsistent and invalid, but also how factoring in autonomous role played by effective demand could explain unemployment.

India has an estimated 45 central and 170 state laws broadly relating to industrial relations, wages and social security. However, most of these apply to the organised sector. Of these several laws, the ones that are relevant to the question of labour flexibility relate to industrial relations and two of the laws, namely the Industrial Disputes Act, 1947 and the Contract Labour (Regulation and Abolition) Act, 1970 have become the focus of debate. Chapter 1 discusses in detail the changes, proposed as well as some already effective, in the name of rationalisation that would bring about LMF. A few of the proposed changes discussed include the Labour Code on the Industrial Relations Bill, 2015, which aims at amalgamating critical industrial relations, legislations to raise the size of the units that require to seek state permission for closure, retrenchment or lay-offs (Industrial Disputes Act, Chapter VB) from 100 workers to 300, and the Factories (Amendment) Bill, 2016 to

raise applicability of the act to units from those employing 10 workers and using power, and 20 workers without using power, to 20 workers in the case of the former and 40 workers in the case of the latter. The latter would take out an estimated 70% of units from the coverage of the Factories Act. The freedom held out to the states to amend some of the labour laws under the proposed Labour Code was utilised with alacrity by those like Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh. The brief but graphic description of the changes in some of the labour laws towards achieving flexibility in the name of ensuring competitiveness, and more investment and employment forms the background for the empirical and theoretical analysis that follow.

Ever since the neo-liberal regime took over firmly, there has been a persistent argument that labour laws in India are at the root of labour market rigidity which in turn restricts growth of employment. There has been a wide debate on the issue essentially in the typical institutional framework that has generated a large number of empirical studies contesting this proposition. Chapter 2 is devoted to critically scrutinising the claims in favour of undertaking reforms towards labour market flexibility in India by pooling together the extensive empirical studies. This chapter which occupies almost one-fourth of the book, with substantial empirical evidence and detailed notes, systematically denies each of the claims made for LMF in India. In the debate, job security regulation (JSR), that is, Chapter VB of the Industrial Disputes Act, has been singled out as the root cause of the problem. The author classifies the literature proposing labour flexibility into two strands and musters evidence as to how every argument in each of these strands does not stand empirical scrutiny.

Variety of Arguments

One strand of literature argues that rigid implementation of labour laws or what is referred to as JSR is the main reason behind not only the employment downturn during the 1980s in the organised manufacturing sector, but also for the

-31-

small size of units (missing middle), sub-contracting to smaller firms and employers' preference for contract labour. Therefore, the prescription was to rationalise the public sector or privatise public sector units. The author's evidence counters these arguments.

First, since the JSR covered only 35% of the organised sector workers, the small size cannot be attributed to it. Second, it is shown that employment flexibility was more in evidence in units covered by JSR than in those units not covered. Third, employers' subcontracting to smaller firms was not to escape labour laws, but to take advantage of cheap labour. And similarly, employers' preference for contract labour was not because of JSR, but the wage difference. Since the private sector was responsible for not creating quality employment, merely privatising public sector units would not automatically usher in more efficiency. The book engages with the second strand of arguments in favour of LMF which claimed that rapid real wage growth was the

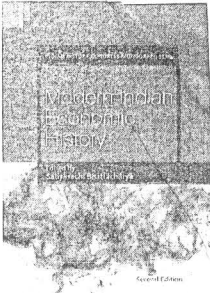
primary reason for employment downturn in 1990s. But, the available evidence questions such models and assumptions. First, the author draws attention to the literature pointing out that the proponents of the second strand of arguments confused wage rates and earnings per worker, which meant that the so-called rise in wages was not due to increase in "wage rates," but in the period worked. Second, during the period under reference there was a significant positive association between output and employment growth in units governed by labour laws, and no such association in segments not covered by labour laws.

Chapter 3 attempts to answer the question: if labour regulation and rising wages do not explain "jobless growth," what is behind the phenomenon of jobless growth in 1980s and later? The two-part analysis looks into, first, the nature of technological progress, and second, the labour militancy or labour power as proxy for rigidity of labour market. The available evidence presented

in this chapter shows that the proportion of "functional trade unions" (unions submitting returns) to registered unions has steadily been on the decline from 25% in the mid-1980s to 10% in 2008-09. In general, trade unions in the organised sector were on the decline. The number of lockouts rose until the late 1990s, but declined thereafter and the decline in strikes was more than that in lockouts. Person-days lost due to strikes or per strike were less than those lost due to lockouts or per lockout, and overall person-days lost due to strikes and lockouts—an indicator of industrial unrest—were on the decline. This was also mirrored in the decline in labour absenteeism. The real wages of workers in the organised manufacturing sector were less by the mid-2000s compared to the mid-1990s. The author argues that there was no way that labour militancy or labour market rigidity could be seen as the source of "jobless growth."

The author's evidence points to a sharp rise in labour productivity as well

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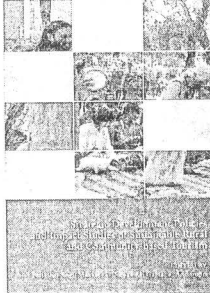


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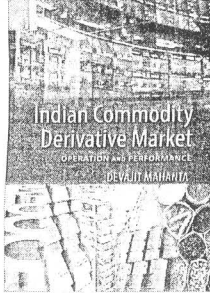
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Indian Commodity Derivative Market Operation and Performance
Devajit Mahanta

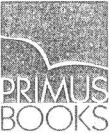
This book provides a detailed analysis of commodity derivatives which were traditionally developed for risk management purposes and are now growing in popularity as an investment tool.

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- 32 -

as productivity of capital due to upgraded technology. Therefore, it was labour-saving technological progress, and not rising cost of labour, that was at the root of jobless growth. Thus, Chapters 2 and 3 show that empirical evidence for implementing LMF was on shaky ground. These chapters also help buttress the otherwise familiar but scattered empirical arguments that deny labour regulation as the source of high wages and of lack of growth of employment in the organised sector. The significant original contribution of the book, however, lies in the chapters that follow—in identifying and critically engaging with the theoretical structure underlying labour market flexibility—a task that was not attempted earlier.

Theoretical Structure

It may appear rather odd to move from empirics to theory (after scrutiny of empirical evidence for the proposition of LMF which was found to be shaky) to scrutinise the theoretical underpinnings of the same. However, the intention seems to be one of moving from the familiar to the unfamiliar, that would facilitate better attention of the reader and smoother explanation by the author. The theoretical basis for LMF begins with the identification of two strands, one that zeroes in on “labour turnover costs” (LTCs) and the other, the so-called “insider–outsider” theory of employment and unemployment. The theoretical explanation in terms of “labour turnover costs” is based on the works in the early 1990s of Fallon and Lucas which were “extremely influential” in the Indian context (pp 144–49). They argue that broadly JSR acts as impediment to employment growth by enhancing the bargaining power of the labour that in turn raises wages and thus labour turnover costs. They also suggest that workers appropriate part of the returns to capital thus discouraging investment and growth of employment and hence the need for LMF to promote growth and employment.

However, the focus of the discussion on the theoretical basis for LMF is on the second strand, namely the insider–outsider theory, and a substantial part of the chapter is devoted to two contributions:

one in the form of a series of articles in the late 1980s by Assar Lindbeck and Dennis J Snower (1987, 1988), and the other by Robert Solow (1985). Lindbeck and Snower originally designed the insider–outsider theory to study the employment stagnation in European labour markets in the 1980s, but they generalised its application to developing economies like India to recommend policies of free hire and fire for labour markets. The author engages in extensive critical analysis of their theory (pp 149–65). Lindbeck and Snower “draw attention to one critical source of labour market power enjoyed by incumbent (insider) workers,” namely LTCs and the insiders utilise LTCs in their own favour without taking into account the interests of unemployed outsiders and thereby generate involuntary unemployment. The insider wage is positively related to the magnitude of LTCs, and a rise in insider wage (with a rent-like premium because of their power enjoyed by the job security legislation like the one under Industrial Disputes Act) leads to a rise in the level of unemployment. Thus, “like all neoclassical explanations of involuntary unemployment, insider–outsider theory tries to provide an answer *solely* based on the labour market and quite predictably explains it through rigid real wages set above the market clearing level” (p 151).

The upshot of the insider–outsider theory is a set of recommendations in the name of “structural labour market policies” of two kinds. One set of “power reducing policies” diminish the power of insider by dismantling job security regulations, reducing severance pay or simply firing and legislation to reduce union power by legal restrictions on strikes and picketing. The other set of “enfranchisement policies” increase “outsider” power that enfranchises them in wage negotiation and helps to reduce the labour costs of hiring outsiders with an apprentice system that would lengthen the critical period.

The insider–outsider theory assumes that JSR extends to all sectors of the economy. If there are two segments in an economy, one segment covered by JSR and the other not covered by the legislation, then competition in non-JSR would

result in full-employment. Besides being a closed model, the critical discussion of the insider–outsider theory exposes the restrictive assumptions often turning out to be logically inconsistent. Turning to the other insider–outsider theory, the one by Solow (1985) with an inter-temporal approach, the author contests the assumptions and the logical inconsistency of the theory. Solow’s theory suggests that insiders’ activity negates the possibility of hiring outsiders, hence the employment opportunities of outsiders, and thus resulting in persistence of unemployment. But, these are based on several unrealistic assumptions like one which argues that in an inter-temporal context hiring of workers is only in the first period, but not in the second, and that firms can lay off workers but cannot replace them by drawing from the large reserve army. Further, it is pointed out that Solow’s proposition of unemployment cannot be explained if firms can replace existing (insiders) workers by newly trained ones or by new firms that come in. The sum and substance of the critical discussion on the theories underlying the policy proposals for LMF demonstrates their flawed nature.

Game Theory Approach

Chapter 5 analyses the market clearing models on labour market flexibility with the focus on two contributions—Basu (2007) and Basu et al (2009)—with a game theoretic approach to labour market flexibility with skill differentials. These models assume away involuntary unemployment and rely on full wage flexibility and voluntary signing of contracts between workers and owners. These theories assess workers’ welfare in terms of equilibrium wages under two situations, lay-offs and non-lay-offs. They try to show that enabling retrenchment and lay-offs (read removing Part VB of Industrial Disputes Act) may result in larger employment and higher wages in the equilibrium. The entire Chapter 5 (pp 190–237) is devoted to contest the unrealistic and mythical nature of the assumptions and the models. Reading through the critical appraisal of these two sets of theories (Chapters 4 and 5) underpinning LMF, one cannot but recall

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Hicks' observation that "there is much economic theory which is pursued for no better reason than its intellectual attraction; it is a good game" (Hicks quoted in Hutchison 1984: 14). The only difference in the case in point is that some of these games may end up in social disaster, if they are to serve as a basis for policymaking!

The author of the book goes on to explain as to what really is the restraining force behind employment growth, and brings into focus the constraint of effective demand. He proposes a simple model and shows how "in an imperfectly competitive set up, that real wages and employment (contrary to orthodox claim) are actually positively related when effective demand is introduced in the picture." He goes on to show how even in an open economy model the arguments for LMF turn invalid. And concludes that

in the world we live in, where effective demand has an *au onerosus* role to play, there is no theoretical justification to carry out LMF to augment employment. In fact, LMF is harmful for both organised and unorganised sector workers in terms of employment creation. Hence, neither empirical evidence (Chapter 2) nor theoretical arguments (Chapters 3, 4 and 5) support any justification for making the labour market flexible. (p 255).

The title of the book could be misleading. It is not about labour legislation in legal terms, but a substantive contribution to the basic economic theory and consolidated evidence that systematically deconstructs and exposes the neoclassical theoretical premises of a critical policy domain of the neo-liberal regime. It is an ideal, though challenging model for any ambitious PhD student to follow. It is a must-read for all scholars and policymakers engaged in uncoding

the nature and motive of neo-liberal policy regimes.

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Sedition Cross-examined Understanding the Contradictions of India's Democracy

ANKITA PANDEY

There is an oft-repeated pattern in progressive talks and petitions dealing with sedition in India. Legal experts, journalists, academics and civil society-based activists often argue that Section 124A of the Indian Penal Code (IPC), which defines sedition, is a political tool used primarily to silence dissent. They remind us that in colonial India sedition was used to arrest and detain several well-respected nationalists and find support in Jawaharlal Nehru and M K Gandhi's statements that sedition has no place in a liberal democracy. They point out that the country which introduced the section on sedition to British India, that is, United Kingdom (UK), has itself since abolished it. On these and other similar grounds, academics and activists have long demanded the repeal of this section. These oft-repeated assertions are necessary, for repeating what we believe in,

Sedition in Liberal Democracies by Anushka Singh, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2018; pp xii + 393, ₹995.

strengthen our convictions, reaffirm the worth and value of the demand, and mobilise public opinion: in its favour.

However, these political positions also define the limits of what is said and written about sedition in India. To engage with sedition analytically, one needs to go beyond the assertions made in taking a political position on sedition. A couple of recent studies that focus on the jurisprudence on free speech and sedition in India have been undertaken by Siddharth Narrain (2011), Lawrence Liang (2016) and Gautam Bhatia (2016). Anushka Singh's book, *Sedition in Liberal Democracies*, is an excellent addition to these engagements. Singh adopts legal, historical, and anthropological approaches to understand the evolution and practice

of sedition as well as its normative relationship with a liberal democracy.

Conflicts and Contestations

The central theme of the book is to reveal the competing tendencies within a liberal democratic state, in particular India, as it tries to accommodate the twin political impulses of liberalism and democracy. Singh engages with the work of Carl Schmitt and Chantal Mouffe, both theorising the persistent tensions that result from the essential conflict that is a liberal democracy. "It is in the contestations emerging from the convergence of these conflicting tendencies that the category of 'extreme speech' of which sedition is a kind, emerges" (p 3). In this review, I will offer some suggestions to think further about the central theme, that is, the contradictions of Indian democracy that Singh presents us with, but first let me present an account of how Singh arrives at her conclusion.

The first two chapters are a comparative study of sedition within the legal regimes of four countries: the UK, the United States (US), Australia, and India. It turns out that India is the only country to continue using the same definition of sedition that was introduced in British India in 1870. The other three countries have

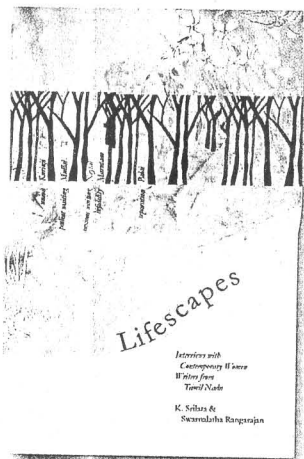
34

Mapping herstories

A kaleidoscope of conversations with 17 Tamil women on their writerly selves and how they pursue their craft against all odds. BY ABHIRAMI GIRIJA SRIRAM

IN 1929, the writer Virginia Woolf famously wrote: "A woman must have money and a room of her own if she is to write fiction." In a 1996 interview, the journalist Shobha Warrier reminded the writer Kamala Das of something she had once said about "the pathetic condition of a woman writer who does not even have a writing table. The dining table has to serve as her writing table once it is cleared." To which Kamala Das responded: "I was thinking about the middle-class woman who plans to become a writer. I was talking about myself, of course. There was only the kitchen table where I would cut vegetables, and after all the plates and things were cleared, I would sit there and start typing.... Then I would sit for hours and hours while the house was asleep because nights became my domain. I could find freedom only at night when I could ignore my family and become an independent person. I felt like myself only in the quiet hours of the night" (emphasis added).

Reading the frank, freewheeling, personal-



Lifescapes
Interviews with
Contemporary
Women Writers from
Tamil Nadu

By K. Srilata and
Swarnalatha
Rangarajan
Women Unlimited

Pages: 210
Price: Rs.375

political narratives of 17 women writers of Tamil Nadu in *Lifescapes*, almost a century after Virginia Woolf's *A Room of One's Own* was published, it is impossible not to be struck by how their days and lives are so utterly unlike that of their male counterparts, constantly crowded and

circumscribed as they are by the expectations and duties of work and domesticity even today. As the curators of *Lifescapes*, K. Srilata and Swarnalatha Rangarajan state at the very outset: "Economic necessity, familial politics and the pressures of domesticity can cast long shadows

on women writers. For many women writing in Tamil, attaining any sort of writing life is like a miracle, since it is accomplished against the odds of everyday life."

In its attempt to map the complex factors that influence women's writing lives, *Lifescapes* keeps returning to roost on the question of balance between the home and the world, between the worlds of work and creativity. After all, Tamil literature has been preoccupied since the Sangam age with the binaries of "aham", the inner feminine space characterised by love, and "puram", the outer masculine space characterised by public life, politics, governance and war. While the poet and journalist Kavin Malar admits that it is "a big struggle to sustain the state of mind that makes for poetry", the Auroville-based poet-educator R. Meenakshi avers: "I feel as though words are constantly bubbling inside me, ready to come out like water from an aquifer.... Though poetry calls out to me in all kinds of places, at all odd hours, it is only sometimes that I am able to write. Most of the time poetry appears like a shadow, interwoven with everyday activities. Sometimes, it leaves traces, at other times it fades away completely."

The poet, teacher and essayist Thi. Parameshwari says in her interview: "When I was working in the Connemara Library, I found that hundreds of women had published books. These women usually have one book to their



BAMA



P. SIVAKAMI

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S. JAMES

35

credit, that would have been published when they were between the ages of eighteen and twenty-four, which is when most women get married. No one knows what happened to these women writers. I suspect that they abandoned their literary aspirations once they were mired in domesticity." Even as she has consciously opted to converse with society as a writer, the poet Ilampirai makes no bones about how she locates herself *vis-a-vis* the larger community of women writers: "I think women write as distinct individuals. I have been to gatherings of women writers, but these efforts are difficult to sustain. Life situations, day jobs and responsibilities get in the way."

'AHAMPURAM'

The 17 writers interviewed in *Lifescapes* come across as confident, articulate and socially engaged, with a keen awareness of their role models and their audience. Even as they draw inspiration from classic Sangam literature, they bend and break the old watertight binaries of "aham" and "puram" to better resonate with the realities of their own lives. As the poet Perundevi asks: "What do you mean when you say aham/puram? We are living in times in which distinctions like inner and outer spaces bleed into each other and exist in a confused, intermingled state." Her question impels the authors to coin the portmanteau word "ahampuram", which conveys both an alternative space "that holds paradoxes and contradictions" and the



M. VEDHAN



R. RAVINDRAN



K. SRINATH

THAMIZHACHI THANGAPANDIAN, Salma and Perundevi.



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M. VEDHAN



K. PICHUMANI

MALATHI MAITHRI, Sukirtharani and Ilampirai.

matrix of subaltern concerns, gender and ecopolitics in Tamil women's writing today.

If writers such as Bama and P. Sivakami have forged a "subaltern counter politics" (to use Nancy Fraser's term) by connecting the dots between the self and society and challenging both caste and patriarchy in one fell swoop, poets such as Sakthi Jothi, Sakthi Arulanandam, Malathi Maithri and Sukirtharani articulate a powerful

earthy ecofeminist politics, an "udalarasiyal" (body politics) that equates the "aham" of blocked creativity with the "puram" of the degraded environment. A writer as celebrated as Salma confesses to sometimes feeling compelled to blue-pencil her writings in accordance with the policies of her political party, an "internal self-censorship mechanism" of sorts. The poet-turned-politician Thamizhachi Thangapandian says the landscape of her writing,

"glistening with the sweat of my labour and echoing the birth pangs of my freshly ploughed land", allows her to escape her life and self, however momentarily.

Lifescapes is valuable for the sheer shapeshifting range of contexts that map contemporary women's writing in Tamil Nadu. It acknowledges that for women, writing is an urgent and necessary political act. It inquires about gender and authorship in Tamil in ways that normally elude academic writing. Intimate and inspirational, it is a rich resource of writerly herstories not only for those interested in the question of gender but also for those who simply want to understand what it means to be a writer today. The late-bloomer engineer-turned-writer R. Vatsala puts it succinctly: "I feel I can make a difference, so I write." □



T. SINGARAVELOU



S.R. RAGHUNATHAN

R. WEERAKSHI.

R. VATSALA.

-36-

Woven with dreams

A delectable anthology of Urdu ghazals in Roman transliteration (and translation) of poets from the late sixteenth century to the present. BY ZIYA US SALAM

THE noted 18th century poet Khwaja Mir Dard spent all his life in Delhi, unlike Mirza Rafi Sauda who left the city because of frequent Maratha attacks. Born in 1721, he passed away in 1785. In between, there were three major invasions of Delhi. In 1739, Nadir Shah raided the city on Eid, turning its lanes and by-lanes into rivers of blood. A little more than two decades later, Ahmed Shah Abdali attacked the city. And there were the depredations of the Marathas. Dard refused to leave the city. He, as Anisur Rahman states in *Hazaaron Khwahishein Aisi*, was a “theoretician of the Muhammadi path and fashioned himself in the image of the Prophet Muhammad, appointed by God as His messenger on the earth”.

The fate of the last abode of this highly respected Sufi poet, whose expertise in music defined his tenor and metre, is not much better than the times he lived in. True, there is no armed invader today, but Dard’s tomb, at the junction of Old Delhi and New Delhi, sits amidst improvised urban dwellings,

some grotesque, others merely inconvenient to passers-by. Goats graze around the tomb, boys play with marbles, some even try climbing the pole in the middle of the tomb. Dogs in the crowded neighbourhood slink around in the hope of pieces of meat thrown to them from the homes. The tomb seems to be a favourite haunt of drug addicts.

Odd as it may appear, two centuries ago Dard himself had spoken of the ephemeral nature of life and the helplessness of man. He wrote: “*Tohmatein chand apne zimme dhar chale/ Jis liye aai the so ham kar chale/*

Zindagi hai ya koe toofan hai/ Hum to is jeene ke haathon mar chale... Shamma ki maanind hum is bezm mein/ Chashm-e tar aai the, daaman tar chale.” (I put on myself many a blame, before I left/I only did for what I came, before I left/ Is this life, or a rough storm I suffer?/ In life’s term, I was life’s claim, before I left/I lived here like a lamp, as long as I lived/ With tears I came but earned shame, before I left.)

If Dard’s tomb is a sign of the times, Momin Khan Momin’s last resting place, which has couplets engraved on it, is a comment on the poet who was fortu-

nate enough to learn under Shah Abdul Aziz, whose imprint can still be seen on the country’s madrasa education. Today, Momin rests in the dargah of Aziz’s father, Shah Waliullah, the 18th century Islamic reformer who is said to have been instructed by the Prophet to work for the uplift of the community. Momin, though, was a poet of romantic love. Anisur Rahman says: “The lover in his poetry is one of amorous disposition; he expresses his love along with lust, and sees lust as a part of life’s romance.”

Then there is the most unfortunate Mughal emperor Bahadur Shah Zafar, who did not get two yards for burial in his beloved homeland. After the failed first war of independence in 1857, he was exiled to Rangoon, where he was denied even a ceremonial tomb. When the revolt failed, Zafar saw three of his sons and grandsons killed and their heads displayed at the Khooni Darwaza, not far from the Red Fort. Zafar learnt the intricacies of poetry under Shah Naseem, Zauq, then Ghalib. With the anguish that he experienced in his personal life, love for him was not without a hint of melancholy. For him, a heart that had experienced no sorrow could not know the depth of love. Rahman reminds us, “For him, composing poetry was cultivating a difficult art that called for perseverance and devotion. This also explains his choice of multisyllabic lines and difficult qaafia and radeef.” Rahman reproduces a Zafar



Hazaaron Khwahishein Aisi
The Wonderful World of Urdu Ghazals

Selected, edited and translated by Anisur Rahman
HarperCollins

Price: Rs.599
Pages: 456

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ghazal that talks of love and sadness: "*Baat karni mujhe mushkil kabhi aisi to na thi/Ab hai jaisi teri mehfil kabhi aisi to na thi*" (It was never so very hard to speak, but now/Your assembly was never so bleak, but now).

Between Dard, Zafar and Momin, Rahman gives us a slice of life. In reality though, they are only part of the life of *Hazaaron Khwahishein Aisi*, a book so gently unfolding that you are persuaded to recall the opening of the petals of a flower, hour by hour, day by day. Here, the fragrance spreads page by page, age by age, poet by poet. A seasoned academic, literary critic and poet that he is, Rahman brings into play long years of using the pen as a brush. In his brief introductions to each poet, he acts like a room boy in a hotel who draws the curtains aside and opens the windows in the morning. Rahman, though, does not confine himself to merely opening the window to the poets' lives; he paints their lives with his words. The poetry he chooses to string together this collection would have been read by millions already, but the treatment he gives to the poets can be done only by a handful.

He reserves his best when talking of Faiz Ahmad Faiz, a 20th century icon whose work continues to inspire Urdu lovers and those who read Urdu poetry in Roman script. With a delectable mix of ironies, Rahman writes of Faiz: "A torch-bearer of the Progressive Writers Movement and a committed Marxist, Faiz was one of the few poets to strike a delicate balance

between arts and ideas and emerge as an icon. He was a votary of free expression, democratic values and a world order based on sociopolitical justice. The stages of his development show how his craft matured—from romanticism to social realism, and then to a deeper awareness of the larger human predicament. Faiz exploited the traditional symbols of Persian and Urdu poetry to add new implications to them and broaden the frontiers of meaning." Such brevity, such precision.

After such an introduction, Rahman springs a surprise. He chooses not to give us "*Mujhse pehli si mohabbat mere mehboob na mang*". Instead, he dishes out, "*Aai kuchh abr kuchh sharaab aai/Us ke baad aai jo azaab aai* (Let some clouds gather, let some wine flow/ Then come what may when I'm all aglow). Talk of a poet-critic's idiosyncrasies!

HEAD OVER HEART

Yet, Rahman presents a collection where the head rules over the heart. Taking off with metaphysical beginnings, wherein he gives space to the likes of Quli Qutb Shah and Mirza Mazhar, he changes gear effortlessly in the section titled "Towards Enlightenment". It is here that he shows some of his best insights and sharpest wit as he takes the readers to the worlds of Mira Rafi Sauda, Khwaja Mir Dard and Mir Taqi Mir. It proves a healthy appetiser for the section "Romance of Realism" where he finds space for InshaAllah Khan Insha, Asadullah Khan Ghalib (he takes the title of

the book from Ghalib's couplet), Momin and Dagh Dehlavi, the Delhi poet who lies buried in Hyderabad. In a neat delineation he clubs Mohammad Iqbal with Jigar Moradabadi and Firaq Gorakhpuri in the "Advent of Modernism": it is a choice that will raise a few eyebrows, as Iqbal fans consider him over and above such classifications.

Many more eyebrows will be raised over the inclusion/exclusion of some modern-day popular poets. However, for such naysayers, each of the poets included here will have many more nodding in agreement. Hence, no hard feelings in finding Bashir Badr Zehra Nigah, Ahmad Faraz, Nida Fazli and Shahryar under the same umbrella. As a poet, each has/had his/her own limitations. Yet each is/was capable of whipping up a storm, even to cajole the ennui-ridden to strive, to run. To Rahman's credit, he has avoided including Javed Akhtar in the section. Many others, unable to discern between the ephemeral nature of film lyrics and timelessness of poetry, would have succumbed to the temptation. He deserves praise for the selection of poets in the Beyond New Poetics section, too. It is pleasing to see Perveen Shakir get space. It is a moment of vindication to find Aftab Husain here, and one of unalloyed joy to see Sarwat Hussain, who passed away at the young age of 47. Hussain lent simple words great profundity, enabling a common reader to experience the crests and troughs with the ease of a seasoned sailor.

So, is everything fair and fine with this book? Well, almost. While Rahman's transliteration makes the cut, there are moments when one wishes he had used a different spelling for an Urdu word in Roman script. For instance, "*the*". He spells it as the English word "the". It is confusing. Same for words like "*baithho*" (sit down). Also, he does take a few liberties with facts of history, such as when he talks of Zafar's sons having been hanged at Delhi Gate. It was both sons and grandson. And it was at Khooni Darwaza, not Delhi Gate. But these are minor blemishes.

It is disappointing to find Zauq missing in the collection, more so when his pupil Zafar is there. There seems no justice for Zauq in this world, in his lifetime, or even in death. A contemporary of Ghalib, Zauq would have had more accolades coming his way but for the brilliance of his younger rival. Then in death, his fate was worse than that of Dard. His last resting place in Delhi's Paharganj area could not even be located! This for a man madly in love with Delhi, who wrote: "*Humne maana ki Dakkan mein hai bahut qadre sukha; Kaun jaaye Zauq par Dilli ko galiyan chhod kar.*"

The worst was the lot of Mir Taqi Mir, who lived through some of the most stressful times in the history of Delhi, though he found solace late in life in Lucknow. But the city of nawabs has chosen to forget him. Today, a railway line probably runs over his burial place. Thankfully, Rahman reminds us of the criminal neglect. □

Arundhathi Subramaniam

Love Without A Story, Poems | CNTXT | 105 pages | Rs 499

Human Comedy Through A Keyhole

Abjuring solemn observation, Arundhathi Subramaniam's new poems are lightly laden with life's epiphanies and shot through with humour and self-mockery



BY ANNA SUJATHA MATHAI

THE previous collection of Arundhathi Subramaniam, award-winning author of 11 books of poetry and prose, titled *When God is a Traveller*, was shortlisted for the T.S. Eliot Prize. The dry words of Eunice de Souza, who was her teacher, serve to set the tone for these new poems. "Best to meet in poems," says Eunice, wryly. This note of some sharpness, bluntness, irony and elusiveness sets the tone for Arundhathi's poems.

Some poets use language to reveal. Others use language to conceal. Arundhathi seems to do more of the latter. In a poem I enjoyed, she seems to speak of a childhood memory of a sister's homecoming, and she is composing a poem to greet her sister on her arrival: "It was a rainy day in Bombay, so easy/ to splice into the cypress groves/ and briny Aegean breezes/ of a classical spring/ alive with lutesong/ and given a chance today, I'd be ready/ to hijack a school bus/ and set full steam ahead/ to Mystras or to Crete/ and once there, to waft/ back again on foaming lute waves/ into a sleepy Bombay apartment/ with its peepul tree and breezes from Oman."

This has a reality to it and does not have the ambiguity of tone and matter found in many of the poems here. A favourite of mine is *Mitti*, which tellingly reveals the relationship between humans and the moon:

"I figured that the moon was a likely mud-gazer,/ just as we are moon-gazers!/ and so I uncovered/ the old role of poets -/ to be messengers/ between moon and mud/ and the great longing of life to hold/ and be held."

In *The Fine Art of Aging*, another most original poem where she reveals both humour and wisdom, she brings us the old wise woman of Tamil literature—Avvayar. But Arundhathi brings a gritty disrespect and familiarity to this new

version of Avvayar, divesting her of magic and mystery, making her the toothless crone next door: "But she knows the journey/ from goddess to gran,/ sylph to hag,/ prom queen to queen mum,/ is longer than most,/ more tortuous."

Unlike Yayati, Avvayar makes another choice, asking to be spared "the desperation of the old" and "the puerility of the young".

Arundhathi's Avvayar is down-to-earth, funny and loveable. "Spare me the sainthood/of mad women mystics," she says. This Avvayar makes another choice: "Fearless friend to gods,/ ally of peasants,/ counsellor to kings,/ traveller of the darkest streets,/ she walks the world alone./ And on such a path, she says,/ Its best to be a crone."

Pitiless, you might say, but true as mud, and ever so funny! "One way to outwit death, she says, is to invite it over. Wear it."

Lovers end as photographs. Love without a story. Arundhathi must be

AMIT HARALKAR



Christopher Fry once said laughter is the surest sign of the genius of the gods. It is much in evidence here. Instead of raging 'against the dying of the light' she chooses laughter.

one of the few poets who has tried the power of laughter and self-mockery, and found it satisfying! She's no self-dramatising heroine. Heroines end up as grans anyway. She finds another way "to walk the razor's edge". knowing there's no sadly or happily ever after. Arundhathi, who abjures goddesshood and magic and happily ever after, is more realistic about a memory of her mother seen through a keyhole: "And that's how I discovered/ that keyholes always reveal more/ than doorways./ That a chink in a wall/ is all you need/ to tumble into a parallel universe." I was reminded of Rhet Butler in *Gone With the Wind*: "Eavesdroppers often hear highly entertaining things!" he says to a furious Scarlett.

Arundhathi may demystify the mystique of saints and goddesses, she may be content to accept Earth, "this lunatic suburb" as it is, but she recognises the monk who has maintained silence for 16 years was once a spare parts dealer who got tripped up by: "the deepest pothole/ he's ever known./ too deep/ to be called love,/ that turned him into a spare part himself,/ utterly dispensable,/ wildly unemployed." She realises, in another poem, that dying is hard work. As hard as birthing! But living may be learning how to die. Of the goddess Neeli Mariamman, she says: "in the great garrulity of gods she is silent./ She'll never be the life/ of the party/ but she's not concerned with the party/ She is life -"

Christopher Fry once said that laughter is the surest sign of the genius of the gods. It is much in evidence in Arundhathi's latest collection. She does not let us "go silent into that dark night". Instead of ranting, raging against "the dying of the light", she chooses ambiguity, laughter, and a sharp sense of humour as one of the best weapons to possess and employ in life and in approaching death. □

Who was Lal Ded?

The Introduction from *'Looking Within': Life Lessons from Lal Ded*, edited by Shonaleeka Kaul (Aleph Book Company, 2019).

WHO was Lal Ded? Fittingly for someone who espoused the insignificance of worldly identities, little is known about this Shaiva mystic saint except that she lived in Kashmir, probably in the 14th century. Her relative anonymity notwithstanding, perhaps there isn't a single Kashmiri who has not heard of Lal Ded (Granny Lal) or Lal Maej (Mother Lal), whose full name was Lalleshwari, or of her many sayings that have seeped far and wide into popular usage. Such was the love and respect in which she was held by the masses in Kashmir that much later texts in Persian, like the *Tazkirat ul Arifin* and the *Tarikh I Azami*, written by Muslim scholars between the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, were also impelled to mention her. In fact, her near-contemporary, the Islamic Sufi saint Sheikh Nooruddin or Nund Rishi, as he came to be known, was deeply influenced by Lal's teachings and the order he founded came to be known as the Rishi-Sufi order, representing the syncretism for which Kashmir was once famous. It is worth noting, however, that Lal Ded herself did not found any movement or order of followers; she came and went alone, a wanderer—her message meant for the redemption of the individual soul.

The texts mentioned above provide us with some legendary biographical details about Lal, such as her birth in a Brahmin family of Pandrethan (near Srinagar), an early, bad marriage and many domestic hardships faced in her marital home, prompting a turn to spirituality. She is said to have been guided in this by a

guru, Siddha Srikantha or Siddhamol (Enlightened Father). However, there is no way to know if all (or any) of this is true, for Lal's own verses in the Kashmiri tongue, known as vaakhs (literally "sayings" or "utterances", from the Sanskrit vaak), do not provide any such information. They do, however, refer to her guru. In any case, as scholars have pointed out, the greatness of Lal is hardly limited to her life story, as we shall see.

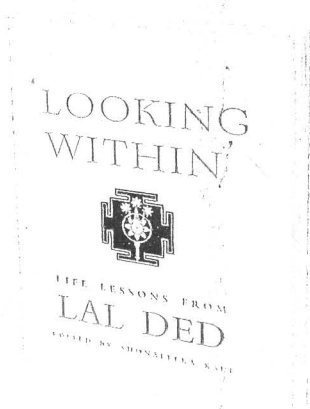
Though not speaking specifically about her own life, Lal's vaakhs are deeply personal. In these vaakhs, she uses the first person and also names herself frequently, using her shorter, pet name. For example, the phrase "I, Lal" or even "Lalli" is a common refrain in the vaakhs, prefacing her sayings in a conversational style—where the conversation is often with herself. Seen in other mystics as well, talking to herself in her vaakhs is a technique that points to Lal Ded's central teaching of turning inwards to arrive at life's greatest truths. Thus she says:

My guru said just one thing:
 "Turn within, turn within!"
 This was Lal's sole education:
 To learn to leap inside herself.
 I rejected every false belief,
 immersed myself in my inner
 voice alone.
 Ultimately I saw myself looking
 deeply into my Self.
 And knew it to be You, God, in
 every speck.

Indeed, Lal's vaakhs take you on an individual's journey through the woes of the human condition, disillusionment with the world, an anguished search for God, and, ultimately, to the realisation of the highest truth that liberates. They move from the outer to the inner world and take the listener/reader on this voyage too. The vaakhs translated in this book (each vaakh is a four-line lyrical verse, rendered in a colloquial style)² are also arranged into four sections accordingly: The first, "Life of Illusions", describes how we are mired in emotional and social attachments and material pursuits, and the



SHONALEEKA KAUL.



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futility of these attachments. The second section, "The Search", describes the process of an individual wearying of the material life and seeking a way out by exploring different conventional paths, to no avail. The third, "The Realisation", describes Lal's breakthrough moment when she experienced pure consciousness and bliss. And, finally, section four, "The Way", brings together Lal's advice on how to go about realising one's true Self and gaining liberation.

Again, despite being such a personal narration, Lal's life lessons are universal. Her observations on the transience and futility of material pursuits and the emotions they generate, like greed, anger, pride and fear, apply to all of us. All of us have also known the sufferings involved in the wake of even positive emotions, such as worldly love and attachments. The terror and certainty of death haunt all humans, even the powerful and the rich, as Lal reminds us. Her frantic search for God and repeated failures while trying out the myriad paths to Him ring true to the experience of those of us who are spiritually inclined.

Therefore, despite the profundity of her teachings, her humanism makes it easy to relate to Lal. This explains why her sayings have been preserved, for the most part, not in any textual tradition but through popular collective memory, in songs, proverbs and hymns repeated by all strata of Kashmiris, generation after generation, over the six centuries since she walked the earth. In fact, these *vaakhs* that were strewn through popular culture were collected and compiled by various Kashmiri Pandit and British scholars only as recently as the nineteenth century. In this regard it is interesting to note that Lal's *vaakhs* constitute one of the earliest compositions in the history of the Kashmiri tongue, after the thirteenth-century *Mahanaya Prakash*, thereby playing a pioneering role in the emergence and shaping of Kashmiri language and literature.

Despite her tremendous appeal among common people, Lal was quite uncommon, the most excep-

tional aspect of her life being her spectacular realisation of God—or rather of pure consciousness that transcends even the gods. She describes the splendour and ecstasy of that realisation in her own words and readers will get a taste of it in the third section of her verses in this book. For example, she says:

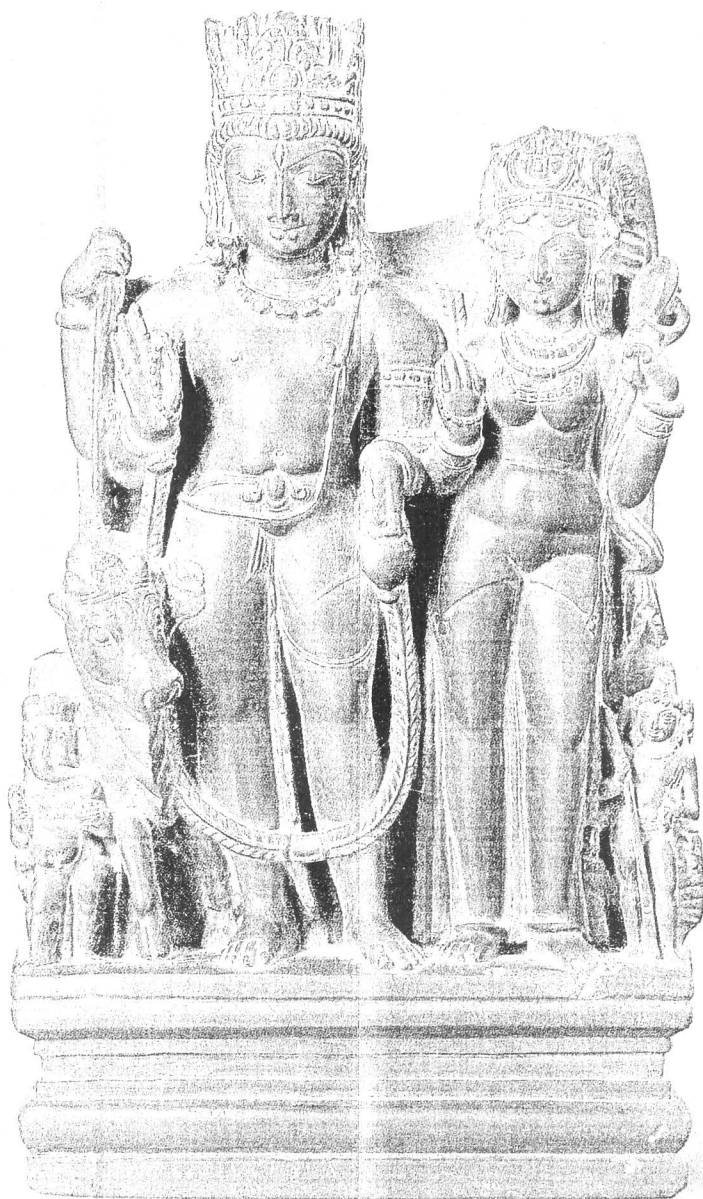
Like gold when burnished loses
all impurities,
I glowed bright in the fire of
pure consciousness.
Melting in love,
I found the fog of delusion lift
as the sun rose right beside me!

Pure consciousness was such
bliss,
all veils of illusion and thought
lifted.

Spontaneously I realised my
whole Self.

And Lal bloomed like a lotus in
the mud.

What was Lal really trying to convey and why? What was her philosophy and what her prescription? As her *vaakhs* suggest, Lal belongs to the Trika school of Kashmiri Shaiva mysticism or devotional Shivadvaiva, which originated no later than the eighth century CE. Shiva-shakti wor-



SHIVA AND PARVATI with Kartikeya and Ganesha, circa sixth century C.E.

ship in Kashmir dates to at least the second century CE, as glimpsed in gold coins of the period that depict Shiva, trident in hand and tiger sprawled at his feet. Colossal Shivalingas as well as sculptures of Maheshvara as Bhuteshvara, and of members of Shiva's divine family, such as Durga, Ganesha and Kartikeya, are also to be found in the valley from at least the fifth century CE. In fact, the *Nilamata Purana*, composed in Sanskrit in the eighth century CE and the earliest extant account of Kashmir's origins and sacred geography, tells us that Kashmir was founded from a primordial lake (Satisaras) where Sati, the consort of Shiva, resided. The *Nilamata* as well as Kalhana's *Rajatarangini* (twelfth century CE), the earliest surviving history of Kashmir, unambiguously state that the valley of Kashmir is Parvati herself and the king of Kashmir but a portion of Shiva.

Alongside this theistic and iconographic form of Shaivism, there developed a deeply monist strand of philosophy in Kashmir that identified Shiva as pure consciousness. This school, that came to be called Pratyabhijna (Recognition) or Trika (triad of Shiva, Shakti and Nara), was represented in the works of great scholar-siddhas like Bhatta Narayana (eighth century), Utpaladeva (ninth century), Abhinavagupta (tenth to eleventh centuries) and Shitikantha (thirteenth century). Lal Ded belongs to this line of realised souls as do the other great Kashmiri mystics, like Roopa Bhavani (seventeenth century) and Lakshman Joo (twentieth century), who expounded the same continuous tradition long after Lal.

What is Trika? Though it is difficult to render this highly sophisticated belief system in simple terms, we can explain it thus: all of creation is replete with one indivisible super consciousness called Parama Shiva (the supreme principle). But human beings do not realise this truth since

their intellect is clouded by delusions or amnesia induced by a sensory or material life. This makes them mistakenly identify themselves with their worldly forms and roles, causing them a great deal of suffering in the process, and obscuring their real identity, which is one with God, who is formless, nameless, pure consciousness.

In Lal's vaakhs, she urges a simple (saral) and spontaneous (sahaj) realisation or recognition of this ultimate reality by turning inwards. This is because, according to her, Shiva himself is subtle and spontaneous and resides within each of

us. Thus people could not and should not be discriminated against on the basis of their outward faith or customs. As Lal puts it:

Shiva is the sole reality and witness
in whichever direction you look.
Don't distinguish the Brahmin
and the Muslim then.

If you're a Trika, go within,
know only yourself!

The inclusivism of Lal's monism and of Kashmiri Shaivism is thus great indeed.

Lal also rejects the role of outward rituals and ostentation (including animal sacrifice) or pilgrimage



MANY-ARMED DURGA

Mahishasuramardini in green chlorite from Tengpora, circa ninth century C.E.

-42-

and also extreme asceticism (including fasting and other forms of mortification of the human body) to attain this truth. She says:

To fly through the air
or stop the flow of gushing waters,
to douse fire by incantation
or produce milk from a wooden
cow—
all such miracles
and show of spiritual prowess
are but chicanery and deceit!
What is the point of forsaking the
home
and heading to the forest?
Why smear sacred ash
and ointments on yourself?
You are fine just the way you are!
Bear God in your heart, that's all it
takes!

Indeed, Lal Ded's way is the pathless path (nishpath). All that it requires is an intense, all-consuming love for God even as we go about our daily lives—a longing for Him who, according to Lal, Himself seeks out the seeker.

Why fear, oh Self,
when the Eternal itself seeks you
out?
Know not whom or ask why,
just heed the call when it comes.

God's grace and an intent concentration on the Self through observing the inflow and outflow of one's breath, which she describes as the natural mantra (ajapa gayatri), leads to the direct experience (anubhav) of the ultimate consciousness. Thus, according to Lal, liberation is Self-realisation—an expansion of the indivisible Self to include the whole universe by seeing beyond all dualities and differences in it. Further, she tells us that pure consciousness is a state of nothingness (shunya ati shunya), a state of sheer bliss and radiance. Lal explains:

I enquired from my guru
a thousand times:
What, after all, does nothingness
mean?
He was quiet; I gave up and
quietened too.
And it is from that silence, at last,
that no-thing emerged!
Practices (tantra) gave way to
knowledge (mantra).

Knowledge dissolved into
consciousness.

When consciousness dissolved,
nothing remained.

Nothingness dissolved into
nothingness!

One who experiences this state of nothingness or pure consciousness no longer knows any fear or grief, not even of death, and hence becomes genuinely free (swatantra) within one's lifetime. Such a realised soul is known as jivan mukta. Lal, having tasted the nectar of the eternal truth, and suffused with Shiva (shivayapti), was truly liberated. In her own words:

Alert, when Lal entered her heart
she witnessed the union of
Shiva and Shakti there!
She dissolved into an ocean of
nectar.

Transcending life while still alive
thus,

Death had no business with Lal
anymore!

The life lessons that one can learn from Lal Ded are not only spiritual; they are also deeply ethical and inspiring. Here was a brave, young, solitary woman, with a profound understanding of the human condition, striving with acuity and determination to find a way out of the confusing morass of everyday life, social relations, and emotional entanglements to the clarity and bliss of self-discovery. As her verses indicate, she stood aloof and alone in the face of apparent social censure for being such an intrepid and unconventional woman—and became her own light! Thus she says:

Whether the world venerates me
or shuns me
I alone will bear the consequences
of my detached actions,
which are offered to my own Self.
So wherever I go, I will prosper!
Let people abuse and taunt me.
Or let them shower petals in
adoration.
Nothing affects me.
I am pure consciousness.
Only when I can withstand
censure
will my inhibitions break down.
Let my pride be torn asunder!
Let not attacks bother me!

No ordinary person is capable of such exceptional self-awareness and fortitude. This is why Lal's greatness and qualities such as indomitable courage, steely perseverance, and scintillating intellect can hardly be explained by any domestic challenges she may have faced in her early life. Lal was perhaps, above all, an extraordinary individual who rose high above the petty concerns and bondage of society in her pursuit of Self-realisation. As she says: "When the inner light lit up within me, off went the light outside."

What is even more fascinating is that the dazzling knowledge she arrived at was not through being highly educated or versed in scriptures or complex ritual techniques (mantra, tantra). As she avers, "I was born simple and simple I will die." Hence, in a strong reminder of that other great Indian saint from the fifteenth century, Kabir, who, though unlettered, preached high Upanishadic Advaita³ in the simplest of tongues on the streets of Banaras, Lal's knowledge of the true nature of reality and the Self was intuitive and experiential. She belongs to a long line of brilliant and pious souls that came from the sacred land of Kashmir.

In our consumerist and hyper-connected modern world today, we are ironically cut off from our own inner selves. As a result, we suffer as a society from great violence and turmoil. Today, more than ever before therefore, Lal Ded's luminous utterances shine brightly from across the centuries as a beacon of salvation and show us the way to redeem our true selves. □

NOTES

1. Lal is pronounced with a short a and a double l, like in gull. Ded in Kashmiri is an affectionate reference for an older woman.
2. At places in this book the vaakhs in translation have spilled into five, six or seven lines, due to constraints of page size.
3. Advaita or non-dualism is the idea that the soul (atman) and the highest metaphysical reality (brahman) are one.

43

The scourge of violence

A timely, eloquent series of interviews that interrogate the correlation of violence with gender discrimination, white intolerance, unilateral state power, politics, art and climate change. BY SHELLEY WALIA

POLITICIANS across the globe have sunk to a new low, resorting to new levels in the inordinate incitement of a malleable public willing to accept the media hypnosis and brush all opposing views under the carpet. It is a pandemic assault on public discourse on freedom and equality.

In *Violence: Humans in Dark Times*, Brad Evans and Natasha Lennard engage in a timely, eloquent conversation with thinkers such as Gayatri Spivak, Henry Giroux, Jake Chapman and Simon Critchley, interrogating the correlation of violence with gender discrimination, white intolerance, unilateral state power, politics, art and climate change. As the general mood indicates, we cannot overstate the fact that in the last few years, apathetic conservatives, worn-out liberals and cynical radicals have blurred the debate.

The media, in times of rigid political and ethnic affiliation, remains under siege with the public discourse on diversity and multiculturalism virtually disappearing. The authors draw attention to the power of dealing with political disparity and the obligation of engaging in some form of active dissidence against politically

charged racist thuggery.

As Theodor W. Adorno, the German philosopher, emphasises, thought must “ceaselessly point out the utter barbarism of the hegemony of capital, patriarchy, and the state”. To protest, to resist, to tell people what they least want to hear becomes our urgent moral responsibility. The interview with Gottfried Helnwein, the artist who grew up in post-war Vienna, makes a plea for “standing up, rebelling, resisting” and not “surrender to violence by domesticating its appearance and not addressing its visual realities head-on”. It is hoped that “violent aesthetics” will succeed in opening up the political debate in which democratic ideologies will ultimately prevail. Out of a crisis is born hope; in the



Violence
Humans in Dark Times

By Brad Evans and
Natasha Lennard
San Francisco: City
Lights

Pages: 335
Price: \$18.95

words of Evans, “to bring out the best of us we have to confront the worst of what humans are capable of doing to one another.” In short, there is a need to confront the intolerable realities perpetrated by violence in this world.

The intellectually stimulating and provocative exchanges collected in this book point towards “how the increasing expression and acceptance of violence—in all strata of society—has become a defining feature of our times”. Knowledge of the Holocaust, for instance, becomes the provocative past that artists such as Alfredo Jarr from Chile, Bracha Ettinger, a visual artist and a philosopher, and Gottfried Helnwein have lived through or confronted in their daily life.

The interview on “The

Violence of Forgetting” draws attention to the notion of the erasure of history when “ignorance and power join forces”. Here Henry Giroux confronts the raw realities of suffering and addresses “the politics of ignorance and the intellectual conditions that give rise to systems of oppression”. The power and awareness created by an educated public could be one viable solution to the cultural amnesia afflicting the world today.

The nightmare of history brings us face to face with the persistence of violence generated by the discourse on disparities and the assertion of racist supremacy that disallows the marginalised a viable space to live and have the right of speech. He draws attention to the past in order to bring awareness about the social responsibility of speaking out against an offensive narrative that discourages dialogue, an important ingredient of a progressive society committed to the promotion of critical thinking, economic welfare and freedom of expression.

These are indeed sinister times that impel the need for structures to launch a counteroffensive against the onslaught of a neoliberal agenda based on

- 244 -

valorising one ideology over another. Indeed, we need to undo violence by bringing critical thought to bear on the very idea of this scourge that has haunted civilisation through the ages. The book undertakes a passionate depiction of the insidious sense of unease and the daily risks that we and our dear ones have to face in this world. Violence feels omnipresent and all-enveloping. An antithesis to democratic liberal values, it has slowly become endemic to our very condition.

NORMALISING VIOLENCE

The in-depth exchanges in the book examine the idea of violence, facing it head-on by naming it and then finding some solution, thereby compelling a responsible citizenry to develop a congenial and peaceful environment acceptable to all. The ruin of public welfare in the name of private enterprise, the renaissance of predatory market forces, the growth of ethnic minorities and the worldwide aggression of autocrats and powerful nations leave the world in a democratic conundrum where violence and state control is legitimised in the name of economic development and the preservation of a mythical past. The odds are indeed stacked against migrant minorities and radical thinkers who are inclined to expose lies and lay bare the hidden agenda of the dominant neoliberal discourse.

The natural response of anger for violence stands wiped out through the corporate controlled political discourse casting

a spell of “normalising the violence”, a dehumanisation visible in the commercially marketed media that hypnotically adapts the public psyche to the existence of aggression in everyday life. With the idea of pluralism crushed, a violently dark world is overtaken by the reality of a post-truth “Trumpism” of lies, distortion and propaganda, forcing a damaging narrative in complete disregard for environmental degradation and climate change.

Through a major part of her life, the philosopher Adrian Parr, Director of the Taft Research Centre, has found this indifference as inherently “inseparable from the vice grip that capitalism has on our lives and political imaginations”. The neoliberal landscape, she argues in her interview, is underpinned by the “deployment of the language of perpetrator-free disaster as not only a form of violence but also a crime against humanity, which demands no less”. Though, to an extent, we are all involved as perpetrators or victims, some are understandably more guilty than others. The crime in question is indeed “an existential one that is committed against the very experience of being human”.

The erosion of egalitarianism and freedom through unprecedented challenges from anti-humanist forces pushing democratic institutions to the brink of failure is effectively put into operation through the dilution of the progressive and social significance of liberal arts that dare to ask the right questions; the historical and political sensibility in



AN ARTIST in Ahmedabad on June 26 against the lynching in Jharkhand of Tabrez Ansari, who was tortured and forced to chant “Jai Shri Ram”.

creative writings, in radical music and political art remains eternally suffused with a deep concern for a climate of intolerance, fear, exclusion and hatred. A liberal mindset must flourish to nurture human life and spirit through the act of creative imagination and a capacity to confront our dark history.

As Jake Chapman says in his exchange with Evans in the chapter titled “The Violence of Art”: “While violence is presented as the excluded object, it is the prime mover of human history... all violence is bad, while reserving exclusions—like ‘just’ war or keeping peace. And yet there is another form of vi-

olence that is creatively destructive. This is the violence we can talk about in the context of art, for while art offers a critique of the former, it engages in the latter.” The raw realities of mass violence and death form the staple of Chapman’s art, a creative quest for “understanding our cosmic insignificance” and our finite existence.

However, many under the spell of the state apparatus and its ideological prejudice choose to remain oblivious of the role of art and the social sciences and its opposition to the narrative of empty jingoism, of the battering of despised communities and the dismantling of existing insti-

-45-



SAM PANTHAKY/AFP

Bernstein emphasises “the intellectual, rather than the physical dimensions to violence, including structures of violence like the Black Lives Matter and anti-Dakota Access Pipeline movements”. In the absence of this activism, we all fall prey to irrationality, resentment, xenophobia and the relentless yearning for fear-inducing power.

Often, the physical harm or killing are our “only paradigm of violence”, argues Bernstein. And this frequently “blinds us to other forms of violence that involve humiliation and suffering”. The mobilising of ignorance and prejudice through a retrogressively shoddy education system, persuading the public to cut itself off from the wisdom of philosophy and the arts, and replacing it with the vulgarity of commerce and the daily dose of a deplorably mediocre media leaves the system in a dismal state of consensual politics.

It is imperative, therefore, to halt the runaway course of democracy towards an increasingly violent tomorrow. The environment, subsumed in violence of fear and hatred, cannot be glossed over in a world where democracy has gone awry. It is hoped by the philosophers and artists interviewed in the book that those who are elected to govern must take cognisance and uphold the institutions of democracy based on the creation of a dependable, free and participatory socialist movement. In the days to come, the Western world must awaken to the reality of inadvertent violence

and rouse a serious national debate on what comprises aggression, who perpetuates it, and why.

Violence is, undeniably, an overwhelming plague in any civil society. Bullying and persecution, war and terrorism, sectarianism and climate degradation are serious crimes against humanity that persist in our daily life. At this perilous moment in history, our actions and our readiness to not only speak up but also critically examine ourselves and our positions will determine our very survival. We cannot afford to remain subservient, uncritical and unimaginative recipients of an intellectually vacant politics of violence and malevolence sweeping the globe in collusion with a bloated, morally corrupt, corporate neoliberal agenda.

The insights inspired by the conversations “bring out the best of us” as well as enable us to “confront the worst of what humans are capable of doing to one another”. The “intolerable realities of the world” cry out for a solution with a compassionate and creative vision that does not “simply end up creating more anger, hatred and division”. A thoughtful exploration of the outlook of eminent thinkers on the normalisation of violence and its antidotes, the book through its philosophical rigour of dialogue rendered in robust and lively prose provides, in the words of Alana Massey, “a creative space large and fertile enough to lay the groundwork for an actionable hope”. It is indeed a timely alarm. □

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tutions as is apparent in the Brexit conundrum or the American attack on democratic institutions. Undoubtedly, the violence expressed in the debased language of United States President Donald Trump is used to not only drive home a political message but to appeal to the common multitudes who are culturally inclined to applaud rhetoric couched in muscular coarseness. The unleashing of racial hatred and police violence no longer disturbs millions who applaud the ruling Republicans for their robust policy of “America first” with its unashamed international interventions and martial aggression.

The politics of silence collaborates with sycophancy and racial or religious prejudice, producing

an environment of violence and mayhem so well depicted in masterpieces of art and music.

Intellectual vacuity casts a long and dark shadow over public life. The happiness of humanity is subverted at the altar of white supremacy which seeks to promote the calculated short supply of liberal regulations, liberal values and liberal education. Evans’ interview with Richard Bernstein, professor of philosophy at New York’s New School for Social Research, reiterates the public lack of the essential drive to stand up against the violence of modern mass politics and arouse within us the indefatigable urge to resist the status quo and escape the mundane, or stand up against the violence of modern mass politics.

-46

Gandhi in the Company of Western Philosophers

A RAGHURAMARAJU

The main task that Shaj Mohan and Divya Dwivedi set for themselves in writing this book was to outline a system for gathering together both “Gandhi’s writings and practices” and presenting them within a “corpus” in which his “precise conception of nature, truth, violence, resistance and the end is classified” (p 1). These multiple tasks are undertaken against the background of Gandhi’s alleged opposition to philosophy, which the authors claim, he considered “satanic.” Notwithstanding this view, they do point out that philosophers, including Martin Buber, Maurice Blanchot, Hannah Arendt, Etienne Balibar and Slavoj Žižek “found it necessary to engage with him” (p 10).

Having juxtaposed this peculiar relation between Gandhi and the philosophers they turn towards another concept, namely “hypophysical.” They find this term within a parenthesis in a passage from Immanuel Kant’s *Groundwork for the Metaphysics of Morals*. They make an adventurous move to elevate it to the level of one of central ideas in Gandhian thought. Making an exact connection between Immanuel Kant and Gandhi, they go on to affirm that this Kantian concept “finds a highly developed articulation in Gandhi’s theory of nature where nature is value, the moral is the natural” (p 2). Gandhi, they claim, held that anything that conforms to nature is a virtue and that which does not is a deviation from “nature’s moral course.” These deviations consist of “the syndrome of civilisation, the perils of speed, and the desire for progenies” (p 1). It is this idea of nature as a value, as hypophysics, they claim, can explain a long list of Gandhi’s activities, many of them controversial and some experimental, including: his “sexual experiments; his resistance to democracy and women’s liberation movements; his racism towards the Africans and the untouchables

Gandhi and Philosophy: On Theological Anti-Politics by Shaj Mohan and Divya Dwivedi, Foreword by Jean-Luc Nancy, New Delhi: Bloomsbury, 2019, pp i-x, 1-272, ₹9,341 (hardcover).

of the subcontinent; his startling political positions with respect to great events of the early 20th century such as Nazi Camps and the atomic bomb”; and his experimental attempts to “determine Truth” (p 2). So, in their reading this concept of the “hypophysical” holds a central position for understanding the “systematic unity and uniqueness of his thought.”

To bridge the huge chasm between “hypophysics” as a term in parenthesis and its transformation into a central concept, the authors undertake, in Chapter 1, titled, “Hypophysics,” to build a larger scaffold around the term. In this context they take support from a long list of philosophers from the West, including Edward Tyrer, Hippocrates, Plato, Rene Guenon, Stoa, Aristotle, Anaxagoras, Xenophanes, Marcus Aurelius, the Stoics, Diogenes Laertius, Hume, James Lovelock, Fritjof Capra and Rupert Sheldrake (pp 17-18). They go on to claim that “Gandhian hypophysics, however, obtains a precision which distinguishes it from both the precursors and successors, including some inheritors, of the synonymisation of nature and value” (p 18). Having made this claim regarding the precision, the authors do not actually state who these precursors, successors and inheritors are. More importantly, they do not state what is the distinctive nature of Gandhian hypophysics that distinguishes it from them.

The other theme that this chapter discusses is how to read Gandhi. After referring briefly to writers like Partha Chatterjee and Akeel Bilgrami on Gandhi, the authors land the discussion in front of John Alter who, they claim,

brought “in an explicit manner, the union of nature and value in Gandhi’s political theory, nature cure, sexual experimentation, and hypophysics” (p 20). The discussion continues by the authors recalling another long list of philosophers from the West, including Spinoza, Wittgenstein, Luc Nancy, and Stuart Kauffman (pp 23-26).

This method of entangling Gandhi with Western philosophy forms the common link across the chapters of this book. This approach becomes obvious when the authors, while discussing Gandhi’s attempt at associating the earthquake in Bihar with the practice of untouchability, do not refer to or discuss Ramchandra Gandhi’s important and focused paper on this same theme (“Earthquake in Bihar: The Transfiguration of Karma,” *Indian Philosophical Quarterly*, 1983, pp 125-51). Other papers by K J Shah and Amita Chatterjee that subsequently engaged with Gandhi and Rabindranath Tagore on this theme too elude the attention of the authors.

Discussion on Speed

The next chapter discusses yet another important philosophical theme, namely speed. Measured by time and an important aspect in history, speed is the pulse of the universe. Moving, yet not moving away to the extent of derailment, is the characteristic feature of the universe. This moving yet not moving away and retaining equilibrium, it looks to me, is symbolically presented in the dance of Nataraja. This equilibrium, the authors claim, according to Gandhi, is however thrown out of gear with the advent of civilisation and subsequently by modernity which promotes speed. The continuous and habitual promotion of speed impacts equilibrium in a way that further dissociates nature from value. This fundamental philosophical concept, speed, is extensively discussed in this chapter. They again turn towards Western philosophers like Charles Bonnet, Jacques Monod, Hannah Arendt (p 33), Aristotle (p 35), Kant (p 36), Heidegger (p 36) Paul Virilio (p 37), Nietzsche (p 37), Milton (p 38) and especially towards Thomas Taylor who wrote

The Fallacy of Speed, to show the contrast between modern life and village life (p 39).

Having discussed two fundamental ideas, namely nature and value on the one hand and speed on the other, the third chapter discusses the concept of body. Rejecting the claim that Gandhi follows the middle path between mind and body, the authors claim that for Gandhi, "the body aggregates under the essence of good and evil which is not the same as the distinction of healthy and unhealthy" (p 68). The next chapter discusses the relation between mind and soul. Highlighting the "inverse relation" between the "powers of body and the soul" the authors quote Gandhi who said, "It is my firm belief that the strength of the soul grows in proportion as you subdue the flesh." Taking the lead from this view they go on to claim that the "soul is defined as a distance between the body and the mind ..." (p 71). Again continuing their habitual style of argument, they relate Gandhi's stand on the relation between the mind and the soul by bringing into the discussion another long list of philosophers from the West. In this chapter they go one step further when they claim that it is Gandhi's "studies of Plato" that made him to establish "a certain relation between Truth and the soul, that is, soul is the faculty that has the power invested in it to recognise Truth" (p 84). This claim about Gandhi's study of Plato is not substantiated by evidence.

Chapter 5, "Dynamics: Active and Passive," identifies active force with history that is "dis-essentialising of man" and identifies passive force with "nature which is value" (p 90). As an illustration they suggest that going to a temple on foot is practising passive force whereas travelling by train to go there would be employing active force. The next chapter discusses "The Laws of the Maker," about how Gandhi distinguished man-made laws from the laws of the maker. The laws of the maker are unbreakable; and all "illness is the result of the violation of the laws of nature" (p 116). Man-made laws are legitimate only if they are grounded in Maker's Laws (p 127). Gandhi said that "if all of us regulate our

lives by this eternal law of *satya* and *ahimsa*, there will be no occasion for civil or other resistance" (p 130). The next two chapters discuss "Truth and Will" and "Violence and Resistance," respectively. The summary of these chapters is aptly captured when they quote Gandhi who equates salvation of all the "exploited people of the earth and, therefore, of the world" with strictly adhering to the "reliance" on "truth" and "non-violence" (p 164). Thus, for Gandhi, truth and non-violence are both universal and absolute concepts.

Age of Critique

The chapter on "Critical Nation" discusses Gandhi's views of caste, untouchability and racism (pp 189–90); politics as a necessary evil (p 191); history as a disruption of passive force (p 194); and absolutising the virtues of non-violence and cleansing it of any shades of violence. The conclusion embarks on summarising the discussion in the preceding chapters through the broad categories of the "age of critique" that begins from the 18th century that "refers to the investigation

into the internal milieu of a system" (p 209); "age of criticism" that is interested "in the criteria, or ratio" (p 210) and the "age of criticalisation" that looks into what "happens to systems when their elements reach their limits, such as the heat of combustion, and heat tolerance of an engine" (p 211). The authors find "Gandhi's efforts ... towards discovering the limits of politics to the point of criticalisation of the human animal itself" (p 212).

At one level one finds both: relating Gandhi with a word in parenthesis, namely hypophysics, and making it one of the central concepts in his thought both challenging and problematic; and relating Gandhi with Kant too is equally problematic. The problem with the former is with regard to the disproportion in the extend of concept in parenthesis and the philosophy of Gandhi. Regarding the latter, Kant is the major philosopher within the project of modernity and Gandhi is a strong critic of modernity, in fact he terms it as satanic. This difference, nay, antagonism, is not referred to. It looks as if both Kant and

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Gandhi belong to the same schools of thought. Yet another problem is, though the book is about Gandhi, there is less of him and far more of Western philosophy in it.

At a more scholarly level, there are ideas that are attributed to Gandhi without giving exact references. For instance, the authors maintain that he was “familiar with the theories of the mind discussed by his contemporaries, including the Darwinian theories of mind.” And that “he avoided a lengthy discussion of the subcontinental theories of the mind in the religious texts while giving discourses on them” (p 73). The evidence in support of this claim is not given. This ambiguity and not giving exact references to what is attributed to Gandhi is there when they maintain that there are “thinkers of speed before Gandhi and after him. But it is Gandhi’s resistance to speeding, which alone is resistance, which sets him apart” (pp 38–39). This indeed is a big claim and one needs to know who those

thinkers about speed, before and after him, are.

Similarly, the text does not set out those existing interpretations of nature, truth, violence, resistance of Gandhi with which the present book differs. This scholarly practice of clearly stating the view with which a paper or a book goes on to differ is the virtue of modern Western scholarship. This practice has intriguingly not been adhered to in the text. The inevitable outcome is that the text under review lacks scholarly presentation of its *purvapaksha*. For instance, there are Marxists who alleged that his politics either wittingly or otherwise promoted bourgeoisie interests; liberals who found him non-progressive; feminists who criticised his views on sex and women; and those like B R Ambedkar who found his views on Dalits less revolutionary or even promoting orthodoxy. This leaves the text merely to accumulate without cumulating. The development of thought through cumulative ideas is the dominant practice

in Western scholarship. The Western philosophers that are discussed overcrowd Gandhi. One wonders what are the new insights the book gives about him apart from several claims made about him.

Welcome Addition

Notwithstanding these, from another level the book is interesting and is well written; the philosophical prose is tight and is of high quality. In this respect the book is in the company of Ajay Skaria on relating Gandhi with Derrida; and Aishwary Kumar on relating Ambedkar and Walter Benjamin. A book of this nature on Gandhi is a welcome addition to the existing literature. It makes good reading for those who are already familiar with, and or want to be familiar with Western philosophers and or want to see Gandhi in their company.

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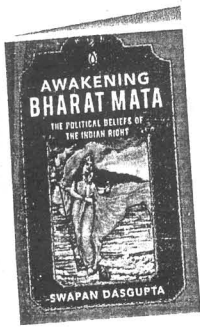
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books Swapan Dasgupta

Awakening Bharat Mata: The Political Beliefs of the Indian Right | Penguin Viking | 428 pages | Rs 699

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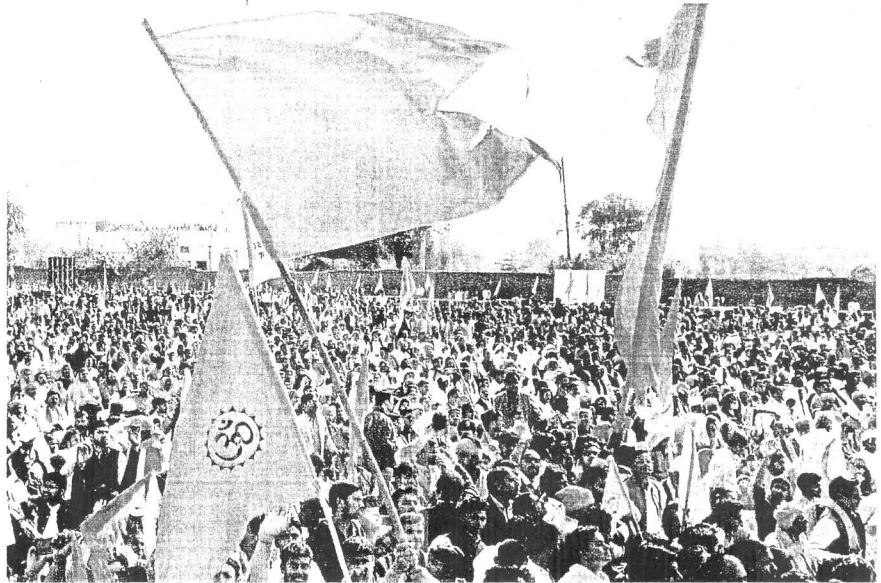
Dasgupta expatiates on the great Hindu reawakening that lay at the roots of the freedom struggle. The Hindu right is thus seen through cultural nationalism.

GETTY IMAGES

BY R. BALASHANKAR

WHAT the emergence of Narendra Modi in the political centrestage has done is to redefine Indian polity, and reclaim that core aspect of Indian nationhood which in many ways had inspired India's global importance and identity in the last three centuries. From the fringes and sidelines to the mainstream, the growth of the Hindu nationalist political movement has transformed and channelled Indian national discourse, making relevant the hitherto ignored or taboo strands of the Indian freedom movement.

India was awaking from a thousand years of slumber, as Swami Vivekananda had observed in the late nineteenth century. In fact, it is not an exaggeration to say that Swami Vivekananda was the father of modern Indian renaissance. The freedom moment gradually came to focus on the immediate aspect of throwing out the British. But it simultaneously triggered an unresolved national churning in India after the British left. The Congress under Jawaharlal Nehru got the first chance to shape India after 1947. But the teachings and aspirations of an awakened India, as scripted by Vivekananda, Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Lala Lajpat Rai, Bankimchandra Chattopadhyay, Sri Aurobindo, Veer Savarkar, Keshav Baliram Hedgewar, Guru Golwalkar, Syama Prasad Mookerjee and Sardar Patel did not find political expression till the eighties in a decisive manner. Swapan writes "I believe it is important to understand the phenomenon not only from the perspective of its critics but also in terms of how it perceives itself. There has, for example, been an accusation that Hindu nationalism is singularly detached from the freedomstruggle". Cultural nationalism—that undeniable spur to the freedom struggle—was the base of this alternative political philosophy which Swapan Dasgupta in



'Modi has made Hindu ideology an instrument of change and power'

his new book has chosen to call "the Indian Right".

Dasgupta has made an honest and avowedly "sympathetic" attempt to understand the ethos of this new political expression. The success of this experiment is convincingly traced in the pages of *Awakening Bharat Mata*. The author observes that it is an attempt to generate more debate and writings on similar lines. In fact, the thoughts on Indian cultural nationalism are scattered, diverse and disoriented. It was the political genius of Narendra Modi that made this ideology a successfully combative instrument of change and power. But for his success,

This is the first wholesome attempt to situate the new political victories of Hindu nationalists in a historic, ideological continuity. In that sense, it is a pioneering approach to modern history.

these expressions may not have gained any currency, and books like this may not have been written. In a way, Dasgupta's is the first comprehensive attempt to see the new political victories of Hindu nationalists and situate it in a historic, ideological continuity. In that sense, it's a pioneering work, a path-breaking approach to contemporary history.

The clash of ideologies and the inevitability of the relevance of the new Hindu right's approach is captivatingly narrated in the book. It also helps to understand the victories of the BJP in the political context and establish that this facet of Indian polity is bound to stay for long.

As Dasgupta underlines, the Ayodhya movement was the turning point: "It was the Ayodhya campaign that set the terms of a political discourse that has persisted in one form or another till today". L.K. Advani's insightful article on this aspect is enlightening. But the subtler role of the RSS, VHP and other affiliate organisations is underplayed in the book. The role of leaders like Hed-

books

grewar, Guruji Golwalker, Moropant Pingle, Ashok Singhal, Dattopant Thengadi, Deendayal Upadhyaya and the significance of the organisational network for making the decisive mandate of 2014 a reality needs a more empirical and detailed study. This work can be fully authoritative only with an inclusion of the latter. But, as a first attempt, this book is compelling enough. The collective wisdom of the cultural underpinnings of the national movement is actually the literature of Indian nationalism. Moreover, it tried to forge national unity and was inclusive, albeit harking back to a cultural universe that was predominantly Hindu.

A remarkable aspect of *Awakening Bharat Mata* is its perspective on Chhatrapati Shivaji, as a visionary and a nation-builder. The Indian resistance to the formidable challenge to Mughal domination is cited as a defining moment in the awakening of India. The authenticity of historians like J.N. Sarkar, R.C. Majumdar and R.G. Bhandarkar, the contributions of Bakimchandra, Sister Nivedita and Aurobindo in the footsteps of Vivekananda in shaping the Indian renaissance ideology are extensively covered in the book. This is an authoritative guide map to the understanding of the emerging nationalist fervour.

The inclusion of S. Gurumurthy's article, which analytically grasps the essence of the new political philosophy, is a value addition. Dasgupta has tried to explain the new phenomenon by juxtaposing it with similar nascent trends in the West. But Hindu history is as unique as other great world civilisations and needs no defence. The defeated 'Left liberals' might see things differently. As Dasgupta puts it, "There has been an inclination to view India's right-wing politics as either a variant of fascism or merely a collection of sectar-

Though Ayodhya is marked as a turning point, the role of RSS, VHP and others is downplayed. So is the contribution of Hedgewar, Pingle, Golwalker etc towards today's reality.

ian prejudices. The centres of intellectual power—notably academia and the media—have been particularly hostile to the BJP and those identified with it, an opposition that varies between condescension and shrill disavowal".

But the real protagonists of this "remake India mission" are not apologetic. The collection of articles that is cited by Dasgupta is the author's own selection. Only, a more representative, cohesive, list would have served the purpose better. What is the Indian right, who are the Indian right's protagonists? Why is it being discussed at this particular juncture?

THE context is the phenomenal rise of the BJP vis-a-vis the stunning poll results of 2014 and 2019, where under Modi an alternative ideological narrative to Indian polity has gained wide acceptance with the electorate. The tectonic political shift that Modi brought about in the last five years has inspired a large number of books on the new leader and his policy template.

Swapan Dasgupta's book is entirely different from all those. It is an excellent academic exercise in finding the roots of the Indian right. Not contextualised by the Modi phenomenon as in other efforts, Swapan Dasgupta has brilliantly tried to examine the political beliefs of the Indian right. And who its icons were in the past two centuries.

The opening chapters, *The Political Context*, *Motherland*, *Religion and Community* and *Politics and the Hindu Narrative* give a glimpse of the entire thought process that have shaped the new awakening. Dasgupta tries to examine the ideological underpinnings of the movement in passing and how Narendra Modi in the past five years has tried to give administrative shape and initiated practical solutions to the remaking of India. He also examines how this approach is fundamentally different from the Nehruvian model. It is not religion, but culture and history that determine the new orientations. The BJP has grown by using all opportunities it gained as part of the JP Movement, the Janata Party experiment and its coalition travails. The BJP stood its ground while others faulted and slipped. The book essentially is a learner's guide to the making of a new India. □

ON THE RACKS



Farhat Nasreen
If History Has Taught Us Anything | Rupa

The author explores the lives of historical figures such as Humayun, Sher Shah Suri and Vikramaditya, who have been overshadowed by their more famous contemporaries. She delves into the themes of ambition, deceit and wisdom against the backdrop of popular history to explore the emperors' "human side". The book concludes with interviews of renowned historians and their engagement with the subject.



Ed. by Preeti Gill
She Stoops To Kill | Speaking Tiger

These "stories of crime and passion", all by women authors, have Agatha Christie, Dorothy Sayers, Ruth Rendell and P.D. James as models. Each story centres on homicide(s), and range from the convincingly set, but clumsily written one by Mitra Phukan to Janice Pariat's gentle exposition and Manjula Padmanabhan's edgy residence in a serial killer's mind.



K.L. Chowdhury
Room In Our Hearts & Other Stories | Bloomsbury

This collection of short stories by a Kashmir-born, Jammu-based physician recounts tales of Pandits forced into exile, their quest to find their moorings, the people they left behind and the bonds that connect them. Chowdhury draws richly from the history and culture of the Pandits and the syncretic traditions underpinning Kashmiri society.

Engaging with 'a Quintessential University Person'

MOGGALLAN BHARTI

Ambedkar University Delhi (AUD) and Tulika Books' *Conversations with Ambedkar: 10 Ambedkar Memorial Lectures* comprising the first 10 Ambedkar Memorial Lectures (AML), edited by Valerian Rodrigues besides being a university's commitment to the ideas of B R Ambedkar, is a befitting repository of critical thinking and Ambedkar's philosophy. The latter is discussed and followed in the domain of the Dalit-Bahujan sociopolitical world. These scholarly lectures compiled in the volume constitute a firm step on the part of the university in not just bringing Ambedkar's ideas to a more contemporaneous engagement, but also in laying the edifice for an astute friendship with a man who Rodrigues perceptively describes as "a quintessential university person." In its entirety, the lectures delve deeper into concepts like citizenship, justice, oppression, jurisprudence, democracy, and particularly Ambedkar's idea of India and its interaction with the more pressing questions of our times. Though not all 10 lectures included in the volume deal with Ambedkar in a direct manner, they are all part of an ongoing expression of scholarly work that could qualify as the critical Ambedkar studies movement—an important objective of the AUD's AML series as suggested by Upendra Baxi.

Central to Nationalism

The book begins with the very first memorial lecture, in which Bhikhu Parekh points out that any engagement with Ambedkar's philosophy and work should be free of both deification and vilification. It is only after a careful and dispassionate discerning of Ambedkar's thought in his time that one should commence a sense of an uncritical engagement with his philosophy. Parekh underlines an important question that Ambedkar raised—a

BOOK REVIEWS

Conversations with Ambedkar: 10 Ambedkar Memorial Lectures edited by Valerian Rodrigues, Tulika Books and Ambedkar University Delhi, July 2019; pp 282, ₹750.

germane question even today especially to those who want to engage with the political in Ambedkar—as to why caste Hindus do not feel ashamed or embarrassed by the presence of untouchability which forms the very basis of Hindu caste society. For Parekh, it is important to understand Ambedkar's perspective on the absence of "public conscience" among the caste Hindus which is very central to the development of shared fraternal feeling—a fundamental value otherwise very central to the coherency of nationalism in India. The contested national question in the light of the missing "shared sympathies" in Hindu society—that Parekh considers an oxymoron, and rightly so, as it is deeply divisive and hierarchical—flags an important question for the wider public to chew on, that of how to imagine a constitutional republic whose very foundation rests on the corrosive ideology of Brahminism.

It is this question of refiguring the claims of modern citizens in a constitutional republic that Veena Das attempts to probe in her lecture. Through an ethnographic account of events, Das analyses the everyday impact of law in the people's lives and the far-reaching consequences of the same in their citizenship claims. Deepak Nayyar too in the same spirit addresses the question of discrimination and justice in the constitutional republic. Nayyar aims at the possibility of imagining justice in newer ways by extending his reach to the constitutional apparatus in the United States (us) and South Africa. However, it is left

to the ever incisive and provocative Ashis Nandy to dig up the roots of the theories of oppression or as he puts it, "universal theories of oppression" produced at the zenith of colonial history.

Unlike the previous two scholars, Nandy examines the fundamentals of oppression and delineates its scholarship as the result of overwhelming cultural and intellectual hegemony of the West with its roots in European enlightenment and with "reason" at its centre—as opposed to "transcendental or divine injunctions, compassion, empathy"—being the defining characteristic of formulating ideas of social and political significance. This propositioning by Nandy, however, requires further elaboration, as any problematisation of reason as a value and source of critique of the social must invite. Though Nandy does admit that ascribing reason as the "primary source of value can have some virtues," it is this aspect of "can have" and not the do have that needs our attention. Nandy somehow overlooks the significance of "reason" in recovering and bringing the knowledge to the Untouchables in both colonial and postcolonial period of India. It must be emphasised that the post-independence idea of nationalism—a European derivative—mirrored Brahminism and continues to absorb the other voices in its imagery of "Mother India." In his quest for tying the available theories of oppression to that of the imperial and cultural aspects of European hegemony, not only does Nandy not tell us more on why they are "dominant"—other than their birthplace being in Europe—he also does not outline the available subjugated theories—the ones which are apparently being dominated. Moreover, Nandy's argument about an "internal dialogue" between different communities and cultures despite its sincerity ignores the thriving inequality in India—an order of inequality that makes any dialogue on an equal footing a non-starter.

Insurgent Reason

The memorial address by Baxi takes up "reason" exactly from where Nandy has left, and grants it the efficacy as visualised

- 52 -

by Ambedkar in his lifetime. Baxi treats both M K Gandhi and Ambedkar's method as "insurgent reason," while focusing on their writings and carefully avoiding the hagiographic discourse around them. He compares Ambedkar's philosophy with that of Giorgio Agamben's and Hannah Arendt's work, thereby steering to the core of Ambedkar's thesis on "violent social exclusion" and in the process, does not necessarily restrict him to the liberation discourse of decolonisation alone. For Baxi, Ambedkar's counter to Gandhian view of caste as an "anachronism but not evil," brings forth the urgent necessity of restructuring the "Hindu civilisation" that breeds and feeds on perpetual evil with its genesis in the Hindu caste system. Baxi outlines the quotidian evil of caste which causes a life of "living death" to untouchables, that reminds one of Gopal Guru's (2006) conceptualisation of Dalits' lives being a "walking carcass" in an essay that he wrote for *Frontline*. For Baxi the way forward is as what Ambedkar foresees in his time, the need for "demosprudence," a republic premised on jurisprudence guided by the force of constitutional law which is undoubtedly a system of governance, wherein lies the hope for India as a republic.

This republic of an aware and conscious citizenry committed to constitutional morals and ethics gets highlighted in the address delivered by Gopalkrishna Gandhi and Aruna Roy. Both disquisitions underline the rich democratic heritage of the young republic and also the ongoing constitutional crisis. Roy's peroration particularly mentions the contradictions of our times whereby one gets to see the defence and enactment of the laws like the right to information along with the muzzling of dissenting voices, where the former represents the hope in the democracy—the very immediate political development notwithstanding.

Romila Thapar's lecture probes the "idea of civilisation" as a social construct that emerges with colonial period. Thapar contends that conceptualising the civilisation in India has been the one that manifests the interest and the articulation of "elites and upper castes" at the cost of wider "social ethic." The thesis stands in total unison with Ambedkar's

description of India's history as the struggle between the forces of "revolution and counter-revolution," where the counter to the revolution denotes Brahminism. Like Nandy, though with a very different objective, Thapar too emphasises the neglect of the internal sociocultural differences that could not find a place in the hegemonic Brahminical idea of Indian history, and in order to overcome this hegemonic design the newer writings on civilisation have to "incorporate the dialogue between varying social groups." This obviously mirrors the long-drawn Dalit-Bahujan struggles against Brahminism and reiterates the primary contradiction of India as foreseen by Ambedkar.

The final two lectures of Guru and Homi Bhabha respectively touch upon two varying though contributory concepts that place Ambedkar right in the middle of an ongoing political churn. While Guru's lecture inquires into the question of a possible exemplar in Ambedkar, Bhabha juxtaposes Ambedkar's estrangement with his country to Arendt's understanding on "otherness"—where one is recognised differently within her homeland. Bhabha's analysis would invariably remind its reader of an old television interview of Arendt to Gunter Gaus later translated into English and published—where she movingly described her crisis of being a Jew and a German both. She says she never considered herself German in the sense of belonging to the people, but firmly believed in the idea of being a German citizen. Contrast this with Ambedkar's quest of finding a homeland within the homeland, and Dalit investment in the idea of citizenship, the singularity of global oppression could not be more lucid.

Coming back to Guru, one finds a rather forthright disposition to the treatment accorded to Ambedkar in academia as well as in the larger social interaction on him in general. He makes it abundantly clear that the very idea of seeing Ambedkar as an exemplar does not do justice to the latter's politics, for his recommended path is more autonomous and eventually settles for "atta dippo bhava" (Be a light unto yourself). Guru, however, underlines the significance of the exemplar in Ambedkar for foregrounding the Dalit

political imagination and it is here that he delves into the necessity of exemplarity in Ambedkar for the larger Dalit movement and the covert and overt negation of the same among scholars of varying ideological persuasion. Guru's intervention attributes a certain conviction to the non-negotiability of the great philosopher.

Much More to Ambedkar

While summing up, there is no denying in saying that the volume earnestly deals with the intellectual and moral world of Ambedkar—a world that was always overshadowed by his standalone image of being merely the maker of the Constitution. That there is more to Ambedkar which is beyond the Constituent Assembly has been addressed duly and judiciously, regardless of the jacket image that adorns the book. The textual lectures edited by the guiding pen of Rodrigues unreservedly underscore the question that still remains at the heart of Indian politics—howsoever one denies it—the unattended and unresolved question of nationalism. Irrespective of whether one would want to transcend the metanarrative of nation, there is no escape unless one confronts it squarely and indomitably. Perhaps resolving the national question could then be the most genuine contribution to the critical world of Ambedkar—to which this edited set of lectures from AUD is certainly a promising start.

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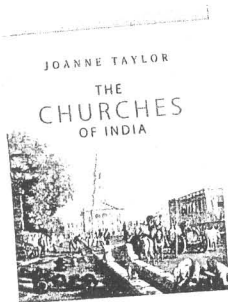
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The Nazranis, Portuguese, Armenians and British built churches in various styles over 1,500 years. This is a lavish ode to the ones that inspire awe.

BY VIVIAN FERNANDES

JOANNE Taylor's is a breezy, illustrated look at Indian churches. With 310 photographs, it is informative, but not fact-bound. The selection of 57 churches from Kerala, Goa, Chennai, Bangalore, Calcutta, Mumbai, Delhi, Pondicherry and Chandannagar conveys the geographical spread, the historical evolution, denominational variety and architectural diversity of Indian churches. Of these, 31 are Roman Catholic, nine Anglican, six Protestant, four Syro-Malabar Catholic, two each Presbyterian and Orthodox Syrian, and one each Armenian Orthodox, Church of North India and Church of South India.

Taylor begins with the arrival of the apostle St. Thomas at the ancient port of Muziris, near Kodungallur, in A.D. 51. He is believed to have built churches at seven locations. From 4 to 6 century AD, there were waves of Christians fleeing persecution in Persia. Isolated over time from their native country, the Nazranis or followers of Jesus of Nazareth built churches to resemble the three-tiered gabled temples of Kerala.

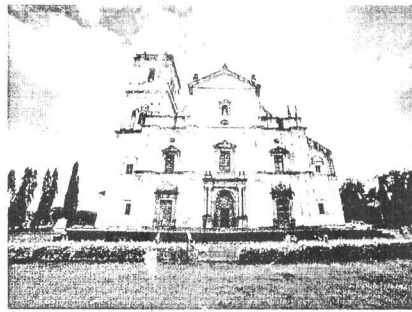
The early churches began in the 9th century. They were built of perishable materials and do not exist. Later ones were made of laterite stone and wood. Like temples, they were enclosed within compound walls with arched entrances.

Traditional Syrian Christian churches were built east to west. They have three elevations: for the altar area, the choir, and the worshippers. According to a scholar, Kerala's churches are "Christian in religion, Hindu in culture and Syro-Oriental in worship."

The Portuguese built churches to impress. The Church of St. Francis at Fort Kochi (1503) was their first in India. As power changed hands among colonial powers, so did the church. The Portuguese started inserting European facades between the porch and nave of old Kerala

churches to give them a 'Christian' look.

Unlike the British, the Portuguese did not keep trading and religion apart. Enthusiastic church-builders, they lavished them with funds. The churches built between 1510 and 1550 in Goa combined Gothic architecture with lavish ornamentation. Motifs like ropes, anchors, sailing ships, shells and waves symbolised that period of maritime exploration. The churches that followed were built in Baroque style, though less ornate than Portugal's. Local craftsmen, over time, gave Indian



Goa's Se cathedral of Santa Catarina is the largest church in Asia. St. Xavier initiated the Inquisition here. Its 'golden bell' sounded the burning of heretics at the stake.

looks to the saints and angels.

Taylor throws in interesting factoids. The Se Cathedral of Santa Catarina is the largest church in Asia. It is 76 metre long and 55 metre wide. (Though elsewhere she says the Sumi Baptist Church of Nagaland is the largest). St. Xavier, who is Goa's revered saint, initiated the Inquisition there. Its 'golden bell' sounded the burning of heretics. A crucifix dating back to that terrible era is in the Chapel of St. Sebastian. It has the hanging Jesus looking up, not down, with eyes open, not shut. The Lady of Dolours Basilica, Thrissur,

according to Taylor, is the tallest in Asia. This Syro-Malabar Catholic church is an enormous Gothic structure with an area of 2,300 sq. m.

In Calcutta, the oldest church is the Holy Nazareth, built in 1724 by Armenian Orthodox Christians who had fled persecution from the Turks and the Persians. It has whitewashed walls and Islamic-style arches between enormous columns.

The British churches were cruciform (cross-like) in shape, unlike the rectangular basilica plan of the Portuguese. This design can accommodate a larger congregation. St. Paul's Cathedral in Calcutta and the Cathedral Church of the Holy Redemption in New Delhi are among the best-known British churches. Their first in India was at Fort St. George in Chennai. Skinner's Church or St. James's Church in Old Delhi is unique for its octagonal dome. But the most striking is St. Martin's Garrison Church in Delhi Cantonment. It's built like a fortress.

Among the modern churches is Our Lady of Salvation Church at Dadar. Originally built by Portuguese Franciscans it was rebuilt in 1977. Charles Correa designed it. Taylor says its moulded concrete interiors and low light invoke a silent retreat. In Varanasi, St Mary's Cathedral designed by A.G.K. Menon and built in 1993, incorporates the mandala plan from which a multi-layered vertical form rises, like a Hindu shikhara.

It would have been interesting to have a section on churches in the Northeast, especially Nagaland, which according to Taylor is known as 'the most Baptist state in the world.' According to Taylor, its egg-shaped Sumi Baptist Church can seat 8,500 people. There are also new denominations that are attracting followers, often from the mainstream churches: Pentecostals, Jehovah's Witnesses, New Life and so on. Their churches are often functional prayer halls. But some of them might be distinct. A mention would have added to the book's flavour. □

industrialisation, road and other infrastructure development programme and subsequent displacement of *dalit* and *adivasis* contributed significantly towards their unrest. The development programme induced displacement involuntary migration, resettlement and land alienation in one hand and illiteracy, poverty and several hydra headed problems on the other hand.

The book is of enormous informative and useful for the administrators and scholars in the field of sociology, anthropology and philanthropy. The publisher deserves sincere appreciation and special thanks for publishing such a valuable and informative book that will surely help us to understand the actual cause of discontent of dalits and adivasis which forced them to be associated with Naxalite or Maoist or left wing extremist activities which in turn threatened the law and order as well as development programmes.

Tilak Bagchi

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✓ ANTHROPOLOGICAL
RESEARCH
METHODOLOGY- THEORY
AND PRACTICE

Author: Gaya Pandey

Publisher: Concept Publishing
Company Pvt. Ltd. New Delhi

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3(P.B.) pp xxi+498,

Price: Rs. 250/-

The book under review is a nice attempt to include different aspect of anthropological research methodology within one cover. The book is divided into 28 sections or chapters covering the whole range of materials pertaining to anthropological research methodology. The author very rightly remarked that anthropological methodology is strikingly different from the methodology of other disciplines of social sciences. The ethnographic method and fieldwork tradition is the key and strength of anthropological methodology.

The book systematically incorporates chapters on historical background of anthropological research, different kinds of anthropological approaches, types of researches, research design, hypothesis, theory, law and concept, technique of data collection, data processing, scrutiny, presentation of data statistical analysis that incorporates also diagrammatic presentation of data, graphic presentation of data, measuring of central tendency and variability or dispersion, correlation, chi square of test, goodness of fit and so on. The book also deals with report writing, dissertation writing or thesis writing as well as writing of scientific research paper with bibliography writing. The author also illustrates his discussion against the backdrop of some pioneer and outstanding studies carried out by the masters of Indian anthropology. Various books are available in English and other vernaculars on different aspects of research methodology. The author however in contrast of other publications on anthropological research methodology systematically and carefully incorporate

all aspects of anthropological research methodology with Indian expression under one cover.

The author deserves special appreciation for writing such an important text book on all aspects pertaining to anthropological research methodology. The publisher also deserves special thanks for publishing such a valuable book that will surely satisfy intellectual and academic hunger of students, teachers, researchers and scholars of anthropology and other disciplines of social science. The book is written as per the syllabus of anthropology of most of the Indian Universities. The price of the book is also within the easy reach of the ordinary students, scholars, field workers and others who are interested to know and practice as per the anthropological research methodology.

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Nepal. India and Nepal have a very long traditional of matrimonial alliances. Chapter 12 deals with the diaspora of India and Nepal. The diasporic relations between India and Nepal is very old and able to maintained the good solidarity between the two countries. In the chapter 13 the author has given detailed historical evidence regarding Indian Nepalese participation in the freedom movements of India. Finally, in the chapter 14 the author dealt with the devastating earthquake was found in Nepal in the year 2015 and India's help in rescue and relief of the victims. After analyzing the all chapter finally the author very nicely concluded by saying that India and Nepal have a long history of trans-migration and settlement of their people into each other's country involving very large population.

Mr. Muktan, in this book very nicely brought out the close affinities of culture, religion, language and ethnicity that exist between the peoples of India and Nepal. In view of the above discussions I must thank the publisher Concept Publishing Company Pvt. Ltd, New Delhi for publishing such an important and very valuable book.

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SCHOOL SOCIAL WORKERS
ROLES AND
CONTRIBUTIONS IN CHILD
LEARNING

Author: Arti Mann

Publisher: Concept Publishing
Company (P) Ltd. New Delhi -
110059 pp-v-xiii + 1-177

Price: Rs. 750.00/-

This book presents a comprehensive and exhaustive scenario of School Social Work in Delhi, authored by Arti Mann. This book is the outcome of Ph.D. Dissertation. There are altogether six major chapters in this book. The first chapter entitled Origin of School Based Social Work programme. In this chapter the author very nicely explained regarding School Social Work having a great potential to bring the needed change in the education system. In this chapter the importance of social workers has been discussed in detailed followed by second chapter the Review of Literature and Research Methodology has been explained by the author. This chapter provides a comprehensive review of

literature along with detailed information about the research methodology was followed to fulfill the stated objectives. The third chapter entitled Private Schools and Social Work where the author explained regarding schools without social workers, the school teachers are burdened with the additional responsibilities of handling children with problems. This is also confirmed by the interviews with children in both the type of schools. The author described about Government Schools and Social Work in the chapter four, where the author discussed regarding the post of social workers were created and appointments are made accordingly. In the fourth chapter the author dealt with situation in government schools with regard to social workers. From the findings it has been observed that in real sense no school social workers are appointed in the government schools, where they are needed the most. In view of psycho social problems faced by the students there is urgent need of social workers. In the fifth chapter entitled comparative analysis of school social work in private and

government schools the author analyzed the private and the government schools. With and without social workers both the government and private schools cannot be more effective. Certain government schools are linked with NGO and helping the weaker children and the students. The next chapter described the major findings of the study and offer few suggestions.

I heartily congratulate the author for this praise worthy contribution and also to the authorities of Concept Publishing House Ltd. for bringing out such an important book. I firmly believe that the author and the publisher will bring out many such important books in future.

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ARCHAIC MODERNITY

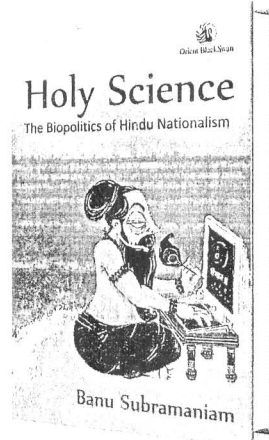
By C.Y. Gopinath

The man in the Mumbai suburban train was carrying the latest iPhone XR but I was completely taken by his home screen. It was a deity I recognised from a childhood in Kerala—Ayyappan, the handsome Hindu god of growth. My uncles used to talk of making the pilgrimage to Sabarimala, where existed the most famous of Ayyapan's temples.

However, the confluence of religion and 4G technology in India did not strike me until I began reading Banu Subramaniam's profound *Holy Science*. In it she systematically probes, prods and unravels the unsettling camaraderie between religion and science that marks modern Indian social and political discourse, revealing sometimes disturbing, always challenging insights into the emerging Hindu bionationalism. I doubt you will discover its hidden gems in your first reading.

Bionationalism is Subramaniam's word. It is the right word to expect from a professor of women, gender and sexuality who originally trained as a plant biologist and writes about the social and cultural aspects of science, work which led to her receiving the Outstanding Academic title in 2015 and the Ludwik Fleck Prize for science and technology studies in 2016.

Subramaniam makes you realise, with a start, that our accepted notions of science and technology are merely the western perspective on science, and that there is room for other narratives. But Hindu nationalists don't create a viable Hindu version of science when they cite tenuous mythological narratives as evidence, but rather create a delusional space where science coexists with holy cows and elephant-headed gods created with the help of plastic surgeons and where flying gods were proof of the existence of Vedic aviation and space technology. The India she describes can launch Mangalyaan, the



HOLY SCIENCE
The Biopolitics of
Hindu Nationalism
By Banu Subramaniam
ORIENT BLACKSWAN
₹945; 290 pages

Subramaniam critiques the easy and condescending misuse of scientific language by non-scientists committed to Hindu nationalism to create triumphant fictions of timeless Hindu supremacy

Mars orbiter, but not before the chairman of the Indian Space Research Organisation has offered prayers to Lord Venkateswara at Tirupati.

In India, the land that gave the world the Kama Sutra, Konarak and the erotic sculptures of Khajuraho, the British Lord Macaulay criminalised same-sex relations for two generations of Indians and legitimised an intolerant and repressive Hindu morality through his crafting of Section 377 of the Indian Penal Code.

Subramaniam discusses Hindu nationalism without either endorsing or attacking it, calmly pointing out its anomalies. One of them is treating so-called Vedic science as a prequel to western science—but also thus implicitly endorsing western science as the gold standard.

Subramaniam nails the patriarchy, correctly tracing its roots to Vivekananda, who believed women should not be taught science; Dayanand, who believed only education in child-rearing was necessary; and even Gandhi, who thought women's correct role was in bringing up children. 'The redomestication of women through the power of religion and science is at the heart of this archaic modernity,' she says. Iconising women as *shakti* is a thin cover for treating them as vessels for bearing 'good Hindu citizens', and talk of their education is only a pretext for introducing house-keeping classes for girls.

The easy and condescending misuse of scientific language by non-scientists committed to Hindu nationalism to create triumphant fictions of timeless Hindu supremacy is a running theme in the book. It is difficult not to feel a sense of unease about the homeland.

Holy Science is not bedtime reading. The flyleaf states: 'This book will be of interest to scholars of science and technology studies, history of science, gender studies, sexuality studies and cultural studies.' As I inched through the book, I had to remind myself that I was neither a scholar nor erudite in any of the themes the book interlinks.

A warning: Subramaniam is a brilliant, complex writer. She will use the exact word, even if it makes you run to the dictionary. In the first chapter itself, *imbrication* and *thigmotropic* had me in a half-Nelson. The former is the overlapping of one material over another. I will let you explore *thigmotropic* yourself. ■

THE DISAPPEARING MUSLIM

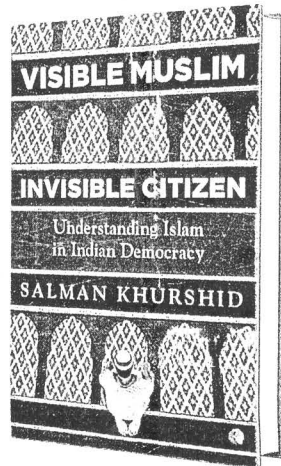
By Shourab Dasgupta

Salman Khurshid, the prominent lawyer, Congress leader and former foreign minister, positions his new book, *Visible Muslim, Invisible Citizen*, as a response to his colleague Shashi Tharoor's recent tome, *Why I Am A Hindu*. But, as Khurshid quickly acknowledges, his task is substantially different.

Tharoor made a valiant, if perplexing, bid to distinguish his religious faith from Hindutva. But who really believes Hindutva is about religion rather than politics, concerned with articles of faith rather than a power grab, a theological movement rather than a supremacist, majoritarian assertion? Tharoor seeks to justify his private religiosity, his appreciation of his faith, while Khurshid takes it upon himself to justify the faith, Islam itself, and to justify the place of Muslims in India. It's an awful indictment of who we have become that Khurshid feels compelled to take on this task "primarily for the benefit of Hindus, many of whom in recent years have been forced to misunderstand Muslims and Islam". For Muslims, Khurshid suggests that they ask themselves—as if such a question were not already being asked and is indeed perpetual and without answer—"how to continue the adherence to their fundamental beliefs and yet make their religion compatible with modern times".

By setting himself such an onerous, didactic task, Khurshid hamstringing himself and his book, producing a rather dry, occasionally dull, primer to some of the discussions taking place in the editorial columns of national newspapers and the drawing rooms of the high-minded. In one chapter, he reproduces (almost in its entirety) a series of pieces published in the *Indian Express* about the accelerated 'disappearing' of Muslims from public life. Unfortunately, it is in these extended quotes

that one finds any passion, rather than in Khurshid's own too-judicious prose. Listen, for instance, to Saeed Naqvi's condemnation of Ramachandra Guha's muddleheaded, invidious argument that a burkha and trishul are somehow analogous: "he (Guha) is a creature of un-institutionalised apartheid which means separate development... the undeniable truth will be that he has grown up only with his ilk." Irena Akbar is altogether cooler, a mocking eyebrow raised: "While the hardliner's



Visible Muslim,
Invisible Citizen

By Salman Khurshid

RUPA

₹995; 308 pages

It's an awful
indictment of who
we have become that
Khurshid feels he had
to write this book to
justify the place of
Muslims in India

'good Muslim' eats only vegetables, chants 'Bharat Mata ki Jai', is seen nowhere near a cow, and speaks chaste Hindi; the elite left-liberal's 'good Muslim' eats biryani, kebabs, recites Urdu poetry and organises ghazal evenings... When he/she begins to defend the burkha or the topi, let alone wear one, he/she becomes 'too Muslim' for comfort." Shamsur Rahman Faruqi makes much the same point as Akbar: "Personally, I am against the burkha, the hijab, the skullcap, the unkempt beard, the whole works... At the same time, I do admire every attempt by a minority in a democracy to make a statement of its identity."

This is the crux of Khurshid's book, so neatly encapsulated in its title. For Muslims to be acceptable as citizens of India, they must be invisible. As Rahman points out (in the op-ed Khurshid quotes), the "marginalisation of Muslims has been an ongoing project since shortly after Partition, though not with such venomous intensity as of today". Surely the marginalisation is no longer ongoing but complete. Muslims, at 15 per cent of the population, have next to no representation in India's Parliament. At the same time, sundry political leaders call routinely for Muslims to be sent to Pakistan.

In another of his lengthy quotations, Khurshid shows that Jinnah (rich irony) wanted to partition India only to recreate Pakistan in India's image. While the Hindutva brigade (rich irony) purport to despise Pakistan, all the while working to create an Indian facsimile. Khurshid shows, though anyone who is paying attention already knows, that our leaders are pushing Muslims away, alienating them, insulting them and then demanding that they express their love for a nation whose inclusive ideals have been ransacked. ■

important issues like Push-Pull interaction and Ego Factors.

No doubt the present book is undoubtedly a very important and exhaustive study on criminology and its various dynamics. After going through this book the reviewer has concluded by saying that the author has made a very valuable contribution in the field of criminology. Anyone interested to study the causation of crimes will find the book extremely useful, enlightening and educative. So, the reviewer must thank the publisher Concept Publishing Company (P) Ltd. New Delhi for publishing such an important and very valuable book. This publishing firm has also published and is still publishing a large number of worth reading and valuable books in the past also.

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DEVELOPING THE UNDERDEVELOP

A Study of Tribal Development
in India

Author: Pradip K. Bhowmick, PC
Coomar and Mita Sarkar (Das)

Publisher: Offbeat 6B, Ramanath
Majumder Street, Kolkata - 700 009

Pp - 1-202

Price: Rs. 350.00/-

The book conversed about ways for limiting the gaps between tribal and non-tribal communities. This could be possible by innovative planning and, subsequently, those effective policy implementations in backward areas with special care where tribal communities have been living for centuries. Since independence (1947), during each five years plan period tribal area development received particular attention. The government of India as well as different state governments mainly focus on education, livelihood generation, health-housing and to eradicate social disabilities in tribal communities through different schemes. However, overt participation of tribal communities in administrative or institutional system remained less and, in most cases, they continue as receivers only.

Different public institutions and autonomous organizations have been

continuously trying to include tribal communities in decision making bodies; however, the expected results are yet to be achieved. The main reason that has been identified by different authorities, for the slow growth among tribal communities, is the gap between policy formation and execution for the same. The lack of interest of tribal beneficiaries to become involved with institutional systems is another reason for their socio-economically weak situation. This book explores different levels of participation and involvement of tribal communities in government funded development programmes, which were conducted during 1988 - 1993 among five tribal communities in four different tribal community dominated Blocks in the state of West Bengal of India. The Blocks are quite similar in terms of socio-economic and administrative activities and tribal community participation.

The objectives of this study were to investigate the impact of different tribal development programmes in the native community lives, nature of tribal communities participation in institutional activities, and how government and non-governmental offices initiating to confirm participation and involvement of tribal communities. In terms of collection of data and information, first, reports on tribal development programmes of the respective Blocks were critically

examined. Empirical surveys were conducted as well to get real time information on socio-political status and involvement of tribal communities in different development programmes. Tribal communities, which were not involved in any development programme, were also been approached to collect their opinion in terms of participation and involvement. As the respective tribal communities have different traditions; therefore, their expectations in terms of involvement and participation in institutional systems differs considerably. The outcome of this work would be of much useful for future policy implementation for development through overt participation of native tribal communities.

The book shows that the intensive and field level investigation of reasons behind participation and/or non-participation of tribal communities may confirm greater participation of tribal communities in future development programmes. The research established that for an absolute success of any public or non-governmental tribal development schemes, all inclusive tribal community participation is a must and foremost condition.

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BETWIXT DEVELOPMENT
AND DISPLACEMENT

Author: Lalita Prasad

Publisher: Concept Publishing
Company Pvt. Ltd. New Delhi, pp
XXX+351

Price: Rs. 1500/-

The book under review is the sociological analysis of the root cause of discontent among the *dalit adivasis* of south eastern periphery of Uttar Pradesh even after implementation of various source of development and social welfare programme launch by the central and state government under different five year plans. The book also explained, examined and analysed the phenomenon of continuing tribal unrest, revolt and violence.

The book is divided into seven chapters along with a summary, conclusion and suggestion. In the introduction the author commendably apart from introducing constitutional provisions for the development of *dalit* and *adivasis*, also discussed conceptual framework for the terms stated above. The author categorised the communities as *dalit adivasis* who are put under the canopy of either scheduled caste or

scheduled tribe which are of course nothing but a constitutional category. The author may analysed from sociological or anthropological point of view whether community like Chamar, Kol or Gond can be put under *dalit* or *adivasis* or *dalit adivasis* in lieu of scheduled castes and scheduled tribes. The author also gave picture of the tribal population of India as envisage from different decadal censuses although his universe of study was merely some parts of Uttar Pradesh. The book was published in 2017 but the author did not put any census figure of 2011. In the introduction the author nicely described and explained the meaning of development, genesis and spread of Naxal Movement in Uttar Pradesh (which may better be termed as Maoist Movement of Left Wing Extremist Movement as the term Naxal is generated from an area known as Naxalbari of Darjelling district of Northern part of West Bengal, the seed bed of Maoist Movement in India). The author also reviewed relevant literatures on Uttar Pradesh and other parts of India pertaining to his research topic.

Chapter 2 deals with research methodology. The canvas of present book under review was Mirzapur, Sonbhadra, Chandauli, Allahabad and Chitrakoot of Uttar Pradesh. These area are the habitat

of Chamar, Kol, Gond, Chero, Kharwar and some other communities some of whom are having dalit character while others are possessing adivasi character. Hence in the subtitle of the book Dalit Adivasis may be replaced with Dalit and Adivasis. Chapter 3 described profile of the studied area viz-a-viz. socio economic profile of the sample house hold of the respondent. From chapter 3 it is revealed that the work carried out in five districts of Uttar Pradesh. The table also shows that most of the area studied by the author is devoid of sizeable number of scheduled tribe population and most of the areas are having high concentration of scheduled caste or *dalit* population. Hence the author may re-think the justification to put subtitle as *dalit adivasis*. Chapter four depicts developmental profile as revealed from constitutional provisions, programme launched under different five year plans including a good number of social welfare programmes. In this chapter the author nicely described strategies and constitutional safeguards for the scheduled tribe population without giving much empirical data in support of the same. Moreover ethnographic information of community and ethnic profile of the dalit and adivasis are strikingly missing in the book although all of us know the dalit

and adivasis are not identical or homogenous population and received same fruits of development. This section is devoid of significant information on developmental profile and plans for the *dalit* or scheduled caste population. In chapter 5 and 6 author discussed indicators of development, issues and causes of discontent. In the last chapter the author discussed agitation, demonstration, revolt and naxalite activities which according to the author is the manifestation and result of discontent. In the last section of the book the author nicely discussed the whole array of findings along with summary, conclusion and suggestion for the amelioration of the discontent of the underprivileged segment of the people. Most of his suggestions are very relevant.

In short the book throws light on some issues and dimensions of development and discontent among the *dalits* and *adivasis* who are living in the south eastern sub region of east-west part of Uttar Pradesh which is contiguous with the tribal dominated or inhabited regions of Jharkhand, Chhattisgarh and Madhya Pradesh and the areas are the major epicentre of left wing extremist activities. The author also very rightly observed that since 1950 extensive mining,

industrialisation, road and other infrastructure development programme and subsequent displacement of *dalit* and *adivasis* contributed significantly towards their unrest. The development programme induced displacement involuntary migration, resettlement and land alienation in one hand and illiteracy, poverty and several hydra headed problems on the other hand.

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X ANTHROPOLOGICAL
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- 65 -

✓ INDO NEPALESE SOCIO
CULTURAL DIMENSION

Author: K.K. Muktar

Publisher: Concept Publishing

Company (P) Ltd. New Delhi -

110059 pp-xix + 1-266

Price: Rs. 1150

The present book was written by K.K. Muktar a retired beaurecrat turned author makes a critical re-appraisal of the ethno-cultural dimensions of Nepal and India and explained detail about socio-cultural, political, religious and linguistic unities and uniformities that exist between the two countries. There are altogether 14 chapters in this book followed by epilogue, appendices, bibliography and

Chapter 1 of this book makes an attempt to discuss regarding how India and Nepal since time immemorial are maintaining common history, culture and tradition followed by chapter 2 of this book the author mentioned two important rivers namely of India and Nepal namely the Ganga and the Gandaki represent the two ancient civilizations. Due to two rivers both the countries are in a position to share and nurtured the culture and practices. The two countries have since centuries together. In the chapter 3 the author explained in detailed regarding various cultures and traditions of this two countries, their behaviors and interaction

from historical point of view followed by chapter 4 and 5. In the chapter 4 the author highlights the detailed ethnographic history of Nepal and India. In the chapter 5 the author dealt with the faith and religion of the two countries with various dynamics. The details in linguistic affinities the two countries had been disclosed in a analytical way by the author which seems to be very praiseworthy and educative. which was discussed in chapter 6. In the chapter 7 the details art and architecture was explained by the author with various facets. In the chapter 8 the author discussed about the political aspects of the two countries. Politically both the countries suffered lot by the foreign and autocratic rulers. How the two countries suffer and helped each other for their survival and integrity was explained by the author by highlighting various facets during British Period. A kind of mutual help and self-appreciation had been noticed in this chapter. In the chapter 9 the author gave a vivid description about economic cooperation of the two countries followed by chapter 10 where the author described about the military manpower relations between the two countries. In this regard the author very rightly expressed that supply of military manpower to India is one of the oldest and largest contribution of Nepal to India which is existing till today. In chapter 11 the author discussed about the matrimonial relations with India and

Sociology ✓

Nepal, India and Nepal have a very long traditional of matrimonial alliances. Chapter 12 deals with the diaspora of India and Nepal. The diasporic relations between India and Nepal is very old and able to maintained the good solidarity between the two countries. In the chapter 13 the author has given detailed historical evidence regarding Indian Nepalese participation in the freedom movements of India. Finally, in the chapter 14 the author dealt with the devastating earthquake was found in Nepal in the year 2015 and India's help in rescue and relief of the victims. After analyzing the all chapter finally the author very nicely concluded by saying that India and Nepal have a long history of trans-migration and settlement of their people into each other's country involving very large population.

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X SCHOOL SOCIAL WORKERS
ROLES AND
CONTRIBUTIONS IN CHILD
LEARNING

Author: Arti Mann
Publisher: Concept Publishing
Company (P) Ltd. New Delhi -
110059 pp-v-xiii + 1-177
Price: Rs. 750.00/-

This book presents a comprehensive and exhaustive scenario of School Social Work in Delhi, authored by Arti Mann. This book is the outcome of Ph.D. Dissertation. There are altogether six major chapters in this book. The first chapter entitled Origin of School Based Social Work programme. In this chapter the author very nicely explained regarding School Social Work having a great potential to bring the needed change in the education system. In this chapter the importance of social workers has been discussed in detailed followed by second chapter the Review of Literature and Research Methodology has been explained by the author. This chapter provides a comprehensive review of

- 67 -

non-specialist teacher and always serve to inspire anybody who is reading the book in search of tomorrow's lesson plan!

Ruth Atkinson's ability to weave the practical elements of how to teach music with the underlying philosophy is one of this book's huge strengths. The two features always go hand in hand; so, for example, a potentially dry chapter on assessment proves fascinating when couched in terms of a praxial approach, with 'children's musicality as the central focus' (p.168), and a chapter on musical creativity takes theoretical ideas about the creative process from experts in the field (Bloom, Craft, Cremin, Robinson, and the great Russian composer Igor Stravinsky), and uses them to exemplify how non-specialist teachers can promote the creation of original musical ideas. Throughout these practical sections of the book there are also references to the views of OFSTED and the government's development of the current national curriculum, with regard to traditional and progressive approaches to music education. These help to contextualise both philosophy and practice, and bring us back to the reality of our governmental lords and masters. At no time, though, does Atkinson complain about or rail against these realities, always seeking to balance pedagogy, practice and the formal requirements of a music teacher's work.

Ruth Atkinson has written a book which is relevant both to those who wish to ponder elements of music education theory and philosophy, and to those who need help and inspiration in their day to day planning of primary music lessons. As her colleague, I have already plumbed its pages for new avenues with which to challenge my students. There is much depth to make one think, and there is much practical help to cherry pick. Her style of writing fuses these elements together so that even the more practical chapters, such as 'Skills To Develop In Music', still maintain an integral connection with the philosophies and pedagogies of education as whole. Everybody can teach music; we shouldn't be scared of a lack of subject knowledge; music is for all; music is about 'doing'; the children's musicality comes first – these are some of the messages that we take from this book. It is an excellent and thought provoking addition to the oeuvres of other music educationalists who write specifically about the classroom experience, such as Sarah Hennessy (2015) and Alison Daubney (2017).

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
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✓ **Teacher educators in the twenty-first century: identity, knowledge and research**, by Gerry Czerniawski, St Albans, Critical Publishing, 2018, 80pp., £20 (paperback) ISBN: 9781912096534

Many before me have noted the complexity of teaching and of teacher education. While such work can 'look deceptively simple' (Grossman, Hammerness, and McDonald 2009, 273) and in teacher education is often reduced to binaries of practice and theory, university and school

(Murray and Mutton, 2016), those engaged in the profession and those who identify as teacher educators will likely recognise the challenges of a complex, some might say hybridised and certainly what Czerniawski describes as a 'poly-contextualised' (55) field.

In England, the well documented growth of teacher shortages particularly within certain subjects and regions, the missed recruitment targets, the falling number of graduates completing initial teacher education programmes and the 'discourses of derision' (Kenway, 1990) are commonplace narratives. Indeed, many readers of the *Journal of Education for Teaching* will be familiar with the contested space that the education and training of teachers occupies and the international policy drivers that shape the contexts we work in.

In this guide for *Teacher Educators in the Twenty-First Century*, it is somewhat fitting that the author begins by referencing an ancient tale that goes back to Greek and Egyptian times. Inviting us to *Beware the Sorcerer's Apprentice*, Czerniawski begins the latest volume in the Critical Guides for Teacher Educators Series with a recognition of the challenge in writing a guide that is temporally located and explains that such a title 'encourages, nay begs, a critical reflection on the state of teacher education today' (1).

Beginning with a summary of the changing context of teacher education in both policy and the varied geographical locations that such practice takes place, Czerniawski asks us to consider 'who exactly are teacher educators?' (5). He shares Clarke's (2001) definitions of terms in teacher education, perhaps to highlight the importance of professional identity ('A profession', 'Teaching', 'A teacher', 'Teacher education' and 'Teacher educator') before suggesting that unlike the time that Clarke was writing in, today many teacher educators find themselves 'working in more elaborate, often more competitive working environments' (6) with much variability in their professional role.

At the outset Czerniawski champions the importance of teacher educators and he is inclusive in his definition of the profession including 'all who are professionally engaged in the initial and ongoing education of teachers' (6) in universities, colleges and schools. Such inclusivity in an introductory text is of course 'laced with pitfalls' (7) and in much of the guide the reader is prompted to ask questions of the material and left with a desire to read the many texts that Czerniawski cites.

The guide is made up of seven chapters and Czerniawski writes with characteristic candour and clarity. Drawing on a growing body of research in teacher education and development and reflecting on his own professional experience and expertise, he links theory, policy and practice to articulate the importance of teacher educators and their impact (or potential impact) on student learning, educational research and ultimately societal transformation.

This guide includes chapters on teacher educators' identities (chapter 2); the professional learning needs of teacher educators, recognising how these might vary depending on the contexts in which teacher educators are situated (chapter 3); the development of a new knowledge base for teacher educators (chapter 4); international developments within teacher education and the work of the International Forum for Teacher Educator Development (InFoTED) (chapter 5); and the complex and often contested relationship between research-based knowledge and scholarship and how both can inform the professional learning of teacher educators (chapter 6).

As the Series Editor notes in the foreword, Czerniawski offers us a 'compelling synthesis of what is important in the working lives of teacher educators' (ix) and while work at this level, spanning geographic and policy boundaries, is a demanding venture Czerniawski pulls it off with enthusiasm and rigour. For those new to teacher education the mapping of the field is particularly helpful, as are the *reflections on critical issues* at the end of each chapter and the practical tips that Czerniawski offers in the conclusion (61–62). But this is not just a guide for

beginning teacher educators and Czerniawski offers a critical reading of the key texts in the field. This is a valuable guide for *all* those involved in teacher education, in in-service education and staff development: the writing is research informed, it is not limited by boundaries of geography or policy and Czerniawski offers an authentic consideration of what it means to be *in* and *be* a teacher educator as we look towards the twenty-first century.

It is a pleasure to know and work with Gerry Czerniawski, who demonstrates expertise, enthusiasm, professional commitment and empathy to all those he engages with. In this guide he celebrates the work of teacher educators and (while I disagree with the language of 'service' (2)) I appreciate the international perspective of this guide, his reflexive stance and his positivity about the future of teacher education. I finished reading with a feeling of hopefulness – no mean feat in the current English educational context!

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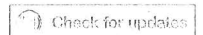
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 The search for better educational standards: a cautionary tale, Martin Thrupp, with responses from Bob Lingard, by Meg Maguire and David Hursh, Springer Verlag, Cham, Switzerland 2018, 244 pp., £89.99 (hbk), ISBN: 978-3-319-61957-6

Early 2007 I leave New Zealand to take up an academic post in England, passing briefly at the New Zealand Association of Research in Education conference Martin Thrupp who recently returned to New Zealand after six years in England. In the first couple of years I retain direct interest in New Zealand politics and policy, and write a chapter for the book edited by Thrupp and Ruth Irwin, *Another Decade of New Zealand Education Policy: Where to Now?* (2010), on learning and diversity in New Zealand schools. As we write we find need to reflect not just on the last ten years of a Labour led government's education policy, but also its electoral defeat and the election of a new conservative National Party government in 2008. In my chapter I reflect on the potential pitfalls of the new government's decision to respond to Aotearoa New Zealand's diversifying population by assessing the distribution of literacy and numeracy defined through a set of national standards they propose to construct.

In *The Search for Better Educational Standards: A Cautionary Tale* Thrupp (2018) shows in detail the progress of the national standards policy, that he terms Kiwi Standards and Ngā Whanaketanga Rumaki Māori (the version constructed for indigenous Māori immersion education), from its conception through to enactment and implications. He is careful in

Elephants in the wild

A sparkling new book on Asian elephants allows readers to see different dimensions of this animal that has been close to humans for millennia.

BY THEODORE BASKARAN

"The question is, are we happy to suppose that our grandchildren may never be able to see an elephant, except in a picture book?"

—David Attenborough

PRIYA DAVIDAR and Jean-Philippe Puyravaud are ecologists who after retirement took up residence at the periphery of the Mudumalai Tiger Reserve, in a place surrounded by a forest named Cheetal Walk. They are now working with the Sigur Nature Trust, set up earlier by E.R.C. Davidar, known for his pioneering study of the Nilgiri tahr. Their work is dedicated to conservation of biodiversity and endangered species. They have edited this sparkling new book on Asian elephants.

Elephants have been on this earth from prehistoric times. Their fossil remains keep surfacing in different parts of India. Although this animal was one of the earliest to be protected by law, in 1879 itself, its number has been plummeting at a startling rate. In 1982, catching elephants in the wild was banned. In 1992, the Government of India set up Project Elephant. It has been estimated that only about 50,000 Asian ele-

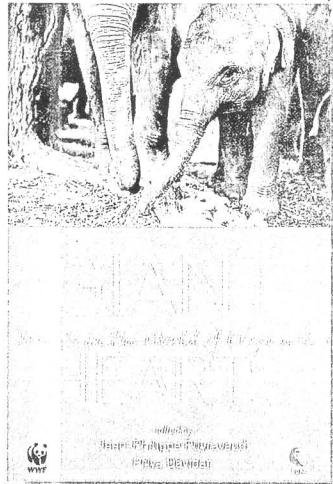
phants are left in the wild, and India has the largest population, with about 27,000 in the wild and 3,500 in captivity. Recently, the elephant was given the status of "heritage animal". Still, the increasing pressure on its habitat makes elephant conservation a daunting task. The Gajah report of 2010, which the Elephant Task Force of the then Ministry of Environment and Forest produced, revealed a dismal picture of the status of elephants and their habitat, which continues to dwindle.

The editors of this book gathered 25 people from different parts of the world concerned with the plight of elephants to record their perceptions of the largest of land animals. The list

includes Michael Fox, a veterinarian and a nature writer from the United States; Mohamad, Ali, a Tamil writer known for his books on nature; Michelle Henley, a specialist in the ecology of the African elephant; Edward Kohli, a wildlifer from Tanzania; and Daphne Sheldrick, a conservationist from Kenya. Her foreword to the book sets the tone for the different chapters.

The book goes beyond conservation. One gets to see the different dimensions of this animal that has been close to humans for millennia.

John Appleby travelled to Sri Lanka after a traumatic experience using the water facility provided at Cheetal Walk.



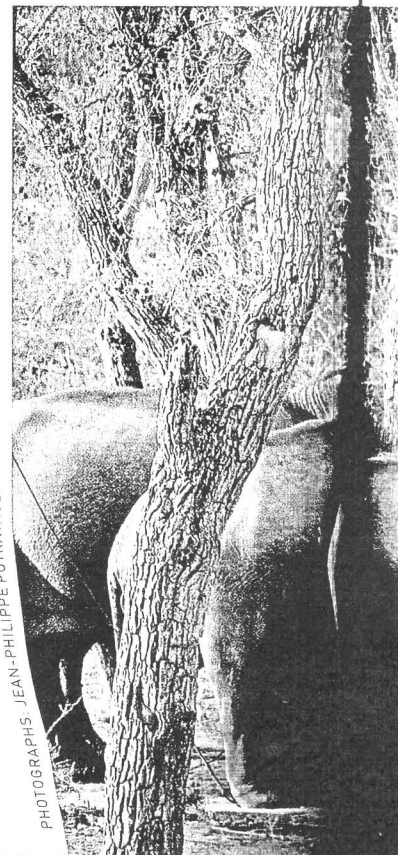
Giant Hearts Travels in the World of Elephants

Edited by
Jean-Philippe
Puyravaud and
Priya Davidar
WWF and Rupa

Pages: 88 (with
colour and
black-and-white
photographs)
Price: Rs.995
(hardback)

matic, life-crippling experience. He shares the healing experience he had while photographing elephants there. He talks about being surrounded by elephants when he was in a safe hide.

In his words: "I then began to sense a feeling of extreme calmness, different from anything I had ever previously experienced. I had the distinct feeling that the emotional pain related to these past events within my body was



PHOTOGRAPHS: JEAN-PHILIPPE PUYRAVAUD

Zoology ✓
Wildlife



A LONE TUSKER.



A TWOSOME, with the Sigur nallah in the background.

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being dissolved. I felt as if I was being emotionally 'washed' from the inside. I felt for the first time in years a genuine shift and healing of this past pain. I believe that on some level the elephants 'felt' my re-

sidual pain and shifted it out of me". Similarly, Priya Davidar gives an account of the elephants that frequented the neighbourhood of Cheetal Walk and talks about the bonding that can develop between

elephants in the wild and humans. Iain Douglas-Hamilton, who researched elephants in Tanzania, has talked about such experiences in his book *Among the Elephants* (1975).

May Bradshaw, active

in the new field of trans-species psychology, writes about mourning rituals among elephants. Author of the path-breaking book *Elephants on the Edge: What Animals Teach Us about Humanity*, she points out that elephants may be aware of the transition from life to death. A few stories of elephant grief and burials are narrated. A moving account by Rajeev Srivatsava, a forest officer in Tamil Nadu, of an elephant bidding a tearful farewell to her dead calf in the Palani ranges supports this insight.

The book is elegantly produced, and the photographs, both in colour and in black and white, have been reproduced sharply. One photograph, by Norwyn Cole, of a close-up of an elephant trunk resting over a large tusk stands out. Colour paintings by elephant calves, given by the Elephant Gallery in Thailand, and two poems on elephants add value to the book. □



- 72 -