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SOCIAL EXCLUSION IN INDIA: CRITICAL ETHNOGRAPHIC DISCOURSE FROM THE MARGINS

Guest Editors:

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S O M M A I R E

COMPTES RENDUS

FOREWORD FROM EDITORS

Starting with year 2009, the openness promoted by the editors of *Annuaire Roumain d'Anthropologie* towards subjects with social and economic impact has allowed the publication of anthropological analyses that were previously less represented within this journal, such as the private propriety and the economic transition in Central and Eastern Europe (e.g. Patterson, 2009; Staddon & Grykien, 2009, etc.). This opening represents a significant addition to the traditional subjects usually hosted during the previous years – anthropometry, contemporary biology, ethnology, medicine, osteology – as well as population genetics since the 2000's, enhancing the journal's relevance to the contemporary anthropology. The increased space provided to socio-cultural as well as other internationally relevant matters has also contributed to a wider geographical representation of authors and subjects (e.g. Baali et al., 2009; Prado et al., 2009; Weinstein, Ravi & Dorvidal, 2010; Eswarappa, 2011; Dincovici, 2012).

The current volume of *Annuaire Roumain d'Anthropologie*, with a topic on social exclusion in India, continues and expands this new orientation towards current issues in contemporary societies. Post-socialist countries, including Romania, experience similar social problems that plague developing countries such as India. By publishing this special volume the editors intend to renew the signal that this journal, as part of a wider Romanian academic publishing space, is opened to anthropologically relevant subjects dealing with global issues, major population health concerns, and various societal phenomena – e.g. aging, trends in nutrition, economic transition, etc. –, social exclusion being just one of them.

The editors of the *Annuaire Roumain d'Anthropologie*

Figure 1. Map of India with locations of the populations discussed in each chapter.

INTRODUCTION[1]

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Abstract: This small volume contributes with a critical ethnographic exploration on social exclusion that is still lacking in relation to South Asia. Indian society is being reconfigured by the mobilization of people who had historically been marginalized in economic, social and cultural lives. Simultaneously, India's economic transition is intensifying with its entry into the G20 and BRICS. What role will anthropologists and anthropology play in the new India during its rise after two centuries of decline? Whose reality is going to count in the emergent social configurations? The papers in this volume affirm that anthropology can play a salient role in answering these questions and contributing to inspiring a humane way forward.

Key words: social exclusion, India, class, caste, critical ethnography.

Indian society is being reconfigured by the mobilization of people who had historically been marginalized in economic, social and cultural life. Some of them wish to see power turned on its head, and many also thirst for egalitarianism (see Ilaiah 1989; 2009; 2004; 1996) in an expanding interest to cast aside old colonial-era hierarchies and divide and rule tactics designed to promote various forms of social exclusion. Central to this discussion is the question of *whose reality counts* in the reproduction and transformation of social exclusion in India. The authors in this volume, drawing from the array of mixed methods of traditional ethnographic fieldwork, auto-ethnography, and using blogs and IT/business organizational spaces as their "field", provide the reader with thumbnail sketches from north to south. Providing new evidence and analysis of social exclusion, the anthropological imaginations of young and well established practitioners will be stimulated to

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imagine the ways that critical anthropology might be deployed to affirm a society fit for all human beings to live in.

Our special issue asserts that the ongoing basis of contemporary forms of 'social exclusion' emanates from capitalism, its accompanying cold-hearted bureaucracy (see Gupta and Sivaramakrishnan 2012) that operationalizes its accompanying brutal logic with life-crushing force (see Oakley 2007). This is like an 'iceberg of power below the surface' (Korpi 1998: viii), though with capitalism transforming into its highest stage, imperialism, Rousseau's romantic imagined level playing field of "civil society" is exposed for the fallacy that it always was (cf. O'Connor 1998: 212) as communities are shifted through borders and boundaries and converted into 'us' and 'them' (Donnan and Wilson 2000) or experience alienation, an essential feature of industrial capitalism (Marx 1959). The rapid changes now taking place in Indian society (Gupta 2012) are rooted in the economic patterns analyzed by Marx in his New York tribune writings more than a century ago (Husain 2006). With the demise of small agricultural families, for example, comes the transformation of the unique caste and class based practices characteristic of these groups (Delige 2011; Guilmoto 2011) and a loss of cultural diversity and cultural knowledge as would certainly be evidenced in the tribal dispossession and forced livelihood transitions described by NK Das in this volume.

With the favoring of industry comes the destruction of tribal forests at a rapid rate and a rapid transformation of tribal and rural society in India, a theme also exposed in detail by NK Das. With the explicit modeling of itself after the failed North American liberal political economies, comes rippling changes to the entire society including the creation of mass social movements, all intent on a vision of a different and more humane society. The authors in this volume all touch upon this shifting terrain, each providing a bird's eye view of social exclusion from their unique vantage points, but all of whom expose the violence and human tragedy when society is reduced to protecting the interests of those who are intent on making the circulation of capital the exclusive *raison d' être* of society.

The concept of "social exclusion" is, of course, not a new process (Kasi 2011). In India, like Canada, the US and the EU, engaged in an intense process of economic liberalization *à la* Adam Smith over the past decade, there is an attempt to approach social exclusion as an *a priori*. As the popular discourse goes, India is incessantly, facing the problems of poverty, unemployment, malnutrition, indebtedness, sexism, patriarchy, female infanticide, and illiteracy, which are all forms of social exclusion. These are often circulated in the western media and academia to create the convenient view that all is well in the west (Bhattacharyya 2008) and that social exclusion is not a problem, when, of course, a casual glance at Canada, USA, Greece, and many parts of Europe, is not the case at all. At the same time, India, as a new member of the G20 and BRICS, is fast becoming a global economic power and embarked on its own forms of imperial interests buying-up lands in Africa, corporate interests spanning the globe and the EU countries are in a financial crisis and approaching India for aid relief. As power

in the global economy violently shifts, or threatens to, social exclusion is both an outcome of and an historically effective divide and rule tool (Bagchi 2010; Choussoudovsky 2003; Joshi 2007). Thus social exclusion, far from being over, will be reconfigured and in some cases the changes bring the opportunity for betterment, as social change always contains the opportunity to consciously surpass the *status quo* and develop new, more humanistic arrangements and/or the guise there of. For example, in this volume, Aarti Kawlra explores the nuances of a critical understanding of social exclusion under contemporary neo-liberalizing structures in India in relation to the IT sector. Yalamala examines advances in technology and rising social movements as an opportunity to develop egalitarian access to technological advancements, viewing opportunity in the moment, while realistically understanding the potential dangers. Both explicitly take a critical anthropological perspective.

Another aspect explored by Anshu Singh in this special volume involves the marginalization of Muslims in Delhi and the politics of fear, violence and blame. Cochrane (2008:1) has rightly pointed out that implicitly or explicitly, conceptualizations of poverty have tended to assume either that the poor are in some way to blame for their own poverty or that it is an unintended consequence of various forms of social and economic regulation. There is a long tradition focusing on 'cultures of poverty' and this has increasingly been combined with another, suggesting that state welfare activity may unintentionally help to create dependency. More recently, the notion of social exclusion has been used to suggest that the problem lies in the way that specific obstacles limit the access of some people to (in some versions, well-) paid employment which will allow them to escape from poverty (Thorat and Attewell 2007). Solutions, therefore, tend to focus on changing the behavior of the poor or finding ways of increasing their employability as Aarti Kawlra explores in her chapter. These are all "straw-man" type approaches and do not capture the reality before India and the world at large serving as apologists for capitalism and influencing public opinion in some way or another. Anshu Singh in this volume explores the ways that the socio-special ghettoization enhances economic and social exclusion among Muslims in Delhi. She not only provides a solid literature review of ghettoization as a form of social exclusion, but her contribution also echoes the fear of violence elaborated by Gupta (2012). Singh not only draws from ethnography but also through and analysis of online blogs, more and more being incorporated into social scientific research (Wakeford and Cohen 2008) as a form of public social discourse. But Singh does not appear, like Gupta (2012) however, to see the violence and haphazard planning as arbitrary, but the consequences of a conscious choice to avoid state violence.

Some of the contributors in the volume like Das, Yalamala and Singh, portray the challenges to the current system and alternative visions for economy and society that have emerged. Some of this hope has been echoed in the social sciences, non-hegemonic formulations are textually challenging forms of structural and symbolic violence (Giroux 2010; Holmes 2013; Ribeiro and Escobar 2006;

Oakley and Grønseth 2007; Oakley 2007; Navarro 2007; Robbins 2007; Smith 2012). Some of these voices are emerging from the formerly-called "third world" the location of three quarters of the world population and locales where anthropology has reached at crossroads. In India, there are many more students and faculty entering in social science departments and the previous vacuum noted by Visvanathan (2004) is quickly being filled by a new generation of Indian anthropologists who had previously long been excluded from the social sciences and/or were the subject of study (see Smith 1999:29). This happened as a result of pressure put on the state by these groups to develop state quotas for jobs and resources as well as state institutions must accept a standard proportion of the constitutional categories of 30% Scheduled Castes (SC) and Scheduled Tribes (ST) and 27% Other Backward Classes (OBC). Who are these groups? The Tribal peoples of India who are understood as the indigenous people of India and are a constitutionally protected category referred to in the constitution as Scheduled Tribes (ST) constituting approximately eight percent of the total population (Kshatriya 2004:17; Singh 1994:41; Sahu 2001). There is a great deal of linguistic and cultural diversity within this eight percent, with more than 700 tribal groups that continue to be geographically isolated (Guilmoto 2011:31; Subramanian et al 2006:819). As among Canadian First Nations Peoples, there are also those Tribal peoples who have not yet been recognised by the state and who are fighting for recognition, or whose numbers are extremely low (between 1000-100) such as the Arandan, Kochu Velan, Rona and Shompen to name a few (Das 1994:196-7). Article 342 of the Indian Constitution notes that: "... 'Scheduled Tribes' as tribes or tribal communities which may be codified by the President and are 'entitled to have development provided by the state". While ST is common political and policy term, the term *Adivasi* is nowadays frequently employed for self reference, encapsulating their egalitarian tendencies minimal dependence upon money and markets, shared history of land loss and so on (Subramanian et al 2006:421).

There are differing levels of disenfranchisement from forest and/or agricultural lands among Primitive Tribe and ST groups, but peri-uban relocation is increasing (Rajpramukh and Palkumar 2007). The tribal groups in the so-called Tribal belt of Chattisgarh, Orissa and Northern Andhra Pradesh, are also among the become militant groups and have armed themselves to keep their lands and for a fair share of resources (Subramanyam 2004; Sachdeva et al 2004). They have joined hands with other marginalised groups such as the other constitutionally protected groups referred to in the constitution as *Scheduled Castes* (SC) and *Other Backward Classes* (OBC) groups that we will discuss shortly. In addition to this, in the 1970s the category of "Primitive Tribe" was introduced and there are currently some 52 such groups.

Some ST and Primitive tribal groups continue to rely on the forest for subsistence, but more and more rapidly, even since independence, deforestation has been a major problem (Singh 1994:45) and they are becoming incorporated into India's rapidly developing market economy (Rajpramukh and Palkumar 2007:3) the morbid symptoms of which is expressed by Bindu Ramachandran in the

volume. The state, a potentially positive form of collective expression and protection, has been considerably weakened with the opening-up of the economy in the 1980s and consequently, local and foreign companies have been penetrating primitive tribal areas and acquiring their lands. The majority of Primitive Tribal Groups rely to a limited extent upon forest products, but agriculture and daily wage work constitutes a significant part of their livelihood. These changes have negatively affected the health of Tribal peoples in India (Sahu 2001) as Bindu Ramachandran exposes for parts of South India, and moreover, systematic data on patterns of health deprivation are scantily available when it comes to aboriginal peoples in non-Western nations (Subramanian et al 2006:e421). Relations within tribal groups have been characterised as communalistic with a high level of sharing of available resources although this tendency is being reported to be withering "...under the impact of the current individualistic capitalistic trends" (Singh 1994:44) as is also evidenced in Kawlra and Ramachandran's papers in this volume to some degree.

CASTE

The largest caste group in India is the Other Backward Classes, constituting the majority in India and considered at the very bottom of the *varna* system, and also formerly referred to as *Sudras*. This group of people has been statistically indistinct since the 1931 census but since 1989 there was an intention to create a category, OBC, based largely on socio-economic levels, education and occupations (Guilmoto 2010:31). Scheduled Castes (SC) are not considered part of the caste system at all and are referred to as Dalits, formerly known as untouchables. The term dalit is "...not neutral, and tends to promote a more conscious, militant and aggressive view of society" (Guilmoto 2010:58). Both SC and OBC peoples perform the backbreaking work that the higher castes do not do such as agricultural labour, stone cutting, pottery making, building, waste removal, slaughtering animals and so on but proportionately, OBC category constitutes 60% of the national population whereas ST and SC groups constitute 16% of the national population (Guilmoto 2010:31). Many also have to engage in daily wage labour for higher caste peoples who own land. Brahmins, at the top of the caste hierarchy tend to dominate in the intellectual and professional spheres and also own much property in cities but nowadays there are more and more SC (Dalit) and OBC professors, editors, chairmen, engineers other types of professionals and so on (Allocco 2009). SC and OBC groups have also long been active in the anti-caste movements which commenced with Ambedkar's book *The Annihilation of Caste* written in the 1930s inspired by some of the success of this movement and also themselves pushed to margins of survival, the tribal peoples in the tribal belt have also, in past decade especially, become better organised and in some cases militant (Rajpramukh and Palkumar 2006). While there are many linguistic and cultural differences between ST, SC and OBC groups that must be understood in their own historical, social and

economic context, they share much in common in terms of class background in that most are poor, either small landowning peasants, semi-peasants or migrant workers and there is also a growing class of upper caste people whose class position is equally poor but they have no state protections (Delige 2010:56-7). In this volume Ramachandran makes a solid contribution to the understanding of the historically rooted forms of social exclusion through the colonial period by the British and in the post colonial period by repeated failed state policies (see Gupta 2012 for a good contemporary analysis of failed burocracies), which as a whole strengthened social exclusion. These were the histories, cultures and practices that were largely ignored or stigmatized. Several years ago, the recognition to end social exclusion of SC, ST and OBC peoples was strengthened thorough the implementation of Centres for Social Exclusion and Inclusive Policy on throughout state and federal central universities which have also become an important source of employment. The aim of these centres was to create new positions that would be occupied by formerly excluded groups. Their creation spurred a plethora of research by these groups on their own communities and from a perspective that had previously been excluded.

What this means is that ethnographic research is being conducted by Indian anthropologists themselves, some of them on their own communities and they come with a fresh set of tools and perspectives that had previously been hidden from the view (Baumgartner 2004:2011-2104; Smith 1999:28; Visvanathan 2006). Scheper-Hughes call for an "...anthropology of the really real, in which the stakes are high, values are certain" (1995:417) resonates with the potential of Indian anthropology at this time as does Scheper-Hughes request: "...we need more, now than ever, to locate and train indigenous local anthropologists and organic intellectuals to work with us and to help us redefine and transform ourselves and our vexed craft" (1995:417; see also Friere 2011). Scheper-Hughes' call is salient for India given the speed with which lives are changing and the need to preserve the knowledge of previously excluded people's senior generations (see also Smith 1999:158). These were the histories, cultures and practices that no one took much notice of other than to ridicule or stigmatize them; what Smith has referred to as an elitist "toxic environment" was fostered (1999:129) and what Dirks characterises as the "policing of tradition" as a way to control the kinds of knowledge that was circulated in society (1997). This practice of "research through imperial eyes" is a divide and rule measure (Smith 1999:56) and challenging this resilient academic landscape will be one of ways to break the iceberg of economic and social exclusion in India today. Yalamala's paper makes a strong contribution in this regard by exposing some of the powerful ideas in circulation about low caste and tribal peoples, the links of this knowledge to the powerful global health industry, and also voices some hope for knowledge to be used in a better way to benefit all humanity. His and other voices in this volume, such as NK Das and Aarti Kawlra, recognize some "fundamental" processes of capitalism, such as the many inequities in relations of global production and regards people as capable 'agentive selves' who actively modify the structures (Gledhill 2011; Grønseth and Oakley 2007;

Mohanty, Malik and Kasi 2008; Ward Gailey 2003). The contributions in this special issue value an 'anthropology of the present' (Fox 1991); an *anthropology in action* (cf. Shore and Wright 1997) which not only is about the action of long term ethnographic research as in Ramachandran and Das' papers, but about the potential for the research raised through questions, theory and experiential insights of the practitioners themselves as in Kawlra, Yalamala and Singh's papers.

Several of the contributors in the elaborate on the colonial and post-colonial context creating ripe conditions for economic and social exclusion and stressed on the potential for social movements and anthropologists to play a role in changing the context for social exclusion. N.K. Das, for example, examines the historical establishment for social exclusion and the resulting militancy of the excluded peoples in a comprehensive ethno-historical critical review as well as the nuances of social exclusion within assertions of resistance and militancy that have marred Indian tribal movements in the north-east. Yalamala's contribution delves into issues salient to all the papers by raising ethical issues beyond the narrow institutional confinement of legalistic terms toward surpassing colonial-era limitations that entrapped indigenous peoples into Eurocentric hubris and calls for a cosmo-political and an egalitarian India. By tackling a large literature, drawing on ethnographic and auto-ethnographic experience, Yalamala's paper tempts the anthropological imagination and inspires a wide range of research possibilities for the emergent anthropologists in India and abroad.

As a whole, this small volume contributes a critical ethnographic exploration social exclusion that is still lacking in relation to South Asia, As Willis and Trondman (2000) we argue that 'ethnography should be critical' and this is particularly, an urgent matter in India today which is transforming very rapidly with its entry into the G20 and BRICS. What role will anthropologists and anthropology play in the new India during its rise after two centuries of decline? Whose reality is going to count in the emergent social configurations? The papers in this volume affirm that anthropology can play a salient role in answering these questions and contribute to building a more just and humane society by exposing and analyzing different forms of exclusion and inspiring a way forward.

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TERRORIZED SPACES OF DELHI:
A STUDY OF BATLA HOUSE

ANSHU SINGH[1]

This paper is an attempt to present and analyse experiences of social exclusion by the Muslim population in Jamia Nagar. The paper presents data from the first part of an ethnographic study done during 2008-2010 in Batla House, Delhi. The central idea for investigation is social exclusion of an urban space, and the community living in it. Batla house, a part of Jamia nagar is a Muslim dominant part of Delhi, which is some scholarly writings come as a Muslim ghetto (Gayer 2012). It is important to note that however, ghettos are not made in one day or are result of one incident, but during times of disturbance they become a site to observe the processes that goes into excluding a social and a geographical space form the rest of the society. Batla House encounter in Jamia Nagar is one such incident. It was one of the times to observe the dynamics of Muslim identity and urban spaces that is also catalysed by media, politics resulting into subtle forms of social exclusion.

Key words: Muslim ghetto, ethnography, Batla House encounter, Muslim identity.

INTRODUCTION

Batla House is an urban space designed to enhance economic and social protection for Muslims and to prevent their social exclusion. Over the years, however, it has been transformed to reinforce their social exclusion in various ways. In my chapter, I explore the Batla house encounter in September 2008 to illustrate the nuances of social exclusion in a context of rapid change in India. One such nuance is to expose the divide and rule tactics of capitalism, as well as the need of the state for an *other* (Robbins 2007). Another is to show that fear is a chief reason for ghettoization and that the youth are aware of their marginalization and want it to cease.

The territorial space of the National Capital Territory is made vibrant by coexistence of people from different languages, religions, ethnicity and even from different nations. For example East of Delhi is inhabited by either families that are

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staying from generations or the new migrants that enter Delhi wanting a cheap but permanent address. On the other hand, there is the area of Majnu ka Tila and Monastery that are home to the migrant Tibetan population whereas areas like the Defence Colony which provides spacious and posh residence to rich Delhiites, while areas like Chandni Chowk or Jamia Nagar are dominantly Muslim areas. Although they can be looked upon as just any another type of sharing of the land amongst the various groups that have migrated into the city at different times, however they seem to percolate into the psyche, to create divisions amongst many groups living on same lands having boundaries. These divided identities often cease to interact with each other, forming and strengthening of stereotypes eventually leading to friction amongst the groups. India has seen such types of friction from a long time amongst Hindus and Muslims especially after partition of India. This hostility for Muslims is not only concentrated in India rather after the world wide discourse on terrorism Muslims have been put in a strange place (Morey and Yaqin 2011) around the world where they face threat by which force them to concentrate themselves in certain geographical spaces that can make them feel secure. This all can happen by state sponsored acts or by the negligence of the state towards the incident that eventually leads to these kinds of ghettoisation.

This paper will highlight that as such, it is not just the choice of Muslims to live in concentrated spaces rather it is a reaction to fear of the general political scenario. The residents of these areas hold a common perception that they are vulnerable to state-endorsed violence which is strengthened by the communal uneasiness around the country. By studying the Muslim spaces in India and abroad, it can be easily discerned that these spaces are the easy targets of communal or racial attacks as well as are the centre of the prejudiced politics (Abdo 2006; Alavi 1997; Ali and Sikand 2005; Morey and Yaqin 2011). The concern is not limited to such spaces being soft targets of anti-social elements but it is towards everyday life being affected by the discriminatory, prejudiced urban governance and policy implementation which leads to their social exclusion.

In this paper I attempt to examine one such terrorized space of Delhi to better understand the nuances of social exclusion faced in an urban settlement by the people residing there. The study initially gives a picture of the Batla House area, the topography and characteristics to help in comprehension of the physicality of a ghetto. It further implies to understand the effect of one act of terror on the daily lives of residents in this vicinity, including an understanding of the dynamics of identity negotiation (focus is on Muslim identity) in time of crisis. Inevitably the role of politics, media and civil society become important in this context of state-endorsed violence, hence it is also discussed along with the concerns for women in this predicament. The study looks into all this from the perspective of Hindu and Muslim residents of the Batla house, of which the focus was on the students of Jamia Millia Islamia (now a central minority university for higher education). Apart from interviews, the study also takes account of blogs, written and posted

during this period about the situation of the area. These have been selected because they are a medium to acquaint oneself with some of the emergent discourse during a time of collective terror.

CONTEXTUALISING THE STUDY

The present study is located in Jamia Nagar, Delhi. Delhi is one of the most important commercial and cultural centres of North India and has been capital city for India for quite a long period of time. Over the years the city has witnessed many changes. It has history of interactions with people from different parts of the world, of different ethnicities and religions and of accommodating them. Up until the past decade or so, Muslims in Delhi and India in general were quite comfortably part of Indian society. In recent years, however, they have started to become more concentrated in some parts of the cities which some characterise as a 'ghettoisation' of Muslims in India (Gayer and Jafferlot 2012). It is important to note here that the interviewer is not Muslim, and researchers not belonging to the community face very many problems in conducting any research that is focused around the issues of identity. It was a very difficult and time consuming process for the researcher to build trust with the respondents so that they could talk about the issues of terror and fear. However, this experience makes this study even more salient as this can be considered as a view that is not from within the community.

GHETTOS: A GEOGRAPHICAL AND SOCIAL REALITY

Ghettos have, for a long time, been associated with the settlements where Jews were forced to live in Europe. This is, however, a very narrow understanding of the term. Hutchison and Haynes have argued that according to Chicago school of scholars' ghetto is '…an area of voluntary first settlement leading toward assimilation' (2012: xxi). It is supposed to be associated with the identity of 'we' and 'other'. The ghettos, it can be argued, are developed in a process not only to feel a sense of belonging to one group but also to express against a perceived 'other'. As Barth noted long ago, ethnic identity self ascription and ascription are usually done in the context of intense interaction between perceived others (1998). Gayer and Jafferlot (2012) have shown in their book that in India Muslims resides in some pockets within the city to feel secure, they have argued that ghettoisation of Muslims in India is a process of marginalization that stands parallel to political, economic and educational marginalization. Many of the chapters in their book have seen this urban phenomenon as a result of communal violence against Muslims. This same phenomenon has been noted in the USA by Abdo (2006) in her work on ghettos in United States. She argues that after the crisis of September, 11, the Muslim population in the USA faced severe discrimination and that ghettos are

consequently viewed by Muslims as the alternative to escape embarrassment of profiling. Muslims choose to live in these concentrated places with majority of their population and also socialise their children within the same community by limiting their interaction with the larger population primarily by sending their children to Muslim schools. Benei (2008) has pointed out that sending the children only to Muslim schools is not a voluntary choice that parents have made; they often are forced by the teachers and students of mainstream schools where they are subjected to embarrassing situations due to their religion.

Similar observations regarding the movement of Muslims in concentrated urban living spaces were made by Alavi (1997) of Turkish and Indian ghettos. Affirming that Indian ghettos in Mumbai and Ahmadabad developed as a result of communal riots that forced the Muslim community to get localised for security concerns, Alavi also notes that although Delhi has no history of friction amongst Hindus and Muslims, she identifies two ghettos in the National Capital Territory Delhi, one in walled city and other in Jamia Nagar as examples of this. On the other hand, Ali and Sikand (2005) have argued that ghettos are not facts of urban lives but a process due to periodic predicaments. One stark example they provide is the holocaust of Gujarat in 2002, when, at this time Muslims shifted to these ghettos having a high concentration of Muslim population to provide a sense of protection and safety.

A prevalent pattern in the work on ghettoisation shows that this urban process is a reaction to fear, a strategy to deal with the terror albeit is only leading to the exclusion of the community from the main stream. It might be viewed as an example of the strategy explained by Bourdieu (1990), whereby, human subjects strategise to play the social game, so that along with the knowledge of common rules they also exercise personal creativity. Bourdieu also argues that resistance to a type of structure, by the creative human forces often leads one to conform to the very stereotyped structures of society that he/she is in opposition with. Muslims often try to walk out of the given structure of society but it all results them being cut of from the main stream hence reproducing the hegemonic culture of discrimination and stereotypes. In a similar vein, Alavi (1997) argues that ghettoisation creates a split in the society, and reinforces stereotypes for a given group. She gives an example of Turkish minorities that are economically and socially pigeonholed. Abdo (2006) presents the idea of 'alienation' that results from getting disconnected from others, having the feeling of not belonging to a larger community hence resulting in frustration and low self esteem. Ali and Sikand (2005) also show that people in ghettos are negatively affected. They describe Muslim ghettos in Ahmadabad as poverty stricken, with very poor infrastructural facilities. This all again got reproduced as children in these ghettos do not go to other government schools hence restricting their growth. Baxi (2005) has described the gendered culture of the ghettos whereby women become the victims of many types of violent acts and their voices are not always heard in the overpowering discourse of religious or

communal identity. Khan (2013) who works in the ghettos of Mumbai that were created after the riots of 1992 also affirms that voices of women and their identity as one is not seen important in an environment invested with fear.

Hitherto above discussion has acquainted us with the various causes behind ghettoisation, and the terror embedded in their creation. I have also argued that the ghetto becomes reproduced from generation to generation along with the terror that comes with religious profiling. In the next section, I sketch out the content of this terror in the Batla House area of Jamia Nagar after a police encounter.

STUDY AREA AND METHODOLOGY

The discussions representing the case of Batla House are based on fieldwork done during September 2008-2009. The importance of this given period is associated with a major incident that brought this area in public focus, the infamous Batla House encounter that took place on 19th September 2008 and initiated a chain of reactions and left the people of the area scarred. The objective of the paper was to understand the effect of a violent situation like 'batla house encounter' on the Muslim community living in an urban space.

Many of the accounts presented here are of the eyewitnesses. Some others are the informal talks with students of Jamia Millia Islamia and other residents of the area. Though many respondents were not very confident but anxious to discuss anything on the issue for they dread getting picked up by police, many in fact refused completely, but due to the friendly contacts with teachers and students of Jamia Millia Islamia the work, was to a certain extent, unproblematic.

DISCUSSION

GEOGRAPHICAL SPACE

Batla House is situated near to Yamuna basin in Delhi. The river touches the area at Shaheen Bagh, and on one side is adjacent to Khalliulah Masjid in Jamia Nagar. It existed even before the establishment of the university, Jamia Millia Islamia, a central university which has now been given the status of a Muslim minority university. Batla House is famous for its market area that provides options for shopping of varieties of meat preparations and a wide range of traditional Mughlai foods. It is also very famous for its cloth market featuring a beautiful array of fabrics from Kashmir and Pakistan. Jamia Nagra has a large immigrant Muslim population, a large part of which have migrated here from Bihar and Uttar Pradesh. Many of them are students. Many families have been reported to shift here from the Walled City of Delhi (another Muslim dominated area of the NCT) due to the better provisions of basic amenities and more space, yet this is also quite

a congested area in comparison to the nearby places, it can be blamed to the ever increasing unauthorised constructions.

The population of this area includes the permanent residents, the families which own their own properties and rent out to others, as well as the temporary residents who pay guests or tenants, that are either studying or working in and around Jamia Millia Islamia (JMI) and also those who are preparing to crack entrance for their entry into the university or any other educational institution. Room rents are relatively lower than the other nearby areas hence there is a large student population from the rural areas of the country. Although getting oneself verified before renting a room is a general procedure in Delhi, the Muslim tenants have to go through more extensive rounds of verification in this particular area. This kind of treatment is perceived as a form of discrimination by Muslim youth and students. Surrounded by some posh colonies, Jamia Nagar has got many traits of a ghetto but much of it does not qualify for the descriptions of ghetto as given by Ali and Sikand (2005) or Abdo (2006) or Alavi (1997). There is concentration of Muslims in the area but the living standard varies according to the economic status of the people. Batla House along with Gaffur nagar, Zakir nagar and some parts of Okhla market form the old part of the area and are sometimes even referred to as 'Daharavi of Delhi' – reminiscent of *Slumdog Millionaire* – by some residents. Buildings are congested, and rooms are very small, the roads leading in and out of the place are quite narrow, but the low room rents mean that this place is quite densely populated. These areas are quite a contrast to other areas in vicinities like Noor Nagar and Gaffar Manzil, which adorne a beautiful spacious look and are first choice of University faculty and other high earning professionals. These places have the best water and electricity supply in Jamia Nagar and about 30% of the population are Hindu. Abul Fazal is another very high profile locale; home to Muslim and other families residing outside India who come here once or twice a year. The majority of the time, the rooms rented by students of Jamia University or job seekers. The main market place of Okhla is also a bit congested, but inhabited many businessmen of Delhi. Jamia Nagar is home to one of the three central universities of Delhi that makes it a hub of many Muslim scholars, important professionals and many of the old Muslim families of high status.

It is important to see Jamia Nagar in contrast to the nearby Hindu dominated places like New Friends colony and Sarita Vihar that are considered high profile residential locales. These areas are mostly inhabited by wealthy Hindu families, with smaller Muslim populations. Jamia Nagar is preferred over many other reasonably rated places around for living, even by the well-to-do Muslim families. This choice is primarily dictated by the security concerns. For example, many respondents indicated that they preferred to remain in this area because "…it's better to be with your 'own' people, as no one can trust 'others'…". When probed all respondents pointed out to the anti-Muslim attacks in other states of India that have left them with no other option.

The deliberation to establish this area as belonging to Muslims is seen in the layout of the area. This area is primarily of Muslim majority; nearly twenty mosques are present in the area, and only two temples (at Okhla Gaon and Johri Farm), Khallilulah Masjid and Hari Masjid run their own madrasas (Islamic traditional schools that provide education in Quran and other Islamic texts, however many of the madrassas in the area also provide modern education simultaneously) which are two of the eight madrasas present in the area. From here also operates the national headquarters and the head offices of many Muslim organisations like the All India Muslim Personal Law Board, the All India Muslim Majlis-e-Mushawarat, the All India Milli Council and the All India United Muslim Morcha.

THE ENCOUNTER: AN EYE WITNESS ACCOUNT

It was just another September morning while we, a group of friends, were sitting in our department's canteen, discussing over morning tea and snacks. Around 10.00 am many of us were flooded with calls informing us about police firing in Batla House area of Jamia Nagar. The first instructions were to keep ourselves safe and get out of the area as soon as possible. The news was confirmed by the students who live in the area, and who were informed by their roommates or landlords; they were also instructed to do the same. Eventually we, along with many teachers started moving out of the department. There was no bus connectivity to the area that day and no other public transport; the streets wore a terrified look with students and faculty leaving the varsity in personal vehicles or on foot. After this incident Jamia was closed for some time.

According to news reports, Delhi Police achieved an important feat by killing two terrorists (Atif Amin and Mohamed Sajid) and arresting the other two involved and then recent blasts in Delhi. They all were residents of Batla House, and the encounter occured at House number L-18. There are many versions of the same incident that were discussed by the respondents, the case is still in court so this paper will not comment on the incident and will not refer to the young men killed in the encounter as terrorists. But it is important to point out that the whole incident terrorized the people in the nearby places. The students living in the private hostels, in Batla House and nearby, voiced a common sentiment that they were scared to go back to their rented rooms as they were apprehensive about the reaction of police towards them. Students who had no one in Delhi and were living independently were in a state of shock wondering what to do and where to go. Those who reached their homes, rooms or hostels were not willing to come out as excessive policing made them suspicious.

NEGOTIATING STEREOTYPICAL IDENTITIES

Re-affirming Frederick Barth's conception of identity formation occurring in the context of intense interaction between perceived ethnicities, after this incident young male Muslims were very apprehensive about their own identity and the way

others viewed them if they carry any stereotyped identity markers like beard or skull cap. The Batla House encounter portrayed a new picture of the Muslim terrorist: as young men displaying almost no visual markers of being Muslim and being identified as technologically savvy. This new perception left many young Muslim men in an antagonistic state of mind and doubting whether or not to sport the visual markers. Most of the men interviewed had decided not to do it till some time, to avoid the questioning eyes of strangers.

For the students who were form Azamgarh, the area from which the encountered youngsters belonged to, finding rooms and discussing their identity in public became even more problematic. One of the respondents noted that he stayed in his hostel room for almost a week or more after the encounter as he belonged to Azamgarh and happens to know one of the boys who was killed. These boys fear even going to their home due to the risk of being profiled and arrested and this fear is pronounced especially during occasions of national importance like Independence Day. As we have already seen that the associations of religion and geographical areas became a source of terror for many people during this time, even the names of the places related to the encounter were dropped from the receipts of the private hostels and the addresses given by the people residing in Batla house. Respondents informed that till now many of them dropped the name Batla House from their address while going to an interview as it attracts unwanted attention and uneasy questions and many prefer writing Jamia Nagar as their address instead. Some of the hostels in the area changed their names after the incident, and almost all of them dropped Batla House from their receipt.

Not only place-name but also certainly a personal name of an individual were associated with many stereotypes as was echoed by many of my informants. As also reported by numerous news reports, during the 2002 riots names can even become question of life and death, as seen in Ahemdabad during 2002 riots, when every shop carrying a Muslim name or something similar was burnt irrespective of whoever owned it. Responses on this 'name' question of identity gave me more insight on this subject of identity crisis, where I was told that these young men try not to speak their name in public apart from removing almost all visual markers from their bodies.

Not just the students and the immigrants from other parts of India but also the landlords became apprehensive about the situation and actually increased the restrictions especially on the Muslim boys who were perceived as the cause of the problems. Even in the University hostel of JMI that which hitherto had no direct bearing on the whole issue, the rules were tightened up and boys and girls were supposed to enter the premises early than their usual timings and there were increased limitations on inviting guests into their rooms, as a precautionary measure.

Almost all paying guests interviewed in the Batla House area conveyed the idea that they went through a kind of identity crisis. The importance of official documents to prove their identity was felt immediately. It was quite early in session

hence university identity cards were still not issued, most of the students from outside of Delhi didn't have any other proof of identity. They felt an urgent need of a written proof of them being a citizen of India, many of these students got their passports, driving license, and voter identity cards from their native places. Migrants below 18 years of age faced more problems as they had no such options. Some landlords indicated that during that time many young students left the rooms and probably Delhi also.

This identity crisis was referred to as arising out of the terror that had seeped in the hearts of these students and many residents of this area. Numerous blogs and other online sites cropped up to characerise and comment on the issues faced by young Muslims. Some of the blogs were analytical such as Shahrukh Alam, who, in his blog on the incident differentiated the terrorism in Batla House into two types: 'a) the use of violence and threats to intimidate or coerce people especially for political purposes; and b) the state of fear and submission produced by terrorism and terrorisation.'

After the incident, almost every private hostel went through another round of tenant verification by police. Interestingly, in last two years Muslim tenants of this area had been verified by police during national functions such as Independence Day and Republic Day. On the contrary, in the nearby Hindu dominated area this verification was done only once at the time of lending the home. The terror was also reflected by the landlords who became apprehensive of lending rooms to Muslims, even if they were Muslim themselves. The intensity by which the whole idea of young Muslim was approached by police and the landlords, made the Muslim students more vulnerable to harshness of the whole environment.

This is the time when getting a house became an ordeal for Muslim men, and many respondents expressed the discontent over the lack of trust that this episode represented. These people indicate that even if by the fear of being targeted as a ghetto dweller they wanted to shift their residence to some other place, they were not allowed. Even at the final stage, many deals got cancelled due to the Muslim identity of the buyer. Not only the Muslim people but even students of other religion studying in Jamia, found difficult to get rooms in other places in the city after the incident. It proves the claim made above that ghettoisation is not a choice of a community but it is a process mostly coerced. Educated Muslims felt cheated when they thought of their position in this society, they were not just forced into a physical and social space but also their hopes of living in a secular country with equal opportunities were snuffed out.

On the other hand, some Muslims were behaving in a different manner than these people who were trying very hard to get out of Jami Nagar. Businessmen involved in real estate told me that many Muslim families approached them after the incident, from many parts of Delhi to buy a home in this area. According to respondents it initiated a 'Real estate Mafia' here; as rates of the property flew upwards, even single room houses were priced more than the houses in nearby

posh colonies. Nevertheless it did not stop Muslim people to buy property here and shifting here. It all was caused by shear fear prevailing after the incident. It can be viewed as another factor that pumped-up the ghettoisation of the area. It can be analysed as a way of handling this situation by conforming to one's religious identity and to wish to live with 'own' people for the reasons for security. These people did not look to state to protect them nor they questioned its role, they adopted measures that were best suited for them at that time. Abdo (2006) takes a similar position in her examination of American ghettos, arguing that violence was not the characteristic feature of ghettos. The real violence faced by ghettos is the lack of breathing space due to overpopulation, discriminatory arrests and raids and hostility people experience while talking to others outside ghettos.

ROLE OF MEDIA, CIVIL SOCIETY AND POLITICAL ORGANISATION

Media has often been criticized for its indifference in handling sensitive issues and this was one such case. Respondents blamed the media for portrayal of Muslims in a bad light or portraying them as all the same in the reaction to the incident, without referring to the counter-position on the same matter. For example, when the media portrayed Jamia Millia Islamia taking a stand and becoming a part of whole controversy when they offered judicial support for the arrested students, for which many criticised the university and the chancellor. To answer such criticism the vice-chancellor had to arrange a public meeting to clear his intentions. The concern of the university was exaggerated by the media which depicted extra-petrified students due to apprehensions on them being labelled in bad light being students of Jamia. Teachers of the university took responsibility of addressing the unheard issues of a section and to bring it into the public light that, in normal situations, is expected of the media. Many activists and NGOs joined them for the cause. They arranged many protest marches, public meetings, public courts and other types of mobilisations against the encounter and are the single group who have openly challenged the whole incident. Jamia Teachers' Solidarity group continues to fight against the wave to help the society in being more sensitive towards the whole issue of religious profiling and irresponsible and unexplained acts of state. Many students of Jamia joined the protests, some of them were directly affected by the whole issue as they were Muslims were living in Batla House area, while some joined in as they were concerned of being left out in job market due to this attack and profiling.

Respondents' invariably blamed politicians for taking advantage of the whole incident. Their first reaction was that the incident took place due to political pressure and that the police reacted to the politicians order for the encounter. An ex-MLA (elected regional representative) of the area was blamed for inaction during the whole incident. It was a general perception that because he was from the ruling Congress Party and he hesitated to take any action, some locals called him

traitor of the religion. The new MLA Asif Iqbal is believed to have won the election because he had shown more concern for the people's and religion's cause than the party's interest.

Rather than conceiving it as state-supported violence, failed governance in developing harmony is a common euphemism deployed. Even after the Sachar Committee report, for example, the government failed to mobilise proper resources for the development of Muslims in Delhi and India. Less representation in almost every area of economic or national importance, even in politics adds to the terror of being alienated and profiled for purported wrong-doing, hence it is the common understanding that state will not come for the rescue of the Muslim population which again focus the attention on the community to help the members of it. To many it seems as another type of concentration that restricts the interaction of the Muslims to the larger population. It is important to locate Muslims within the understanding of the larger section to analyse the situation as a whole.

OTHER SENTIMENTS

The sentiments above are from a particular group of people; Muslims, young men and women who were living in Batla house. In this section I discuss the views of the Non-Muslims students of JMI and residents of Batla House. Although the sentiments of Muslim students and residents remain more or less homogeneous on the whole incident and the after effects, the residents of Batla House and students of JMI who were not Muslims presented a mixed type of reaction.

There were people who conform to the idea of Muslims being violent. They labelled the place as being unsafe for Hindus. Many people affirmed that the area is problematic and hence wanting to get out of it. These people neither directly question on the whole reaction of students of Jamia who participate in protests nor participate in the whole incident instead they expressed things like '…this is Jamia, anything can happen here', or '…Muslims will always be Muslim…' dominate their ideology. They cite examples of recent murder of a student in Jamia as yet other example of the lawless state of this Muslim dominated area. There were also people who question the role of state and police in the area. Though fewer in numbers they are the ones who believe in the integrity of Indian culture and plurality of its nature. They argue that communalism is a way for politicians to cash-in on vote banks. Their questions not only focus on the issues of encounter but the whole trouble faced by Muslims in their own country. They do not feel free and fearless to roam around the area. These groups of people were present in the protests against the encounter holding slogans like, '…stop profiling of Muslims…' and others. But there are many people who are not on any side they are the ignorant lot of the whole situation; they don't think they belong to Jamia. So their position is just out of the whole context. Interestingly Muslims and many non Muslims are part of this last category, people who just want to flee from the political situation.

The idea to discuss this was to showcase concerns of a group of people who are not directly affected by the incident. For some, their major concern about the whole incident is the fear of not getting jobs after graduating. However, there is also a group present who can empathise and feel the importance of the whole issue in challenging the secular sentiment of the nation. It is interesting to note that the student politics of the university is seemingly absent from this discussion. There was a visual absence of student political groups in this discussion; there were no posters of any political groups that could be pointed out.

WOMEN

Women are observed to be a highly vulnerable group in any incident of terror, and Batla House is no exception. Although no woman reported being abducted or molested, when I probed them about the terror, I got some salient responses. The respondents who were living in either the hostels or in Batla House areas as tenants or with their parents were young Muslims girls. These girls felt the compulsion of returning home as soon as possible after the incident. The same was also seen in girl's hostels where restrictions were greater than before. Girls in the area have do not feel they have an option to leave their visual markers behind (*burquas* and *hijabs* to cover their heads as part of the Muslim code of conduct), if they live with family, so they always fear profiling, hence prefer travelling with groups. For them it is the way they experience being a woman in Muslim society just as covering the breasts or wearing a bra is common in North American society even for infants and children as young as one year. In the Batla ghetto, some students from hostels sometimes drop visual markers especially if going for an interview or a public gathering. In comparison to other places University was much safer hence they preferred not leaving the university campus. There were landlords who argued that they feel comfortable giving rooms to girls as they abide by house rules and don't cause trouble. There was another set of landlords who, after the encounter, closed the girls' hostel because for them it was difficult to ensure the security of girls during those times. Many Muslim girls living in Batla house live with a family; this might be one of the reasons that they did not report the fear.

Hindu girls were seemingly not bothered of any profiling they were free from any pressure; however, some of them indicated that immediately after the attacks they did tried not to come to the campus for some time. Some other respondents testified that they did not feel comfortable to come to the campus during some sensitive occasions like elections, around Independence Day and others like it, as the environment here can get apparently suspicious. They also avoid wearing certain type of clothes like sleeveless shirts, tights and others which they otherwise would have been comfortable in wearing. A girl reports one incident when she was told by her teacher to not wear sleeveless dresses as they are not very acceptable in the campus and around it. But it was not only after the encounter, it is a general

concern for all at all the other times too. There were many girls who participated in the protests against the encounter but interestingly only burqua clad girls were shown in visual and print media. The removal of the modern girl from the protest was very disturbing for the girls in the campus. One of them said, '…we were also there in the protest, but as if they have turned blind for us, it shows that media wants it to seen as only the Muslim issue, not the issue of general public…'.

It can be analysed form the discussion above that almost all segments of the students and residents of the Jamia Nagar especially Batla house were affected by the incident but every other section of people living and studying in Jamia Nagar and JMI like residents, non residents, Muslims, non Muslims, migrants, non migrants were affected in some way or another by the encounter.

CONCLUSION

In this paper I have attempted to understand how Muslim identities in ghettos became a form of social exclusion, when a community concentrates itself or are forced to do so, within urban boundaries of a rapidly changing India. The lack of trust and fear developed in the residents of Batla house and the students of JMI shows that the social exclusion is not the product of one incident, but of an accumulation of many things along with the social experience that excludes a community from the whole society. De Haan and Kabeer (2008:5) argue that 'social exclusion is primarily defined as the rupture of a social bond-which is cultural and moral-between individual and society'. The Batla House encounter is one such incident among many played as agent for this rupture. The incident had a significant impact on the area and its residents. Batla House conforms to many characteristics of a Muslim ghetto, which is in contrast to the prosperous picture of the neighbouring Abul Fazal Envclave (Gayer 2012). The study found a prominent presence of terror in the area after the encounter as the residents feel that they are targeted due to prejudices. There were concerns for their identity; they felt the need of having an identity proof at all times and the residents of Batla House deliberately dropped all visual signs that could mark them as Muslims in areas outside university campus of Jamia Millia Islamia. Some names were dropped from the identification proofs to avoid unnecessary attention. The role of media, politics and civic society was important in understanding the whole concept and respondents feel that they were the main key players of the whole incident.

It is not one incident that has seen Muslims reacting like this, but there is no way that Muslims can leave India and live in some other country so they concentrate themselves in particular urban localities. There is a lack of trust, and it was not only in the case of Muslims. The Hindu population also faced lack of trust, there were many cases where Hindu landlords forcing the Muslim tenants to empty the houses. Respondents that did not have any link with Batla House were not very fearful but were more apprehensive of the whole situation. Women also were quite

petrified of the thought of getting profiled and then harassed. Educated as well as uneducated Muslims of the area evidenced similar fears. It was also due to the fact that the 'other' people were also not differentiating on these terms. This is not only the problem of governance but also of the decreasing social trust. The marginalization discussed here is not economic or political; it is eventual exclusion of a religious group by certain violent breakout and everyday struggle that they face after.

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DIFFERENTIAL VULNERABILITIES AMONG THE TRIBES OF KERALA: ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSIGHTS

BINDU RAMACHANDRAN[1]

In Kerala, there are 36 tribal groups distributed in various districts. Traditionally they constitute different economic categories such as food gatherers, shifting cultivators, bonded agricultural labourers and settled agriculturists. Recently the traditional economies of the Tribes are undergoing changes and 90% of them are working as daily wage labourers under non tribal cultivators and other employment agencies. As part of Tribal development, the Governmental inputs are same to all communities but it is clear that the Particularly Vulnerable Tribal Groups (PVTGs) like Kattunaickan, Koragar, Kurumbar, Kadar and Cholanaickan still fail to reach a certain minimum level of living requirements when compared to their tribal counterparts in the same area and continue to live a marginal subsistence. Landlessness and labour shortages are seriously affecting the tribes leading to unstable economic condition and subsequent vulnerabilities. In the case of PVTGs, poverty is identified as one of the factors responsible for under development along with many other socio-cultural factors. This paper analyses the differential vulnerabilities among the tribes of Kerala in general with special reference to the Primitive Tribal Groups (PTGs).

Key words: Kerala, PVTGs, land, labour, economy, poverty.

INTRODUCTION

Anthropologists often argued that the unique internal characteristics (mostly related to the particular socio-cultural set up and type of subsistence) of societies and their attitudes are not taken into consideration while planning for development insisting for the need to accommodate the actual requirements of the beneficiaries. This argument can be substantiated with Belshaw's (1974) description on development as 'an increase in the capacities of the society to organize for its own objectives and to carry out its programmes more effectively'. Awareness of capabilities and its effectiveness is rightly possible only with the involvement of beneficiaries in the programmes intended for them in a meaningful way.

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The capacity of a society is determined by the interaction of almost all variables such as social, economic, ecological, legal and political, and these aspects must act together with a multidimensional approach and methodologies appropriate for sustainable growth. The interconnection and interdependence of all these elements can suggest a structure where the term 'development' can be inserted. Taking this into account, one can rightly say that the multidimensional process of development among marginalized populations can be achieved only with the parallel development of different aspects of the above mentioned social system. Inequalities due to differences in circumstances often reflect social exclusion, and should be tackled through public policy interventions (Ali 2007; Kasi 2011). The same is true in the case of Particularly Vulnerable Tribal Groups (PVTGs) as they have been excluded from the mainstream society through the colonial period by the British and into the post-colonial period by repeated failed state policies, which, as a whole strengthened social exclusion. These were the histories, cultures and practices that were largely ignored or stigmatized (Smith 1999:129) or policing traditions (Dirks 1997) that have been taking place over the past couple of centuries among Indian Tribal people. This has often resulted in differential response to development programmes implemented by the government. Even though the development inputs of the State are the same to all the tribal groups, there are vast disparities in the results. This is still a problem to organic Tribal administrators and planners especially to those who are working in the development sector.

GENERAL VULNERABILITIES: SITUATIONAL REVIEW

As in other parts of India, the Scheduled Tribes of Kerala also encompass a weaker section of the population constituting 1.14 per cent (364,189) of the State population (Census of India 2011). Among the 36 tribal communities, Particularly Vulnerable Tribal Groups (PVTGs) such as Cholanaickan, Kattunaickan, Kurumbar, Kadar and Koraga constitute nearly 4.8% of the Scheduled Tribe population. According to the Census of India 2001, in Kerala, Wayanad district has the highest proportion of Scheduled Tribes (17%) followed by Idukki (14%). Alappuzha district has the lowest proportion of STs (0.1%) proceeded by Thrissur, Kollam and Kozhikode (0.2% each). For quite a long time they were classified under different economic categories such as food gatherers, shifting cultivators, agricultural labourers and settled agriculturists. Studies on tribal transformations show that the traditional economies are undergoing changes and in Kerala almost 80% of them are working as wage labourers under non tribal cultivators and other employment agencies within and outside the State. The interactions with other communities in the workplace have made them exposed to different socio-cultural situations and governmental and non-governmental interventions also act as catalysts in creating a new environment with higher aspirations.

The Tribal people of Kerala lived in their forest ecosystem without much restriction in collecting the natural resources for subsistence. Land was the only asset of the small and marginal tribal farmers like Kurichiyar and Mullukurumba because agriculture was their only source of income. The income they receive from agriculture is totally inadequate for minimum subsistence because of the increased prices of market commodities in the past several years. This is very much true in the case of societies like Kurichiyan and Mullukurumba where joint family is the basic economic unit. When non-tribal farmers of the area shifted to cash crop cultivation, the labour force became part of cash crop and plantation economy as it is considered more sophisticated. The Kurichiyan and Mullukurumba experienced the difficulty of pursuing traditional farming methods with inadequate man power, high wages and increased price of fertilizers. So instead of continuing with traditional paddy cultivation, the small scale owner cultivators among the tribal families started to accept wage labour under non-tribal cultivators for cash payment.

The process of proletarianisation was accelerated during the second, third and fourth decades of the 20th century following large scale immigration of plainsmen from Travancore and Cochin into the Wayanad region, they purchased land from the jenmis and this led to the emancipation of more tribal slaves (Kunhaman 1989:46). Non-tribal migrants advanced loans to the tribal people with land as security on usurious rates of interest. When the tribal found it impossible to repay the loans and the accumulated interest, the pledged lands passed into the possession of the non-tribal creditors (Mathur 1977). This is an ongoing process throughout India defying the purported constitutional safeguards of tribal lands and economies and ensuring their social exclusion from the mainstream.

The immigrant Christian farmers depended largely on their own family members for the labour arising in their holdings. The depression of the employment demand for tribal labour caused starvation and wide spread distress (Sasikumar 2006). During the early days of migration, the immigrants cultivated tapioca and vegetables and later cash crops were introduced including paddy. They used advanced agricultural techniques and production methods; resulting in the increase of agricultural production and the tribal people with primitive technology could not compete with these people. Although they actively participated in the production process, they have no control over the resources and means of production (Bindu 1997, 2006).

Along with continued dispossession of tribals from the lands previously in their possession, immigrant labour from Salem and Coimbatore (Tamil Nadu) began to complete out tribal labour from plantation from the third quarter of the 19th century. This process created an ever increasing reservoir of agricultural wage labourers among the tribals from whom cheap labour became available for the immigrant non-tribal farmers. By the end of the 1950s most of the Paniyans Adiyans and Kurumans had become very low paid agricultural labourers and wood cutters (Kunhaman 1989:47).

Among the 36 tribal groups of Kerala, nearly half of the population is residing in forest land where the ownership rights are still not clear. Lack of proper ownership documents related to land often blocked them from availing governmental benefits where ownership documents are a must. The number of landless families is high among the tribal groups distributed in the northern part of Kerala especially among the Adiyan and Paniyan who were subjected to bonded labour in the past. They have less control over the natural resources and are working as agricultural labourers under non-tribal land owners of the area. In the southern part, tribal communities are provided with land for their minimum survival. (Govt. of Kerala 1979). According to a socio-economic survey conducted among the tribes of Kerala during 1976-77, 8.6% tribal families lost their land as a result of land alienation happened due to encroachment, illegal transfer and manipulation by others with unauthorized documents.

The State Planning Board, Government of Kerala has identified seventeen factors responsible for the down trodden situation of tribal people. The most salient among these involve extreme levels of poverty and low levels of political, social and economic empowerment as well as a rapid deterioration of traditional knowledge systems and cultural attainments. The basic reasons for poverty is the same everywhere devoid of identities but nature and type of vulnerability is different according to many factors including the cultural characteristics. These are found to be the same in all most all the tribal areas in India.

POVERTY

The ethnographic research I have conducted since 1990 reveals that the tribes of Kerala exhibit a continuity of being economically downtrodden as they do not posses minimum material assets. In Wayanad district, tribal agriculturists like Kurichiyan and Mullukuruman owned joint land property under cultivation. Other communities including the Particularly Vulnerable Tribal Groups such as Kurumbar, Kattunaicken, Koraga, Cholanaicken and Kadar are provided with very nominal or no land. Kurup (1991) also observed this was due to the capitalist mode of production with its dependency on the international market system wiped out the tribals from the agrarian system as peasants. They were completely kept out of the ownership of the means of production as a matter of historical situation that had developed in Wayanad. Even the agrarian reforms, settlement scheme for landless agricultural labourers and the Act against the tribal land alienation had not solved the basic issues of the tribal ethnic groups in an advanced social system. The dominant class kept them in slavery, servitude and bondage. The ownership of the means of production once enjoyed by them had been refuted by practice, force and legislation by the feudal landlords and the capitalists' (Kurup1991: 25).

In the Wayanad region (the region of the largest tribal concentration in Kerala) which was part of the former Madras Presidency of British India, the hill

tribes were in a primitive state till the middle of the 18th century when they were dispossessed and enslaved by the immigrants from the plains. For the next one hundred years, they remained as attached agricultural labourers of non-tribal landlords. With the development of capitalist agriculture in Wayanad, commencing from the later half of the 19th century, a process of proletarianisation of the hill tribes started continuing through the early decades of the present century (Kunhaman 1989). As also confirmed by Yalamala in this volume for Andhra Pradesh, land alienation, displacement in traditional economy, and shortage of labour opportunities resulted in a state of economic deprivation and poverty among the tribes.

Land alienation (due to encroachment by non tribes, illegal transfer and unauthorized documents), displacement in traditional economy (due to shortage of labour opportunities), policy mismanagement and enactment of forest and land laws resulted in a state of economic deprivation and resultant poverty among the tribes. In Kerala, Particularly Vulnerable Tribal Groups still fail to reach minimum level of living requirements when compared to their tribal counterparts in the same area. They were significantly exposed to poverty compared to others as they do not have much access to land, resources and modern technology.

According to the Planning Commission, the cut of value for defining poverty in rural India is 375 Rupees monthly per capita. Regarding the Deprivation Indices, the Centre for Development Studies highlights that household amenities and facilities are relatively poor in Scheduled Tribe concentrated districts of Kerala. The incidence of deprivation is 29.5 percent in Kerala, whereas the deprivation index with regard to Scheduled Tribes is 57.9 percent. Again, Scheduled Tribe concentrated districts of Wayanad (46.3), Idukki (42.7) and Palakkad (40.4) have the highest deprivation index of more than 40 percent. In Wayanad, the Deprivation Index of the Scheduled Tribes is 66 percent and in the districts of Idukki and Palakkad it is 65.3 percent.

In India, the representation of Scheduled Tribes below poverty line as per records is higher which requires urgent attention. But the situation of Scheduled Tribes in Kerala is better when compared to the national level and in the records of State Planning Board, it is seen that Kerala has succeeded in reducing the level of poverty from 37% to 24% between 1993-94 and 1999-2000 (Table 1) which has been due to planned economy that goes beyond lip service and toward actual implementation.

Table 1

Percentage of Scheduled Tribe population below poverty line

NSSO Rounds	India		Kerala	
	Total %	ST %	Total %	ST %
38th Round(1983)	45.6	63.8	39.1	NA
50th Round (1993-94)	37.1	52.2	25.5	37.3
55th Round(99-2000)	27.1	45.8	9.4	24.2

Source: Economic Review 2010. State Planning Board, Govt. of Kerala

In Kerala, poverty among the tribes is increasing alongside their social exclusion and this historical pattern is also identified by Yalamala in this volume. This has intensified within the past decade with India's economic liberalization under the current federal governing regime.

HEALTH ISSUES

In Kerala, the district of Wayanad has a predominant tribal population with a share of 35.8% in 1991 and 37.4 in 2001 to the total population of the district (Census of India 2001). Infant mortality rate (per 1000 births) is 22 in 2001 with a crude birth rate of 19.5 (per 1000 pop) and total fertility rate is 2.0 (Human Development Report Kerala 2005). It was found that the general and reproductive health situation of the tribal women in Kerala was very poor. Women had high miscarriage ratio and infant mortality rates (Socio-economic survey of Primitive Tribes 1996-97). Studies conducted by Attappady Hill Area Development Society highlighted that tribal people of Kerala suffered from a number of illnesses such as sickle cell anemia, thyroid disorder, cancers and addiction related disorders. Contagious diseases such as cholera, viral fever; jaundice and tuberculosis are also very common.

Among the food gatherers like the Kattunaicken, Cholanaicken, and Kadar women are mostly engaged in gathering wild items such as roots, tubers, fruits and other edibles from the forest. Introduction of new forest policies and prohibition of hunting has stopped their frequent entry into the forest for collection. The disappearance of wild edibles from their diet automatically reduced the nutritional status of the food which cannot be compensated with the low quality food available from the market. The socio-economic survey of 1996-97 reported the prevalence of tuberculosis, sickle cell anemia, leprosy, and cancer among the Kattunaickan. The survey prima facie identified 38 tuberculosis patients and 4 leprosy patients among them. 52% of Kattunaickan settlements do not have health care facilities within 3 kms (Kakkoth 2005). But in the case of economically advanced tribal groups like Mullakuruman and Kurichiyan, the situation is different. They have their own land for cultivation and with the comparatively better economy they manage to handle health issues in a better way.

Among the Muthuvans of Idamalakkudi in Idukki district it is reported (Mathrubhoomi daily: September 2012) that the excessive use of Mala-D tablets (an oral contraceptive) has created severe health issues among the women including infertility. It was also reported that there is steady decrease in population due to increase in infant mortality when compared to previous years. In spite of all the active awareness programmes among the Muthuvan women, the practice is continuing without any change as it seems a simple option to avoid pregnancy. This kind of a health issue has salient cultural dimensions. During menstrual days the cultural norm is for women to stay away from the settlement for seven days in the seclusion hut located far from the settlement. The stay in the seclusion hut is

really difficult to these women because of the fear of wild animals. In order to avoid this customary practice they used to take Mala-D tablets for stopping the menstrual cycle. It is reported that the excessive use of Mala-D tablets cause serious side effects including infertility.

According to National Family Health Survey (NFHS-11) 93% of births were institutional deliveries in 1998-99 among non-tribal populations. But the case is different for tribal women. Fifty percentage of them are not attending the hospitals for deliveries. This is especially true in the case of PVTGs (Particularly Vulnerable Tribal Groups) where most of the settlements are located in reserve forest areas or interior villages where accessibility to hospital is difficult during emergencies. Rise in the number of deliveries has reduced both infant mortality rate and maternal mortality. Tribal women of Wayanad are an exception to this data as the infant mortality rate in Wayanad is 22 when compared to the State rate of 14 (Human Development Report 2005). The infant mortality and foetal wastage are also high among tribal women with a high proportion of reproductive morbidities.

Land alienation has adversely affected the health status of the tribal communities of Kerala, especially to those groups whose foraging and hunting livelihoods has been disrupted by land alieniation. Meat was an important item in their diet and the introduction of cash crops and oil grass reduced the cultivation of their traditional crop *ragi* which for high nutritional content. They are also deprived of getting edible items like roots, fruits, leaves and tubers from the forest. The curtailed foraging and hunting have adversely affected the nutritional status and health of the tribes. The rare herbal medicines that they prepare from the medicinal plants of the forest are also disappeared due to deforestation. Even today some of the tribes like Kattunaicken and Cholanaicken show an indifferent attitude towards allopathic medicines. At the same time they are not getting the traditional herbal medicines as in the past. This has resulted in the emergence of unidentified diseases, deterioration of nutritional health status and increased death rate.

VULNERABILITIES TO CONTINGENCIES

Migration of non-tribal to tribal areas and the expansion of new agricultural practices exposed the tribal to more complicated socio-cultural and economic relations. Tribal culture is enriched with festivals and rituals which often require a fair amount of money for the performances and the new generation of migrant money lenders helped them with cash through the mortgage of their land. Such transactions often resulted in tribal land alienation. The exposure to a cash-based economy really dragged them to a system where the facilities to acquire and keep the resources were in one way or other denied to them. Although the state of Kerala is considered to be one of the most egalitarian in India, large inequalities persist among different castes and social groups. The Scheduled Tribes suffer from social exclusion, are typically landless, and live in severely deprived conditions.

Introduction of cash crops was a turning point in the tribal economy and economic relations of the region. For favoring the cultivation of cash crops, again large acres of tribal lands were taken on meager prices and tribes were removed from this area on false promises. In this connection K.K.N Kurup (1991) observed that after suppression of the Pazhassi revolts, major part of the land holdings in Wayanad were confiscated by the East India Company as escheat property. The Company sold the land holdings and forest traces to the Europeans and several joint stock companies for effecting plantations. Even local land lords leased out their holdings in favour of capitalist planters. With all these capitalist developments new forest regulations were also introduced by the Government which prohibited the slash and burn cultivation. In brief, the tribal peasants were denied opportunity and their land holdings were lost in the influx of capitalist farming encouraged by the Government, and feudal landlords. The result was that the marginal peasantry among the tribes were converted to wage labourers and miserably exploited by the capitalist planters (Kurup 1991:82). In spite of land reforms and distribution, 30% of the tribal families of Wayanad are still landless.

The immigrants also introduced oil grass cultivation in Wayanad which has resulted in loss of forest wealth, dispossession of tribal land and ownership rights, including the destruction of ecological equilibrium. The land required for the oil grass cultivation was purchased largely from the tribal people on marginal prices and the tribes were recruited for watching the cultivations. Large acres of forest lands were cleared for oil grass cultivation which has affected the collection of minor forest products (MFP) and other edibles from the surrounding forest.

POWERLESSNESS

The Tribal people of Kerala like any other societies in India, with traditional life, culture and customary practices, have their own rules and regulations for the functioning of society. The traditional political system was strong until recently, but nowadays it is weakening. Regarding the ownership of lands and forest rights, unfortunately they constitute the neglected section before the judiciary. They started protest against encroachment and land loss but the agitations were diluted without any solution. The Kerala Scheduled Tribes (Restriction on Transfer of Lands and Restoration of Alienated Lands) Act 1975 was an optimistic step to reduce the land problems of Kerala tribes. This Act passed unanimously by the Kerala assembly promised to restore all the alienated lands of the tribes since Jan 26, 1960 after seizing it from encroachers. But the government had failed in implementing this ACT and brought out amended bills in 1996 and 1999 overcrowding all the tribal benefits promised in the 1975 Act. Actually this has favored the interests of encroachers who enjoyed support from ruling and opposition political parties.

Meanwhile the Adivasi-Dalit Action Council led by C.K Janu, a tribal woman from Wayanad district, started their confrontation in front of the Kerala government secretariat which was stopped when a seven point agreement was

finalized with the Governmentt. According to this agreement five acres of land would be given to Adivasi families 'wherever possible' with a minimum of one acre which could go up to five acres depending on the availability of land. Moreover, special emphasis is given to Wayanad that at least 10,000 acres would be found and distributed in Wayanad alone which has the highest concentration of landless tribes. In January 2003, under the patronage of Adivasi Gothra Mahasabha, hundreds of tribal people entered the Muthanga wild life sanctuary, and occupied it by erecting huts. On the 19th of February 2003 the police force entered the sanctuary area and fired at the people. People resisted and one policeman and one tribal person lost their lives. This unrest and related events created tension throughout the tribal areas of Kerala. In fact these state of affairs require a thorough understanding of the tribal situation in Kerala not only from an academic point of view but from a commonsensical perspective also. Tribal people, the original inhabitants of the area now became almost alienated socially, culturally and psychologically from their native place with a real feeling of unrest and depression.

This feeling is exacerbated with the Kerala tribal peoples being very poor and approximately 70% of them have no permanent or stable source of living. Some of the tribal groups such as Kattunaicken, Paniyan, Koraga, Kurumbar and Cholanaicken show low level of development when compared to others. The prohibition of shifting cultivation, commercial exploitation of forest resources by non tribal people and the Land reforms Acts have brought about radical changes in their economic life. Weakening of traditional social system due to changes in economic structure of the area also effect the rigid social control mechanism among the tribal people. Girls from the landless families when approached the non-tribal land owners for employment were sexually exploited and their voices are not considered by any authority.

Every year the government is spending money towards tribal development activities but the degree of development never tallies with the inputs. The new Forest Policies and Regulations infact denied access to the natural resources even to the PVTGs. As emphasized by the editors in the introduction to this volume, the logic of capital with its economic and institutional justification is instrumental in fostering social exclusion.

CONCLUSION

There has been a continuity of social exclusion among the Scheduled Tribes of Kerala that is rooted in capital interests during the colonial and post-colonial periods. In the case of Particularly Vulnerable Tribal Groups, the dependence on forest ecosystem started diminishing with the introduction of forest rules and regulations. They are banned from taking forest resources which was their primary source of subsistence. This has significantly affected the survival strategies of tribal groups who are totally depending upon the forest ecosystem. They started migrating to nearby states (mostly to Karnataka) in search of labour opportunities. Among the groups like Adiyan and Paniyan, women also accompany men leaving their

children with other family members. Migration of men to distant places in search of labour has created shortage of male participants in traditional rituals and ceremonies. Most of the rituals and ceremonies are becoming vestigial as the new generation is totally unaware of it. Enactment of forest legislation and rules completely removed the territorial concept among the tribal food gatherers. Tribal families residing in rehabilitated colonies near to village boundaries and town ships have more material possessions than who are in the reserve forests. Their sense of property has also increased due to the contact with wider market economy.

In Wayanad since 1990s, the livelihood options of the tribal communities have been steadily diverging. The process of economic globalization, internal agreements on trade and biodiversity, national environmental and forest policies have impinged in complex ways on the use and sustainability of natural resources. This together with the displacement and rehabilitation of tribal settlements as part of hydro electric projects and area development, and conflicts on local resource use poses much difficult challenges to people's livelihood strategies especially to the Particularly Vulnerable Tribal Groups.

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ICT MEDIATED DEVELOPMENT FOR WHOM?
A REFLEXIVE ETHNOGRAPHY OF ICT

AARTI KAWLRA[1]

"Can we do 'ethnographies of the particular' ... that merge the 'how and why'
of what we write with the 'for whom' of our endeavors?"
(Escobar, 1993:381)

The transformation of an information and communication technology for development (ICT4D) project into a 'rural-inclusive' company at an academia-led business incubator in south India is explored in this reflexive ethnography. As a consultant to the team implementing the project since its inception in 2005, I was an active participant in the processes of enterprise-building from within the space of the incubator over a five year period. Employing a self-critical ethnographic lens in this paper, I chart the evolution of the ICT4D project into a for-profit start-up to foreground the model's i) expert mediation and articulation of "needs" of the disadvantaged on behalf of the state and ii) its middle-class bias in promoting the Internet as a national tool for poverty alleviation and iii) its rhetoric of social inclusion and "agency" at the margins, towards a critical understanding of social exclusion under contemporary neo-liberalizing structures in India.

Key words: technology and social inclusion, Information and Communication Technologies for Development (ICT4D), academic (technology and business) incubation, reflexive ethnography.

INTRODUCTION

The turn of the twenty first century has witnessed rapid changes in the form and trajectory of inclusion of the disadvantaged in India. Guided by the international discourse on Information and Communication Technologies for development (ICT4D) the state's neoliberal agenda for wealth creation in an open economy are now being synchronized with its plans for technology development and social inclusion. Underlying the ICT4D discourse is a conception of poverty in which the provision of technological relief (and associated skills), and not only the lack or deficiency of means, is considered to be empowering and seen to decrease

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levels of social exclusion. According to this developmentalist ideology, the poor are agents of change and the Internet is the driving force for capabilities building at the margins. As a former member of a team implementing an ICT4D project within a state-sponsored technology and business incubator at a premier academic institute in south India, in this paper I critically reflect on my participation, through an ethnographic analysis of the processes of project implementation against the backdrop of the international ICT4D discourse, for a more nuanced understanding of social exclusion under contemporary neo-liberalizing structures in India.

The "reflexive turn" in ethnographic research since the 1970s has meant that anthropologists have become aware of the coproduction of knowledge and move from "participant observation" toward the "observation of participation" (Tedlock 1991). It entails a shift in focus from the Self or the Other to the diverse interests involved, including those of the multi-positioned anthropologist-actor. This paper is an attempt towards a critical ethnography of the concept of social exclusion in the context of liberalization policies of the Indian state which, as has been noted by the editors in the introduction is still lacking in relation to South Asia. My aim is not to provide a case study in social entrepreneurship or Internet mediated development or a project overview or evaluation. Instead, this paper is a modest contribution to what Mosse (2005) has called the "new ethnography of development" which seeks to shed light, not on whether but, on *how* international development goals and policies work on the ground and how "'success' is produced". My somewhat ambiguous but privileged positioning as project consultant and later as member of the company's board of directors not only provided me the role of interpreting the authorised script of "rural inclusion" on behalf of the "beneficiaries" but also conferred upon me the task of ensuring that the desired outcomes of the project were somehow accomplished.

How is a globally defined technology mediated model of development "deployed", "implemented" or "made to work" on the ground? Who are seen to be the stakeholders and how are their roles as "beneficiaries" of development conceived? What is the politics of development policy and practice in this technology-led model of "empowerment"? The ethnographic dialogue that ensues engages with these questions in the light of the prevailing master narrative that places digital technology and the market as India's fresh drivers of inclusive development and change.

This paper examines the terms and processes by which the poor and disadvantaged are marginalized within the discourse and practice of ICT4D and where the definition of "marginality is not exclusion (or even imperfect inclusion!) but the terms and conditions of incorporation" (Du Toit, 2004: 1003).

According to this new form of developmentalism, the ability to access and adapt to technologies like the Internet is seen to be critical for the poor and other marginalised groups "to fully participate in society and control their own destinies …" (Warschauer, 2003:8). Drawing upon the idea of poverty as "capabilities deprivation" and development as the "freedom to live nonimpoverished lives" (Sen, 2000:4),

ICT4D views the inability to participate in the life of the community, including the market (both credit and labor), as a form of social exclusion which must be addressed through policy and social action. Social exclusion from this perspective is relational and can lead to a cascade of deprivations – "For example, being excluded from the opportunity to be employed or to receive credit may lead to economic impoverishment that may, in turn, lead to other deprivations (such as undernourishment or homelessness)" (Sen, 2000:5). Poverty alleviation from this standpoint involves an examination of the processes by which capabilities may be built and individual life-chances for adecent life enhanced. ICT4D is thus posited as an "inclusive, enabling and focused" model for addressing developmental "needs" as outlined in the globally defined Millennium Development Goals" (Heeks, 2009:3) and implemented on the ground through multi-stakeholder partnerships or public-private partnerships (PPP) using a participatory, need-based and localized approach for recipients of ICT's in the developing world (Kenniston and Kumar, 2003).

In the next section I provide a brief review of the global ICT4D discourse on the diffusion of the Internet in the developing world to draw attention to the manner in which the ICT4D discourse re-visions the needs of the disadvantaged and proposes expert mediation for technology-enabled social inclusion.

ICT4D DISCOURSE: RE-FRAMING THE DISADVANATAGED AND EXPERT MEDIATION

The early phase of ICT4D sought to expand the notion of the "digital divide" or exclusion on the basis of access to the Internet with other related divides, namely those i) Within nations, this is the divide between the rich and the poor, the rural and the urban; ii) The linguistic and cultural divide between the English speaking, "Anglo-Saxon culture" and the rest of the world; iii) The differential access to information technology between rich and poor nations; iv) The rise of "digerati", an affluent and technically highly skilled group of elite within nations (Kenniston & Kumar, 2003). Based on an oversimplified causal relationship between the physical access to the Internet and social development, this formulation of the digital divide in policy discourse, however, was later reformulated. Critics questioned the technologically deterministic nature of early ICT4D policies and demanded a reappraisal of concerns pertaining to global, social and democratic inequalities inherent in the use of Internet as the new medium of development (Castells, 2000; James, 2004; Norris, 2001; VanDijk, 2005; Wade, 2002; Warschauer, 2003; Wilson, 2002). Overcoming the "democratic divide" across nations and within nations through the use of "the panoply of digital resources to engage, mobilize and participate in public life" (Norris, 2001) now became the new road map to be adopted.

Policy level discussions on ICT4D in the subsequent phase consequently took cognizance of the fact that technology mediated development would necessitate more than just innovative and affordable technologies. Adaptations to the same, it was suggested, needed to be facilitated through the creation of new techno-social and organizational arrangements in diverse contexts of use of the Internet. Such a "socially embedded" perspective called for greater focus on enhancing "participation" in processes of development through nurturing individual actors from disadvantaged groups within their local contexts, and by building their technical, economic and political capacities.

An influential approach to the creation of "enabling" environments for the marginalized within ICT4D is the "development-through-entrepreneurship" model in the service of both poverty reduction and economic growth (Kuriyan, Ray & Toyama, 2008; UNDP, 2004). The basis of this model is the understanding that the poor must be freed from donors and subsidies such that the alleviation of poverty becomes a business development task to be shared by the private sector (Prahlad, 2006). Many global corporations were urged to reach out to these emerging markets by "seeding entrepreneurial efforts in BoP – ('Bottom of Pyramid') markets" (ibid: 9-10) – and many like Microsoft and Intel did take up the task. The discourse on ICT4D therefore encouraged the contribution of business in aiding the processes of development through a "combination of private firms' search for profit plus the poor's search for value" (Heeks, 2009:13). But whereas in the earlier phase of ICT4D the poor were characterised primarily as "passive consumers", in the current phase of Internet mediated development, the poor are reframed as "active producers and active innovators" (Heeks, 2009:29).

Evaluations of early ICT4D projects had prescribed that strengthening the private sector involvement in ICT4D would require expert intermediaries and formal arrangements and innovation spaces such as incubators that would function to help forge linkages between international donors, academia involved in technology research, national and local-level governmental and nongovernmental organizations, micro-entrepreneurs and local communities, etc. (Scaramuzzi, 2002). The discourse therefore emphasized that incubators would serve to circumvent risks of failure of business-led development projects, and act as mediating spaces for programmatic global funding for the same. They were therefore conceived as joint commitments of Third world national governments and international agencies to be housed in academic institutions for linking technological research with business applications in an environment relatively free from institutional and regulatory barriers.

The foundational premise of a technology incubator is the valorisation of the techno-entrepreneur for whom the incubator is offered as a repository of experience, network of relations and a nurturing environment within which to explore his/her own innovation potential. Incubation processes at the incubator are seen to be conducive to "open innovation" and within which the creation of a business enterprise represents an academic experiment or pilot whose processes are

unique and experiential, enabling multiple iterations (both failure and success) for enhanced sensitivity to local (developmental) needs and contexts.

In the rest of the paper I take up for examination one such academia-led, technology and business incubator in South India, funded jointly by national and international agencies to fulfil the globally defined millennium development goal of Internet enabled development and social inclusion. I interrogate the incubation process through an ethnography of the transformation of an ICT4D project engaged in organising informal women workers in rural Tamil Nadu, into a "rural-inclusive" production company (henceforth RPC) producing handmade natural fibre products for national and international clients.

Having been a founding member of the team implementing the project, in this paper I employ a reflexive narrative to describe goals, milestones, obstacles and decisions that were taken within the incubator, in order to deconstruct the processes that naturalize developmental interventions as legitimate social processes, via the rhetoric of social inclusion. By taking the incubation process and organizational space of the technology and business incubator as the "field" of anthropological research "whose deceptive transparency, obscures the complex processes that go into constructing it" (Gupta and Ferguson, 1997:5), I hope to self-consciously observe my own participation within the same in order to discuss the wider politics of ICT-led development policy and practice and my own (as well as others') complicity to it. Examining the interplay between the goals of the incubator and those of the emergent rural production company, while focusing on the contingencies (as also the compromises and contradictions) of engagement within the neo-liberal market milieu, it is hoped will open up the black box of the techno-managerial intervention at the very locus of its production.

AN ICT4D PROJECT: LOCAL INTERNET KIOSK OPERATOR AS "CHANGE AGENT"

Funded jointly by a global funding agency and the government of India, the mission of the incubator in question was to serve India's rural population, characterised by significantly lower levels of education and employment, through the creation of innovative business models and ICT applications relevant to capabilities building. Internet enabled centres in rural areas across Tamil Nadu formed the access nodes to the incubator's rural outreach and were already part of its wider incubation network. Managed by kiosk operators, these telecentres or communication hubs were envisioned to function as local-level partners, mobilizing women's self-help groups and other rural producers in their vicinity while coordinating production for the incubator's project.

Rural production company in its original ICT4D project mode commenced by identifying and selecting kiosk operators in the network of villages with both Internet connectivity and banana plantations for producing banana bark rope. Given the fact that banana bark rope making is not a specialized skill and is not

unknown to agricultural workers in the districts chosen, the main endeavour was to enlist operators who would be willing to expand their work description to include the organization of banana rope production. Raw material or bark collection and storage, training on banana bark splicing, rope twisting, rope grading, quality checking, packaging, delivery, invoicing and receipts were some of the main tasks involved, which were envisioned by the project staff to be facilitated by a combination of technology mediated, and face to face interactions.

Within a few months, five kiosk operators from three districts had been enlisted as local entrepreneurs ready to take on production which was to be carried out in households and streets of the producers' own villages. We, the project team at the incubator arranged for the kiosk operators to be exposed to the different banana rope products at a prominent client's facility in Bangalore and subsequent training in their respective villages resulted in each Internet kiosk operator becoming a project centre specializing in products based upon the quality of the rope they produced and the expertise available in and around the region. Thus, for instance, while some rope qualities were good for making table and floor mats, others were fine enough to crochet into fashion accessories, while a third could be used as weft in weaving table runners by coarse count handloom weavers in the vicinity. In this way, each kiosk operator was envisioned to expand his/her production capacity and product portfolio by training new producer groups while at the same time handling production orders for us and also continue with making their Internet kiosk a sustainable local enterprise.

Reviews of projects at the incubator were based on two key milestones – successful completion of client orders and sustained revenue at the local Internet kiosk. This, according to its "incubation pathway", would take the project to its next level – to that of being a pilot – or a "venture in the making" where the various technical, business and production processes are fine-tuned for different geographies and eventual scaling. The difficulty, however, was that while our project's implementation plans appeared sound in theory, the said targets were far from achieved. The problems faced were related to the fact that the various local partners – the kiosk operators – were primarily "information entrepreneurs" providing ICT based services and only secondarily organizers of production. Moreover, the exigencies of production required that the project move to locations where raw material or skills were available which, unfortunately, did not necessarily coincide with kiosk locations.

Rethinking the approach of the ICT based kiosk facilitated model for craft production was clearly required given the conflict of interests involved in sustaining the Internet kiosk and managing a complex banana rope production enterprise through women producers in the vicinity. Some of the questions that came up during brainstorming sessions at the incubator were: Are we conforming to a top down model of local partnerships and production network expansion? Our mandate for being "rural–inclusive" was premised upon employment-led production. So why was the project demanding investment in product diversification and new

markets? Stepping out of the project mode of development intervention onto that of a for-profit business was a natural way forward to ensure that the project becomes viable and an incubatee was identified to become the chief executive officer of the company while some of us founder members of the project team were incorporated as members of the board of the emergent rural production company. The exigencies of raw material and labour supply demanded that over a period of time most of the small kiosk operators with little or no finance capital or land of their own were dropped and only the local entrepreneur who had access to sufficient amounts of banana bark from his own plantations and a large number of casual women workers continued to function as a local-level partner.

A VENTURE IN THE MAKING: BRANDING FOR "RURAL" INCLUSION

Financial self-sufficiency was a very important criterion for moving onto the next phase of incubation – that of an early stage start-up. A round of private and public funding was initiated by the incubator to move the company closer to graduation from its fold. In the same year the company's production units grew from two districts to include seven other districts in Tamil Nadu. And within a couple of years it was engaged in large-scale production of handmade potpourri bags for a prestigious transnational corporation and was slowly dedicating staff and resources to build infrastructure and conduct training workshops in rural areas to cater to the growing demand. It became imperative therefore, that communication design inputs be provided for all the company's client presentations, promotional literature and website. This we believed, would evoke positive imagery of a professional enterprise engaged in rural production and employment generation while at the same time build a natural fibre focused brand identity.

After numerous brainstorming sessions, two important revelations were made with obvious implications for company's future development and strategy as a for-profit company. The first was the question of its name and the second was to do with its product range – both had to be altered to suit the changing market positioning of the company. Originally the term "outsourcing" had been central to the name of the company. Now the "o" of outsourcing became the "o" of opportunities in the company's name which now sought to highlight the active involvement of small rural producers with artisanal skills implying "employment opportunities" within a rural inclusive business paradigm. The repositioning of the company's products as an ethical production company meant a restatement of its mission statement which now incorporated economy, equity and environment as the organization's triple bottom line. The company was now conceived as a sustainable and competitive business leveraging existing rural opportunities and strengths, which was aptly reflected in the company's by-line "Rural skills meeting global demand".

The priority areas for the company were now oriented toward viewing local resources as opportunities for mutual growth: using the volume and continuity of key account orders to negotiate better rates with local suppliers by building long term relations with them; directly working with the rural producers instead of mediating entrepreneurs and creating a productivity based incentive system to remunerate workers along the lines of factory production.

The continuous evaluation and reformulation of its business model in conceptual and operational terms within a larger incubation eco-system had by now provided the company with a market positioning for itself. Not only was it self-consciously characterised as an innovative model, but was also overtly perceived as one sensitive to the wider human developmental goals of its incubator, now reconstituted as its own. In the next section we see how, the imperative of enhancing efficiencies in production and supply chain management gradually meant greater and greater control over production processes in the company's rural production centres.

CHALLENGES WITH LOCAL PARTNERSHIPS

Over a period of two years, the company's distributed production model had evolved from a model of total outsourcing of production – where the company coordinated with multiple local entrepreneurs in different locations for production orders – to partial outsourcing using local partners primarily for mobilizing and contracting rural producers, while handling production and marketing themselves. This model, however, was also soon to change in the face of developments that took place vis a vis a local partner compelling the company to completely discontinue the modality of outsourcing from its operations portfolio thereby keeping its partnerships with local entrepreneurs and nongovernmental organizations to a minimum.

A conflict situation arose between the company and its local partner in one of its production centres handling nearly 300 women producers. The issue involved a small local non-governmental organization who had been engaged by the company for contract production on a revenue sharing basis. The problem arose when the organization's role had recently been changed to that of an agent for labour recruitment and human resource compliance at a fixed monthly remuneration. Loss of a significant role and partnership, as an organiser of production and goods supplier, had prompted the aforesaid to harbour resentment against this decision taken by the company.

The differences between the company and the local agent reached a pinnacle point when false allegations were made by them and an official complaint registered against the company as to who in fact had greater commitment from and rights over, the different producers under each of the production units. A confrontation before the local police inspector decided the case in favour of neither and producers were asked to choose between the two organisers of production – the

local agent or the rural production company. In due course of settlement of the dispute, the complaint was withdrawn, a legal agreement drawn and the company opened the doors of its rural production units once again to find a return of all but twenty five of the full strength of its producers.

As a risk mitigation strategy, the company's management set about adding another production unit to handle production overflows from the centre in question in order to significantly reduce dependency on this particular site. It was therefore decided that both the main aggregation hub as well as the dispersed production spokes would be managed by the company and not within a partnership model of a franchise or a nongovernmental organization.

In the meantime the need for scaling production to cater to new clients and products, necessitated training more producers and setting up production units in new locations under increasingly stringent conditions of production compliance to global standards. A local design studio was set up both for product development and training the trainers with consultant designers and interns drawn from national level design schools. New orders and clients began to come in and the company had to seriously think about positioning itself as a "compliant manufacturing facility" in rural India for its next round of funding.

THE PROMISE OF GLOBAL CAPITAL AND CONSUMERS

The Incubator had within its network a number of venture capitalists who had already funded some of its associated companies. The next round of funding for the company came through this eco-system and facilitated the company's transformation toward greater visibility among international buying agents as a significant supplier of natural fiber based products made in India. The company had already gained the Craft Mark that enabled it to be seen as a globally certified, ethical producer of handmade products.

Its portfolio included a good diversity and quality of crafts skills and products as the company had by now understood the requirements of the global market for handcrafted products and was looking for a place among other, well established, producers of handmade fiber products from Asia like China and countries of the south east. However, in the neo-liberal market scenario, the company was being compared with other sub-contracting Indian firms that had lost credibility among international buyers, on account of non-compliance, in the past decades.

Accordingly, the company's management decided to go in for a new brand image that would mask their overtly social and ethical intentions of income generation among rural communities and instead place greater emphasis on their product range for the global consumer. This was reflected in the change of logo, and all references to rural through the discontinuation of the tagline "Rural Skills Meeting Global Demands" in all its communication. The company is now repositioned to suit the tastes and requirements of its global buyers more directly

and has consciously worked on its image online through a new website, e-mailers and business networking platforms like Facebook.

The rural production company had come a long way in building its production network in rural Tamil Nadu through series of multi-stake holder partnerships facilitated by the ICT4D incubator. From working directly with Internet kiosk operators, the company moved to working with the producer-suppliers and artisans in their neighbourhood and in the business relations developed initially by them. It also developed links with small and big nongovernmental and semi-governmental bodies in different districts and variously partnered with them in rural Tamil Nadu. The company also had plans of expanding its production base outside of Tamil Nadu to the neighboring state of Kerala with the help of key public-private partnerships between the company and strategic local, national and global partners. The model was consciously envisioned as one of entrepreneurship for poverty alleviation. The aim was to promote women entrepreneurs through a "Skill Development Initiative" across five districts of Kerala, to produce a variety of eco-friendly natural fiber products managed by the company.

The company's links with academic Incubator are on-going. Apart from the official financial agreements between the two, the incubator continues to watch over its growth towards the next phase of development as a member of its board, fund raiser and technology mentor. Its unique location at a university allows it to be at the cutting edge of academic research and technological innovation and continues to enable access to both research and development funding, expertise and industry linkages world-wide for its incubates.

In retrospect I have focused on describing the evolution of an ICT4D project at a university-based incubator in this paper to demonstrate how the diffusion of the Internet in the global South is interlinked with capitalist growth, exhorting the logic of social inclusion while pursuing narrow economic milestones. The model centres on the persona of the socially responsible technology entrepreneur actively supported by a host of public/private institutions and academic mentors. Its middle class bias is unmistakeable given that enrolment in the incubator is restricted to those with a higher education and even though "bottom of the pyramid" entrepreneurs were recruited as local partners, those without capital and advanced managerial skills did not survive. Moreover, focusing on sustainability of the company, via the relentless efforts of its incubatees, as a strategy for poverty reduction and social inclusion, remains at best an investment in what Porter and Craig (2004) have called "middle class welfare" given the socio-economic profile of the techno-entrepreneurs recruited as incubatees. Even my own engagement with ICT4D at the incubator, in the capacity of a project consultant was guided by a missionary enthusiasm for "rural-inclusion", which held for me the meaningful promise (and justification) of "making a difference" in my career as an anthropologist.

It is only through a reflection and deconstruction of the "why" and "how" of the global ICT4D discourse that I have been able to ask the question of ICT4D "for whom"? The description of RPC as a "venture in the making" within the incubator in this paper is a means therefore to lay bare the wider, more seductive, narrative of engagement with the poor and marginalized through ICT's, together with its underlying deference to serendipitous, yet paradoxically patented, technology and business applications for new markets. The imagination of the "rural" as an "inclusive" space for technology led development legitimizes the expansion of markets and equally its fluctuations and control by increasingly globalized economic concerns. The state's neo-liberal agenda not only devolves welfare to the corporatist drive and university patron but also gives them official sanction to be the new mediators of structural change and class confrontation via spaces such as academic incubators. As a result, development, which was "the political space par excellence" in the post-World War II era, is now "de-politicized through the idea of entrepreneurship which thrives on the logic of persons who, qua being part of a community, carry the burdensome task of transforming societies using economic and managerial means… using particular 'truths' to mobilize subjects and institutions…" (Dey & Steyaert 2010:99).

The incubator offers its techno-entrepreneurs a trans-urban positionality and expanding network of public private partnerships, as a means for gaining entry into the informal labour market in rural Tamil Nadu. But mobilising rural labour force and integrating them within global capital markets through entrepreneurship, as we have seen in the case of the rural production company, is influenced by the local labour market and can contribute to its active reproduction in the process of outsourcing and labour arbitrage (De Neve, 2005; Mies, 1981). The company's dealings with local level partners for labour supply amply demonstrated the complexity of the situation on the ground and could not easily be reconciled without succumbing to existing hierarchies of production or setting up new ones.

Given the socio-economic disparities prevalent in the Third World and in particular the increasing devolution of state powers to local governments, public-private partnerships for rural centric businesses run the risk of becoming "Trojan Horses" of development in which "Private sector firms approach local governments and their impoverished communities with the message of power sharing, but once the process is in motion the interests of the community are often overwhelmed by those of the most powerful member of the partnership —the private sector firms" (Miraftab 2004: 89) as has been illustrated in the case of RPC that had to continually alter its goals and branding to suit its own growth as a for-profit company often to the disregard of local partners and producers. The inherent conflict of interests within this model of development through ICT's shifts the focus from a more welfare-driven, state-led approach in favour of a neo-liberal ethic in which the agency of development is attributed not the state or its functionaries but to the poor themselves, whose "needs" are articulated by experts

and their engagement with the market mediated by a technology and business incubator as this ethnographic narrative has demonstrated.

It is only through an examination of the manner in which development policy is "made to work" on the ground, that the power relations, embedded within its formulation and guiding its practices, become visible to us. In the project processes presented here, the question of ICT4D *for whom* was marginalized in favour of the sustainability of the company just as collaborations at the local level became mere probes for testing the techno-economic viability of an emerging market. The paper raises fundamental questions for technology-led development within an increasingly globalized politico-economic order where growth and aid in the South are couched in a moral rhetoric of inclusion representing neoliberal values. The proclamation of "bridging the digital divide" within the ICT4D discourse is designed not only to benefit large players like information capitalists, third world governments and development professionals Luyt (2004) but also indicative of what Foster and McChesney (2011) have called an "unholy marriage" of Internet and capitalism dominated by the US with the power to further direct its trajectory globally.

The different stakeholders (global, national and local) in the ICT4D project presented here comprised unequal actors collaborating on terms that were clearly biased in favour of the techno-entrepreneur and the economic milestones set by the incubator. The ethnographic dialogue focused upon the role of experts in promoting the Internet as a national tool for poverty alleviation using the rhetoric of inclusive development and market-led change. At different stages in the analysis, the various contradictions and compromises in the project implementation process were highlighted in order to bring to centre stage aspects of neoliberal governmentality that not only reframe social exclusion but also demonstrate how it can be overcome while developing a country's techno-managerial capabilities within the global free market.

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SOCIAL EXCLUSION, GOVERNANCE BREAKDOWN AND MINORITY REPRESSION IN NORTHEAST INDIA

NAVA KISHOR DAS[1]

The basis of 'social exclusion' in Northeast India is examined from a wide angle in colonial-postcolonial perspectives considering sufferings of indigenous tribes as reflected in oppressive land laws, faulty measures of self-governance and politics of development. Continued economic stagnation and persistent poverty, right from the colonial era, large-scale unemployment, and a continuous and massive inflow of land-hungry émigré from neighbouring countries have led to emergence of ethno-nationalistic aspirations and anarchist binaries such as 'in-group-out-group', triggering numerous tribal movements in Northeast India which has further entrenched social exclusion by the state of the Tribal peoples in general. For a non-hegemonic anthropology to be realised, a nuanced understanding of the historical context of tribal peoples in Northeast India is required so as to avoid repeating the exclusionary pattern of divide and rule as during the colonial and post-colonial eras.

Key words: land, tribal movements, anarchists, ethnicity, indigeneity, governance.

INTRODUCTION

In this article the basis of 'social exclusion' in Northeast India is examined with a wide angle lens on the colonial-postcolonial sufferings of indigenous tribes, in terms of land alienation, oppressive land laws, faulty implementation of self-governance mechanisms and the politics of "development", which as our case studies reveal, often favoured the majority communities. If, as the editors of this volume suggest, we need to move forward into a non-hegemonic sprit of engagement, then we need to be cognisant of the past patterns of social exclusion, and especially the mechanisms behind them as divide and rule tactics have long been a colonial technique in Indian history from the British (Husain 2006; Joshi 2007), to the emergent Indian elites who took power from the British, into the current period of 'discrimination' as revealed in faulty policies of governance (Das 2009).

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FRONTIER NORTHEAST INDIA: HISTORICAL CONTEXT

Identified as the Eastern Himalaya, the frontier Northeast India is surrounded by Burma/ Myanmar, Bangladesh, Bhutan, Tibetan Region (People's Republic of China) and Nepal. This region comprises provincial-states such as Arunachal Pradesh, Meghalaya, Mizoram, Nagaland, Tripura, Manipur, Sikkim and Assam. Five major parameters of identity consolidation in the postcolonial Northeast are Tribe, Caste (Hindu), Language, Territory and Religion as observed by scholar like A.C. Bhagabati. Over seventy per cent of northeast is hilly terrain, where numerous indigenous tribes speaking different languages live. The Hills and Plains of Northeast India have been occupied by different streams of Mongoloid people who came from the Southeast Asia and elsewhere at different periods, long before the onset of colonial rule. It is generally agreed that the Mongoloids, speaking diverse languages and divided into numerous 'tribes' had settled in different ecological settings of entire region. Tribal state formation took place and tribal chieftaincies also grew among the tribes of hills and plains (Das 1987). Even the early rulers of Assam plains were Indo-Mongoloids of various dynasties ruling from fifth to mid-eleventh century. The highlands were surrounded by inner-line regulation which prohibited the plains people (Hindu Assamese and Bengalis) from entering the hills. These frontier highlands, barring North Eastern Frontier Agency, were however accessible to missionaries who encouraged proselytising.

The Northeast highlands are geographically and culturally positioned within Zomia terminology (Scott 2009). This Zomia metaphor refers to the highland massif stretching from North-East India, through Bangladesh, Burma, Laos, Cambodia, and Thailand to the central highlands of Vietnam. Representing strong ethnic, cultural and ecological parallels these highlands, as per Zomia theory, constitute a "region of refuge" which is inhabited by 'tribes', which have chosen 'statelessness' deliberately. In this highland massif political decentralization, swidden cultivation, economic self-sufficiency, religious heterodoxy, segmentary kinship organization and fuzzy ethnic boundaries are seen as defensive responses to evade oppression by valley kingdoms. Under the Zomia model such adaptations are interpreted as reactions to state formation in the valleys. Obviously, James Scott (2009) is inclined to upset many recognized scholastic constructs defining highland tribes through his oversimplification, whereby 'statelessness' and 'swidden agriculture' emerge as basic traits of highland tribes. Having immigrated and settled in Northeast region, in indefinite past, numerous Mongoloid groups employed diverse social formations such as 'tribe', 'chiefdom' and 'state' (Das 1993). Indeed, unlike the theoretical premise of Zomia, the pre-colonial Northeast had seen growth of dominant kingdoms, so much so that several centuries before British colonization, the region witnessed state formation led by immigrant Tais from Southeast Asia. Encountering the British colonialists, some tribal states and some evolved chieftains surrendered to the British or accepted their protection; but some kingdoms resisted their accession. Some chieftaincies were allowed to

function, as in the past, following native administrative mechanisms and through village-clan elders. There were indeed large number of self-governing 'tribes', in the hills and foothills, who truly symbolized 'statelessness', and they were allowed to retain their self-governing tribal institutions, such as democratic village elder's councils, uninterrupted (Das 1987, 1993). Manipur is a distinctive example of Meitei kingdom emerging in the valley surrounded by hills tribespeople, with stateless village polities (Naga village republics) as also chieftainship.

COLONIAL EXCLUSIONARY POLICY AND REPRESSIVE LAND LAWS

A continuity of colonial policies adopted from time to time for hills and plains led to an enduring segregation between people of the hills and the plains that also contributed to their social exclusion. Social and cultural differences and linguistic dissimilarity between hills and plains shaped and sharpened the early phase of ethnicity among the highlanders, mainly among the Naga and Mizo tribes (Singh 1982). These two tribes vehemently opposed their incorporation within the new nation-state when India became independent. Land encroachment, dislodgement and displacement are major concerns faced by tribes of northeast, particularly those in vast valley areas. Most often it is the tribespeople who came to be victimised as they did not have the official land records. While the British colonial rulers initially introduced certain laws to grab waste lands in Assam, it was Assam administration which introduced certain land laws which triggered tribal land alienation and dislodged the natives from their only source of livelihood. A brief historical review may not be out of place here. British annexed Assam in 1826. Imposition of the Assam Land Act 1834 and the Assam Land Rules 1838 increasingly led to official land acquisition. The Assam Waste Land Settlement Rules 1838 lowered the price of land, which facilitated the British plantation owners to procure more and more lands mostly from the native tribespeople to develop tea gardens. The British tea planters also procured lands to settle the Adivasi tea labourers imported from central India. Land laws of the colonial era had changed the land utilisation pattern to a great extent. Many natives became landless and were forced to work as sharecroppers. The colonial regime required monopoly over land for coal mines, coffee and tea plantations, roads, railways and other schemes. New land laws were enacted to facilitate the process of land transfer to the profit of British plantation and mine owners. The effort to turn the livelihood of the local communities into a commodity began with the Permanent Settlement 1793. It continued in the Assam Land Rules 1838 (Upadhyay and Raman 1998). It was the Eastern Frontier Regulation, 1873 facilitated drawing of exclusionary Inner-Line (between hills and plains) and thereby prohibiting plains people to cross that line. Christian missionaries were allowed to in the hills and initiate religious and educational activities. The Regulation of 1873 facilitated the launch of a missionary agenda of "civilizing the savages", creating an impregnable Christian

fortress (Jafa, 1999). The Government of India Act, 1935 declared hill areas as 'excluded' and 'partially excluded' areas where the provincial legislature of Assam would have no power, even though highlands were made districts of Assam. A nominal house tax was imposed in the hills and out of traditional village elders some were declared as official *gaon-buras* (as also dobhashis for interpretation of customs). Village administration and economic practices were not disturbed. Tribes located in the "un-administered" areas were independent and self-governing.

The partition of Bengal in 1905 led to increased flow of Bengali speaking populations, particularly the Muslim peasantry from East Bengal to sparsely populated fertile lands of Brahmaputra and Surma valleys. During 1939-1941, Assam's Saadullah Government allotted one Lakh *bighas* of land in those valleys for the settlement of East Bengal immigrants, ignoring the protests of the natives on the plea that the Muslim exodus from Bengal to Assam was necessary for the success of "Grow more food" scheme in the state (Bhuyan 1949:262). In Assam the Ahom, Bodo-Kachari, Koch and others lost their land as a result of British policy. Indeed, when the Simon Commission visited several tribes raised questions of self-identity and their indigeneity. Commission failed to satisfy tribes. Regrettably, exclusionary policies persisted in the post-Independence period in the name of 'protecting' the tribes against exploitation by 'outsiders' (Sahni, 2002; Das 2007, 2009). Anxiety arose mainly because the Indian (Provincial Constitutional) Order, 1947, retained the essentials of the colonial Act, 1935, including Inner Line Regulation, which exist even today in the Hills Provinces (Arunachal Pradesh, Mizoram and Nagaland). Certain encouragement and support were received by highlanders from colonial masters, which had led to establishment of tribal associations like Naga Club (Das 1982, 2011). English education and dissemination of Christianity resulted in achieving solidarity at inter-tribal level and such in-group consciousness increasingly led to animosity towards the plains people.

FACULTY GOVERNANCE STRATEGY AND MINORITY MISERY IN POST COLONIAL ERA

Following the Independence of India, the postcolonial government reviewed the erstwhile policies and substituted a policy of purported "development" and "integration". A committee (Bardaloi Committee) recommended the sixth schedule model for providing the self-governing Autonomous District Councils for tribespeople. Hence, through the Indian Constitution Act (January 26, 1950) most of the tribal areas were brought under Sixth Schedule (Fifth Schedule was recommended for rest of India). Autonomous District Councils are specifically empowered to make laws pertaining to land, forest, water sources, shifting cultivation, village administration, and selection of headmen and succession of chiefs, inheritance of property, marriage and divorce etcetera. It is observed, however, that in most tribal areas this federal institution has not been allowed to function impartially and

as per democratic norms. Most often the 'majority' tribes subjugate smaller tribes, by occupying the administrative positions. The Sixth Schedule ensured preservation of tribal rights, except in Arunachal Pradesh, where another protective measure through Panchayati system came in force. In Nagaland a three tier system of local and range councils besides village councils was adopted in order to protect land and forest rights as per customary laws of individual Naga tribes. Nagaland and Mizoram States were granted Articles 371A and G respectively of the Constitution. The Manipur Hill Authorities' Act 1956 set up the village authority for the administration of the hill areas but stripped the chief and the village council of the power to function as the village court (Shimray 2006: 13). In order to explore the trends of faulty governance strategies and resultant minority miseries in postcolonial era in northeast India the following case studies are reported in brief.

PREDICAMENTS OF MINORITY BODO TRIBE AND ADMINISTRATIVE TREATY

The Bodo people represent a major minority people of the region signifying the most pronounced instance of social exclusion. The Bodo-Kachari people are regarded as the indigenous people and autochthones of Assam. The Bodo confederation includes several tribes. The Bodo narrative needs to be seen as the struggle of Assam's most prominent ethnic 'minority' and the indigenous populace of the region, aspiring to protect its cultural identity as also economic resources such as land, which has been endlessly jeopardized right from the colonial era. The Bodos first encountered the cultural pressure and linguistic suppression of the Assamese society and then they confronted the illegal encroachment of their land by invading immigrants, right from colonial era, from within and across borders (mostly Muslims). It is natural therefore that the prime target of the Bodo leadership has been the Assamese middle class and its hegemonic ambitions (Misra 2012). Misra endorses that the Assamese over-zealousness in protecting their own language and identity eventually resulted in alienating the plains tribal communities of which the Bodos are a major constituent.

The Bodo movement may be portrayed as the longest tribal movement in the plains of Assam spanning from 1947 to present. The Bodo area had witnessed the early immigration of Muslim peasants settling along the fertile alluvial riverside tracts of Assam, mainly between 1905 and 1933. As the 20th century progressed and the jute-dependent economy became unprofitable, and Muslim peasants slowly diversified their choice of crops (Saikia Arupjyoti, 2012). The Muslim peasantry had been conscious to retain their landholding with valid documents from the beginning, by using many fraudulent means to get documents in their names.

Without documentary tenure rights, the Bodo peasantry remained economically insolvent when compared to the Bengali-Muslim 'settlers', who turned into paddy agriculturists, having procured valid documents. It is stated that it was the

Dewanias, a class of middlemen, who negotiated between the petty revenue bureaucracy and Muslim peasants to confirm landownership (Saikia Arupjyoti, 2012). As the flow on migration increased in the immediate years before and after Independence, tribal land was increasingly acquired by non-tribal immigrants who secured permanent tenure. Therefore, it was a losing battle for the Bodos who were pitted against the migrant farmers who started raising cash crops (Misra, 2012). The Bangladesh war added to the changing demographic scenario, with several lakhs of immigrants, mostly Bengali Muslims, settling in the Brahmaputra Valley (idem).

In the early 1960s the Plains Tribal Council of Assam (PTCA), a political formation representing Bodos and other plains tribes of Assam demanded that tribal belts, which were gradually being grabbed by rich peasants and immigrants through illegal means, should stop. By 1980s the Bodo ethnicity had matured and thus the militant United Tribal Nationalist Liberation Front and the All Bodo Students Union emerged which pursued path of insurgency. Following several rounds of peace parleys, an accord was finalised in 1993, but it was rejected by a strong section. After much negotiations ultimately, the militants gave up the demand for a separate Bodoland State and reconciled for a greater autonomy under Bodo Territorial Council (BTC) on February 10, 2003, which aimed at fulfilling all economic, educational and linguistic–cultural aspirations of the Bodos; and specially to speed up the infrastructure development in the Bodo Territorial Council area.

MISERIES OF OTHER MINORITIES IN BODO AREAS

The creation of the Bodo Territorial Council (BTC) was not favoured by the several 'minority' ethnic communities, who have been living in same Bodo areas of the region and who viewed the Bodo Territorial Council with greater fear and anger. The unrest among the non-Bodos of the region is not a sudden outburst. Right since the 1990s, non-Bodo minority communities have organised themselves to protect their economic rights. Some minority 'extremist' groups emerged such as Adivasi Cobra Force, the Santhal militant wing. Having been excluded from basic policy of the BTC, a Bodo hegemonic council, several 'minority' ethnic communities of the region formed the Sanmilita Jana Gosthiya Sangram Samity (SJSS), an amalgam of 18 non-Bodo groups, to oppose and to protest against the biased accord. Thus, a further amendment was added to the Sixth Schedule with electoral reservations for respective communities (the Bodo community allotted 30 of the 46 seats in the BTC, five seats given to non-tribal communities and another five open seats). The Indian state has introduced a Forest Rights Act, 2006, in order to provide greater safeguards to tribes, but the Bodo council has not implemented Forest Rights Act, 2006 (Saxena et al 2010, Das 2013).

MISERY OF MINORITY KARBI TRIBE AND FAILURE OF AUTONOMOUS COUNCILS

Another tribal area which witnessed failure of governance measures is the tribal territory of Karbi Anglong which is adjacent North Cachar Hills. The Karbi tribe here is declared as a 'primitive' tribe. This tribe had led a miserable life, resulting from gradual linguistic and cultural subjugation, on the one hand and on the other through the encroachment of their territories by the emigrants. The Karbis traditionally practice Jhum (slash and burn cultivation). However, with the penetration of the market economy, many of the traditional institutions and way of life had been damaged, bringing about unending suffering to the people. In 1984 this author had conducted economic survey of 250 Karbi families (Das 1987:175-183) in selected villages of Lumbajong and Howraghat blocks. The first major observation was that the indigenous Karbis remained obsessed with olden nomadic value system and did not venture into agriculture practice like many plains tribes of Assam. One major effort of the administration was then to encourage the people to settle down permanently in plains. Some model villages were created with modern 'huts' which were never accepted by them. One reason for economic degradation was the irrational expenditures towards country liquor/rice-beer and animal sacrifice during pujas. Another economic constraint was the land mortgaging or the tendency to lease in their land for fixed produce to the non-Karbis, through paikas system, which had been abolished theoretically. Sadly, families with sufficient number of adult workers also resorted to such mortgaging. The reason partly was the hedonistic approach in life and partly the abhorrence to settled wet-agriculture, which required a consistent labour supply, certain knowledge and capital investment (Das 1987:175-183). It was observed that the introduction of the Autonomous Council for the Karbi tribe could not liberate them from economic miseries.

MISERIES OF MINORITY EASTERN NAGAS AND A DEMAND
FOR INDEPENDENT 'FRONTIER NAGALAND'

Here we elucidate the exclusion and discrimination experienced by the minority tribes living in eastern Nagaland, even though a separate ethnic provincial state of Nagaland was created in 1963 to provide ultimate self-governance capability to the Nagas. Emergence of Nagaland was result of a strong anti-India movement wherein only a section of the Nagas had participated. A good number of Nagas remained involved in violent insurgency (Das 1982, 2011). Right now however a major section of the Naga insurgents is busy negotiating with the Indian government a final resolution of Naga issue. In post-1963 era the tribes located in eastern Nagaland were promised several developmental schemes, but most schemes were diverted to other areas where 'majority' Naga tribes lived. Thus aggrieved, several of these 'minority' Naga tribes of eastern Nagaland have sought greater autonomy and larger share in power structure of the state of Nagaland.

Leaders of minority Nagas allege that the entire Eastern Nagaland has been ignored for decades. There is now a demand to bifurcate Nagaland state. The eastern Nagaland movement is launched through the political platform called Eastern Naga People's Organization which came to limelight in 2007. The Eastern Naga People's Organization has stepped up its demand for a separate "Frontier Nagaland" state, with support and active participation of a number of eastern Naga tribes. Expressing total solidarity and support with the demand of a separate 'Frontier Nagaland state', thousands of Konyak, Chang, Sangtam and other Nagas from across the four districts of Mon, Tuensang, Longleng and Kiphire (including Seyochung) held rallies in September 2011 to send a message, that the resolution at the May 25, 2007 at Tuensang for a separate state, was irrevocable. Eastern Nagas allege that they have been marginalised and excluded from the 'development' strategy of the state (a meagre 6% eastern Nagas from the six tribes are employed in the government). The Eastern Nagas lament that the successive Nagaland governments have failed to bring any economic development in the four districts. The present state government offered an Autonomous District Council under the Sixth Schedule, but the Eastern Nagas out rightly rejected the offer and demanded a separate state (Frontier Nagaland demand, October 31, 2011, www.nnwpsg).

ILLEGAL IMMIGRATION AND TRIBAL DISLODGEMENT

The 1947 Indian independence and simultaneous creation of East Pakistan brought thousands of refugees, initially Hindus and later mostly Muslims, into Assam, Tripura, and other parts. A large number of immigrants, mostly illegal, found their own mode of rehabilitation without official assistance or registration (Bhattacharyya 1988: 14). It was the 'tribal-state' of Tripura which was most adversely affected. Indeed, the tribal proportion in Tripura had declined from about 60 percent in 1951 (Chattopadhyay 1990: 101) to 30 percent in 2001 (Banthia 2001: xlvi). In fact indigenous tribespeople had been completely dislodged by the people coming as refugees as also as illegal immigrants. Infiltration of millions of emigrants disturbed the demographic pattern, ethnic composition and economic prospects of the tribes. Most of Northeast region has received immigrants as refugees, economic immigrants and victims of the neighbouring countries (mainly Bangladesh, erstwhile East Pakistan, Nepal and Burma). Almost all the states of Northeast India have experienced destruction of 'outsiders' and resultant movements against migrants. This 'identity politics' became the defining theme of postcolonial Northeast Indian political agenda; it had manifested itself variously, in different provincial-states. In course of time 'migrant communities' could gain more and more control over primary sources of livelihood like land and secondary sources like government jobs. This resulted in nascent growth of feelings of exclusion and marginalization. Émigré question indeed had its origin in the colonial era, as

reported in the British India Census Report (1931) which pointed to the invasion of hordes of land-hungry Bengali immigrants, mostly Muslims (Maitra and Maitra, 1995).

Forced dislodgement and land alienation have been at the centre of most ethnic conflicts, in entire region. During the initial British colonial era the Bodos came to be sandwiched between the British planters, Ahom ruling classes and immigrant-Bengali peasants. Among international immigrants mention may be made of the Burmese refugees (over 40,000), mostly in Mizoram. There are also the Tibetan refugees of 1959 (Subba 2002) and also Nepalis and Biharis (Das 1989) in most parts of northeast. Studies show showed that several Bihari families have their pattas at Lanka in the non-tribal Nagaon district of Assam for the land they own in the neighbouring Karbi Anglong district, which comes under the Sixth Schedule of the Constitution that is meant for the hill tribes and bans land alienation to non-tribes (Fernandes and Barbora 2002: 79, Das, 1987). About 12,000 Nepalis were detected as foreigners in Meghalaya in 1980s. Of them 7,000 to 10,000, with no proper records, were expelled in February – March 1987 (Nath, 2005).

INTERNALLY DISPLACED PERSONS AND THEIR DILEMMAS

Northeast India is essentially a region of internally displaced persons of different categories. There are many instances of internal displacement, many of which are conflict-induced. There are displaced Muslims (both Assamese and Bengali), Nepalis, Santals and other Adivasis. According to the International Displacement Monitoring Centre (28 November, 2011), nearly a million people have been forced to flee their homes by ethnic violence in north-east India during last three decades (see www.internaldisplacement.org). In Western Assam, more than 46,000 Adivasis, Bodos and Muslims remained in protracted displacement after several hundred thousand of them were forced to flee ethnic violence during the 1990s. In the month of November 2003, nearly five thousand Khasi-Pnar tribals fled into Sahsniang area of Jaintia hills in Meghalaya from the Karbi Anglong district of Assam after they were threatened of attack by militants (Routray, 2004). Mizoram has the experience of migrants, national and international. According to the 1981 census, 74.53 percent of the total migrants were national, while 25.47 were international migrants. In 1981 census, migrants from Bangladesh were 51.15 percent, Myanmar 22.35% and Nepal 22.33%. In 1991, migrants from Myanmar rose to 59.82% and Bangladesh came down to 24.50 (Nath, Lopita, 2005).

DISCUSSION

In this article we have placed the issues of social exclusion and discrimination of minority tribes in historical context. We have discussed how some colonial policies had led to separation of hills and plains and introduction of separate laws which led to future predicaments. At the same time the postcolonial development strategy

led to unbalanced economy, witnessed in differences of focus; most regions occupied by 'majority 'tribes utilized the resources in their favour by ignoring the minority tribes in the vicinity. It may be argued that the postcolonial discourse revolves around issues of identity, influx of illegal immigrants, bargains for autonomy in administrative and developmental spheres, in the aftermath of economic and cultural domination by dominant/ major tribes. This article has revealed that social exclusion and discrimination persist and reflected in various brands of identity politics and various forms of rifts envisaged in binary terms such as majority-minority; native-immigrants and hills-plains-people.

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BEYOND THE INSTITUTIONALIZED APPROACH TO RESEARCH ETHICS: ANTHROPOLOGY AND SYSTEMS OF HEALTH EXCLUSION

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Viewed as a whole, the history of health and medicine in India could be characterised as a system in which Indian people have been subjected to various forms of exploitation and abuse. It started with colonial and tropical medicine under the British who developed a healthcare system that only catered to British soldiers, administrators, clergy and the like, while ignoring the health of the Indian people and excluding them for access. After independence, lip service was paid to "health for all", but ultimately India opted for a private-based curative system, and a public preventative system. The latter tended to be dominated by international funders who put money toward neo-Malthusian population control measures, or supported large horizontal vaccine programs. In the contemporary period, inequality is being promoted under the euphemism of "Global Health", a growing academic industry that promotes high-tech, for-profit health and medicine in non-Western contexts in which Global Health projects range from vaccines, pharmaceutical development, clinical trials, and most prominently, utilizing the human genome project. In such a context anthropologists must look beyond the institutional approach to ethics to understand how social exclusion operates through the rubric of "health".

Key words: ethics, health and medicine, structural violence.

In this essay I will explore the ethical obligations confronting anthropologists who are researching South Indian people confronting systems of structural violence and social exclusion. I suggest that anthropologists must go beyond the institutional approach to ethics to understand how social exclusion operates through the rubric of "health". Life in India is rapidly transforming due to economic factors which are leading to a rapid displacement of rural populations from traditional forest lands, or agricultural lands to peri-urban areas wherein some are affected more dramatically than others, such as Tribal peoples who had long been protected by state legislation

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which has weakened under pressure from industrial business interests (see Basu 1994; Guilmoto 2011; Kalla and Joshi 2004; Rajpramukh and Palkumar 2006). Poor health, as in the colonial era through 200 years of colonial and post-colonial structural adjustment (Choussodovsky 2003) has created a ripe context for poor health (Subramanian et al 2006) and this is happening quite rapidly and sometimes with the help of social scientists. Gosh raised some concerns about the tendency for social science researchers to fit their agendas to the research monies that are at their disposal and leaving theory behind while submitting to the NGO, state or private sector agendas (2008:77).

HOW DID IT GET THIS WAY?

The violence of so-called "indirect rule" created an environment that was not amenable to fostering good health (Qadeer 2011:81) and continued unabated into the post-colonial period. In contrast to the guise of "indirect rule" of the British colonial era, the post-colonial period featured a more overt approach such that power was handed from the British to emergent Indian elites after independence in the 1950s (Bagchi 2010; Qadeer 2011) and lip service was paid to developing a more equal society than under the British, but this vision never materialised and by the 1990s the Indian Minister of Finance reported directly bypassing parliament and any democratic processes in neo-liberal governance agenda dominated (Choussudovsky 2003:149).

The IMF implemented what was referred to as "shock treatment" in 1991, consisting of the removal of labour regulations, repeal of minimum wage legislation, increase in food prices, decline in days worked, reduction in state subsidies and other social supports (Banerji 2003:163; Qadeer 2011:385; Rao 2009:263). In Andhra Pradesh, for example weavers' wages were reduced from 400 to 240-300 for a family of six with the result of 73 reported starvation deaths between 30 August and 10 November 1991 (Choussudovsky 2003:152; see also Shahmanesh 2007:317). *OBC, ST and SC* peoples tend not to be consulted in developing policy and yet they are immediately affected when large industries get state endorsed approvals to set up their operations on active agricultural or inhabited forest lands such as foreign companies' interest in bauxite, iron ore, steel plants, aluminium refineries, and so on (Qadeer and Visvanathan 2004: Padel and Das 2010:70). Food insecurity is lost with people's land, self employment is replaced with humiliating wage work that is inadequate to meet basic needs, and this is the foundation for a number of preventable diseases. Some of the symptoms of these processes are degraded health status-severe malnutrition, stunting, anaemia, pneumonia, diarrhoea fevers of various kinds are chronic (Bhat 2001:4706; Qadeer 2011:134) making it difficult to fight of a recent resurgence of communicable diseases of poverty such as TB, cholera, malaria, meningitis, tetanus, and viral fevers (Jena 2008:18; Qadeer 2011:73-4). There have also been

mass migrations to urban areas where industries flourish leaving stagnant water in the places that they have "developed" allowing mosquitoes bearing malaria to proliferate (Behera and Basar 2010). Such places lack infrastructure and public sanitation creating a fertile ground for tuberculosis with grave human loss that has been described as a "catastrophe" (Shahmanesh 2007: 319).

Scheper-Hughes (1995) tackled issues going beyond institutional interests in her writing about anthropology in South Africa and Brazil. Her argument, and the response to it, exposes the range of views in the academy about political engagement and research agendas in South Africa. Asserting that the nature of long term research of the sort that anthropologists engage in, in which they apprehend secrets of the field site(s), can become an act of bearing witness to evil and that this, in turn, requires a response (1995:416). Calling for a politically engaged anthropology that speaks truth to power, or the ethics of opposing power (Graeber 2004:6) Scheper-Hughes asserted that we live in a context of the state of emergency created by global capitalism in making the world and social science safe for 'low intensity democracy' backed by "World Bank capital" (1995:417); or maybe what Graeber would call a majority democracy held together through coercive consensus-making (2004:89). Sheper-Hughes went even further to address her critics such as Paul Riesman`s assertion that in taking a political position, we are "leaving anthropology behind" (1995:416) and charges that such "...non-involvement has its virtues" (1995:415). The responses to her article, written by classical names such as Marvin Harris and Adam Kuper, are polemical and go to the heart of moral vs. scientific social science, the former of which, seem to strike many anthropologists as "unsavoury, tainted and even frightening" (1995:415). Her characterization of these intellectuals points to the 'old order that is hanging on till the bitter end' (Scheper-Hughes 1995:415; c.f. Graeber 2004:79); embedded into a western institution which has survived from the Middle Ages, as has the Catholic church and the British monarchy (Graeber 2004:7) and which plays a significant role as "incubators of wealth creation" (Berglund 2004:187; Navarro 2007; see also Gosh 2008:77-9). But Scheper-Hughes recognizes that intellectual spaces of times past and present do not all confirm to this oppressive model, and certainly not the status quo in places like Italy, France, Latin America and India, where "...the anthropological project is at once ethnographic, epistemological and polemical and where anthropologists do communicate broadly "the polis" and "the public" (1995:415-416). Writing about indigenous peoples and social science research, Smith (2012; 1999) likewise asserts (this) other layer of consciousness that seems absent or non-apparent to some anthropological circles.

Elsewhere I have illustrated the large political mobilisations are in progress in India and that have been initiated by social movement (Yalamala 2011; Graeber 2004:2). This other layer of consciousness recognizes that "another world is possible... that institutions like the state, capitalism, racism and male dominance are not inevitable; that it would be possible to have a world in which these things would not exist, and that we'd all be better off as a result (Graeber 2004:10). Even

the Indian state recognizes (this) other layer of consciousness alluded to above perhaps because of its long engagement with colonialism and anti-colonialism over the past couple of centuries. In addition to changing the colonial names of streets, universities etc.[2], India also recognized the need to constitutionally protect the rights of low ST, SC and OBC peoples. More recently, 73rd Amendment of the Indian constitution stresses people's participation in empowering the *gram sabha* (village assembly) in making collective decisions in general, but in particular regard to economic and community development (Baumgartner et al 2004:212). This seems to affirm the existence of the other layer that Scheper-Hughes is writing about and why, particularly nowadays, scholars interested in India need to also to "...become alarmists and shock troopers-the producers of politically complicated and morally demanding texts and images..." (1995:417). That maybe anthropology holds within it a model of how a non-vanguardist revolutionary intellectual practice might be possible (Graeber 2004:11) and the role of the intellectual, instead of "...being willing to serve any master" (Scheper-Hughes 1995:435; see also Berglund 2004:186-7), might be "...to look at those who are creating viable alternatives, try to figure out what might be the lager implications of what they are (already) doing, and then offer those ideas back, not as prescriptions, but as contributions, possibilities-as gifts" (Graeber 2004:12). In India, this is quite an urgent project given the contradiction that India faces while endorsing policies to empower its people, but at the same time making compromises to the market that undermine those same policies (Ray and Bagchi 2001). Gosh has also pointed out how the Indian social sciences are oriented toward "policy" or private sector (2008:77). Graeber has critiqued the reduction of application to "policy" and the tendency for anarchists to eschew helping the state or private interests (2004).

One of the recent manifestations of helping the private sector as a form of concealed structural violence are some of the global health initiatives that have been launched in the past several years. The multiple network constellations of Peter Singer and Abdullah Daar, health researchers at the University of Toronto, are at the core of these innovations not just in Canada but globally.

Stressing profit-based high tech biomedical interventions such as gene therapy and vaccines Daar and Singer's research group highlights these over economic and political changes such as providing food, shelter and livelihood to non-western nations. Among Indian researchers, including anthropologists, here has long been an interest in doing a variety of genetic studies on Tribal and low caste peoples (see Das 1994; Verma 1994; Malhotra 1994; Rami Reddi 1994) they

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[2] Something only recently undertaken in North America as for example, with the recent renaming of Edward Cornwallis School in Halifax, named after the Goverer of Nova Scotia who ordered a scalping proclamation between 1749-50 for the Mi'kmaq and the ongoing efforts to change the street also named after him, and the statue of him near the train station, Halifax, Nova Scotia. Cornwallis later had a stint in India from 1788-1793 where he helped to break the economic resistance of Tipu Sultan who refused to be forced to only trade with the British Crown.

write articles encouraging the private sector in countries like India to flourish (2003:109). They and the various manifestations of their research team have a long list of publications, prestigious grants and research collaborations with researchers around the world under the rubric of "global health". One such example involves a paper about "bioethics" (Benatar, Daar and Singer 2003) in which they allude to the existence of "...new terrorist threats to life that have shockingly demonstrated how interconnected we all are…" (2003:108). These terrorists, appear to be living in an unstable world increasingly at risk from the benefits of progress and who have nothing to lose from destroying what others thoughtlessly or selfishly enjoy" (Benatar, Daar and Singer 2003: 109). They refer to people as "stakeholders" (109), and give priority to industry over the state yet also caution that if not properly managed, these technologies could also potentially increase health inequities by privileging only a wealthy minority (2003:109). The authors also point out that health inequality and poor health are also due to poor living conditions and the excesses of processed foods in industrial contexts leading to increases in chronic diseases and the fact that improving living conditions decreased TB and measles mortality rates (2003:110-111). In a paternalistic tone, the authors identify a number of problems that the west failed to avert such as the evolution of economic system that is more concerned with free trade than equitable and sustainable development. The drive for disproportionate accumulation of wealth by the elites with little concern for the poor; the creation and perpetuation of third world debt and so on. Farmer refers to these factors as "structural violence" (1996), Benatar, Daar and Singer go so far as to critique the emphasis on military research such as 66% of US research expenditures are toward military research (2003:110). Yet the authors then contradict these facts by blaming so called developing countries for "corruption" ruthless military dictatorship, underinvestment in education, health; all problems without addressing the role that western nations intent on war, or through structural adjustment, played to create these conditions (2003:112-113).

The authors continue to identify a number of problems such as the increase chronic diseases in North America, the failure to control these diseases (2003:111) and over- consumption in the US (2003:116). Advocating Rawlsian liberal political philosophy and positing a universal conception of the "self", the authors also note that solidarity is a monolithic concept yet, on the same page speak about so called "African value system", African conception of democracy and "African world' (2003: 128). A few lines later they then make the outrageous generalisation that "African Values" are same as "Canadian Aboriginal" values. This form of essentialism whereby entire continent is reduced to a single value, is so simplistic that one can hardly believe this is what authors mean by creating global state of mind.

The authors promote bioethics as offering a way forward to help achieve "peace", prosperity", freedom and justice for all (2003:108) and they advocate for a global bioethics that crosses national borders and cultures (2003:118). The authors then attempt to define these concepts of peace, justice and so on by invoking similar concepts of god among world religion and promote the "universal" value of

"peace" and the "sacredness of individual persons with a hope "that good finally prevails" (2003:118). These are value laden, temporally and culturally specific claim which would have limited relevance in India, to name one context and there is a great deal of cynicism among indigenous and other people whether this kind of research is actually capable of achieving these goals (Smith 1999:116; Wilson and Rosenberg 2002). Nancy Scheper-Hughes refers to this kind of approach as "suspending the ethical" (1995).

For example, the western notion of the "individual" does not fit the reality of people who are strongly linked to family, village, caste, the nation and so on which asserts a priori atomization of the self (Rajpramukh and Palkumar 2006; Smith 1999:30). The relationship between the individual and society is different than the assumed universal of the "sacredness of individual persons" (c.f. Jones 2005) whereas Benatar et al are postulating it as *a priori*. One example of the fallacy of the individual comes from health. Chaudhuri notes that

> "...health and their treatment reflect the social solidarity of a community. In a tribal community, for example, illness and the consequent treatment is not always an individual or familial affair but the decision about the nature of treatment is taken at the community level. In the rural areas, in case of some specific diseases, not only the diseased person or his/her family, but the total village community is affected. All the other families in the village are expected to observe certain taboos or norms and food habits. The non-observance of such practices often calls for action by the village council. One cannot deny the impact of this psychological support in the context of treatment and cure. In some societies, illness may be an individual affair, and the patient may be looked after by the administration (state), while in tribal societies it is a familial or sometimes community affair where necessary action and care is taken by the community as a whole (Chaudhuri 2004:365).

This is essentially a dispute between universal and relative moral values and it is salient to note, for example, that some Tribal groups lack a word for "poverty" (Patra and Manna 2001:163). What other concepts might be distinctive, or absent? The authors claim that anthropologists and social scientists might contribute to understanding knowledge local and moral world is important but that analytical skills of philosophers is even more important in developing content of the peace. Yet, Benatar et al's, postulation is contentious if we consider contribution of postcolonial scholars such as Graeber (2004), Rajpramukh and Palkumar (2006), Ribeiro and Escobar (2006), Scheper-Hughes (1995) and Smith (1999). The authors continue to attempt to define such things as human rights (2003:119), equity (2003:121) freedom and others such as "highly priced values that transcend global borders and cultures" (2003:121) and their stunning claim that "some inequalities in health, disease are inevitable and eliminating all inequalities is not possible in addition not all inequalities are inequitable" (2003:121). In contrast to this, Paul Farmer has also said that "the capacity to suffer is clearly, part of being human but not all suffering is equal... structural violence which metes out injuries of vastly different severity" (1996:279). Even Farmer recognizes the fact that some

people experience premature death and illness because of the class, gender or race/ethnicity which position them to experience more structural violence that others and that this is often not readily visible (1996:272). He writes, "...the world's poor are the chief victims of structural violence – a violence which has thus far defined the analysis of many seeking to understand the nature and distribution of extreme suffering...Why might this be so? One answer is that the poor are not only more likely to suffer, they are also more likely to have their suffering silenced" (1996:280; see also Holmes 2012). While for Benatar et al the solution is to enhance biotechnology capacity and pharma-solutions Farmer, who also practises as a physician, asserts that part of the solution is to discern that the forces motivating extreme suffering are wealth and power" (1996:279-80).

Benatar, Daar and Singer's interests underscore the importance of the question: "whose reality counts?" (Baumgartner 2004:213) and the attempt by this group of researchers to make the reality that has currency among their network of research and research agendas, count (Smith 1999:30 &130) these agendas continue to portray non western nations and peoples as in need of western expertise, values and assistance and to make culturally and temporally specific western values embedded in everyday sensibilities of the research culture (Smith 1999:30 & 117). Smith refers to this as the globalization of knowledge and western culture which is generally referred to as "universal" and "civilized" knowledge whereas for more than a decade traditional or Indigenous Knowledge has been globally defended. On the other hand, Benatar et al, are advocating the adoption of a set of Universalised western concepts which represents a "coercive degradation of another knowledge" (Ibata 2004:319, Karr 2004:376;1999:63).

In the Indian context, Rajpramukh and Palkumar (2006) pointed out that importance of taking the sensibilities of people into consideration and it would be very difficult to formulate a single value or single definition for concepts like freedom, peace, justice, solidarity, equity because they differ by caste, linguistic and local cultural understandings (Allocco 2009; Appadurai 1985; Subramanian 2006, Smith 1999:30-31). Rajpramukh and Palkumar (2006) affirm this in relation to tribal peoples of India who had long been the recipient of research projects that did not bring about positive changes in their communities and who are now advocating for "participatory research" that includes them in each stage of the project, not just as a form of lip service, but real engagement that could potentially shut down and or significantly modify the research project (Rajpramukh and Palkumar 2006:2). They argue then, for "community controlled" research (2006:2) in which the people have control over their own forms of knowledge (Smith 1999:104). Rajpramukh and Palkumar advocate for research that is "...based on local, indigenous perceptions, classifications, values, measures of environmental quality and change that reflects local observations and knowledge systems..." (Rajpramukh and Palkumar 2006:3).

One salient example comes from a 'development' project in Southern India which was based upon a participatory research model and an attempt to incorporate the significant elements of " local knowledge" into the program. This involved presenting the results of the project to the village and one woman exposed her unhappiness about a project in which local elites diverted the water without consulting the community (Baumgartner et al 2004:207). The authors were presenting the data they had gathered about local resource management and the woman spoke out about during the meeting. The authors worried about the ethical issues involved in their approach of presenting their results in the community and the varying class and caste based hearing of local resources were also noted. For example the author's note how an old tank (for holding water) has different meanings for different people:

> "The visitor's attention focuses mainly on the irrigation tank as a natural resource, part of a larger biophysical system, informed by the 'outsider' rationality of watershed management. The farmer's perceptions, differing among themselves, reflect more complex sustainability concerns, aware of the livelihood strategies of individual households. Such strategies are shaped by culture, history and experience, and are influenced by the rapidly changing socioeconomic environment at both micro and macro levels (Baumgartner et al 2004:213).

Likewise, Benatar et al totally disregard indigenous beliefs such as in relation to different types of healers, some of which bridge the gap between super human forces and humans and is a call for basic human needs such a food shelter and livelihood. What is also missing is a recognition of indigenous and local notions of health and illness etiology, many of which do not recognize natural causes but rather supernatural powers or magic are the most primary causes (Das 2004:288). For example, some tribal people believe in soul loss as a cause of illness which also has a local use-how would Benatar et al. account for these concepts? (Ibata 2004:337) How would they account for divination? (Joshi 2004) Instead, they advocate for values and worlds in place of resources and endorse "globalisation from below" (2003:133) and rather than altruism in health ethics, for "long term self interest". Astoundingly, what the authors mean by this is that it might be better for the UK to offer free vaccines to Bangladeshis rather than universal vaccines in the UK, because, the likelihood that Bangladeshis would migrate to the UK and infect people there is high (2003:133) and less likely to "damage the global commons" (2003:133). Paul Farmer notes that "we are all aware that another gigantic wall if being constructed in the third world to hide the reality of the poor majorities. A wall between the rich and the poor is being built so that poverty does not annoy the powerful and the poor are obliged to die in the silence of history" (1996:280). Benatar et al's solution to the health problems outlined above is vaccines and gene therapy but it has to be pointed out that the vaccines being promoted by Daar and Singer's research group are not major problems in India. Moreover, the actual role

of the SC, OBC, and ST and other poor people might only be for clinical trials, already a huge problem in India. Smith has criticised medicinal research for

> "…adventurers now hunt the sources of viral diseases, projectors mine for genetic diversity and pirates raid ecological systems for new wealth, capturing virgin plants and pillaging the odd jungle here and there. Scientific and technological advances this century place indigenous people and other marginalised and oppressed groups at extreme risk in the next century. The search is still on for the elixir of life, no longer gold this time but DNA, cures for western diseases, and the other ways of finding enlightenment and meaning. The mix of science, cultural arrogance and political power continuous to present a serious threat to indigenous peoples. As Jerry Mander has argued, the unrelenting imperative of corporations and governments to promote technology as solution to our lives is the same imperative which suppresses and destroys indigenous alternatives. The 'vampire' project or the Human Genome Diversity Project (HUGO) is the largest and best-known attempt to map the genetic diversity of isolated and threatened indigenous communities. It is not, however, the only project in town as there are other examples of companies or countries attempting to patent human genetic materials (Smith 1999: 98-100).

In fact, Benatar, Daar and Singer are Global Health researchers who ally with the private sector pharmaceutical industry and local health and social scientists who allow (Das 1994:204) to "de-humanise the humanness of genes through the process of copying and reproducing synthetic varieties" (Smith 1999: 100).

As per my preliminary arguments elsewhere, (Yalamala 2011) I am advocating for a critical ethnographic approach (Graeber 2004; Ribeiro and Escobar 2006; Scheper-Hughes 1995; Kawlra in this volume) in studying and assessing these global health initiatives in South India. A critical ethnographer studies issues of power, empowerment, inequality, domination and hegemony (Creswell 2007:70; Bishop 2005; Visvanathan 2006). Within this, it will be embedded a critical medical Anthropological approach (Farmer 1996) which sets itself apart from mainstream Medical Anthropology by being critical of the market economy and its impact on human health. Instead of trying to assist pharmaceutical agencies or private sector global health initiatives to expand their markets, CMA seeks to critique these internalised market tendencies and also to participate in building alternative health structures. (Graeber 2004:100)

In particular, while advocating for fair access to medical services for the ST, SC and OBC peoples and wanting to contribute to policy, I am also critical of the way that "global health" is often used by the state as a way to convert people's traditional belief systems of health to the more reductionist biomedical approach and what is considered "valid" evidence in health and science (c.f. Creswell 2007:211). Duneier stresses the need for careful and systematic approach to fieldwork such as "a 30-page methodological appendix [...fact checking, appropriate use of methods...disclosing names and locations of subjects...obtaining informed consent, and making interventions into the lives of the subjects" (2002:1552)]. Duneier's concerns are commendable; however, some of his points

need some discussion. Firstly, it is important to bear in mind who defines what are considered "facts" as there might be a number of alternate explanations and at the village level in India as I have already noted in the previous two questions, "facts" are contested and a multiplicity of viewpoints will emerge during private and public discussions about any given topic (see Allocco 2009; Appadurai 1985; Guilmoto 2011; Smith 1999). For example, one of the facts that Indian academics face is that 80% of the journals in India are in English and only 20% in Indian languages. This fact would get different reactions from different social scientists and most of us would be more interested in these reactions, than whether or not people are conscious of the statistics. How do people talk about the academy for example? How easy or difficult is it to publish? How are non-English publications rated by Indian academic institutions? These details are far more interesting that the fact, although without the facts these details would also lack credibility. The process of "obtaining informed consent" also privileges the individual level over that of the collective and might not be appropriate for South Indian villages and certainly not for Tribal peoples (see Smith 1999:118). It is important that the community want to have the services of social scientist in the first place as has been the case among some tribal groups in India who have used the social science expertise as a form of leverage when fighting to keep tribal lands (Rajpramukh and Palkumar 2006).

BEYOND THE CRITICAL APPROACH TO ENVISIONING A COSMO-POLITICAL TECHNOSCIENTIFIC WORLD

India is on the verge of being a world economic leader through its membership in BRICS (Brazil Russia India China and South Africa trade block) and the G20. India is also one of the world leaders in nuclear weapons, a world class space program (Fischer 2007:574) and is intent to play a strong role in regional and world politics. But anthropologist Fischer sees India as an important part of an expanding cosmopolitan techno-scientific world (2007:574 and 577) which is concerned with global inequalities (2007:575). He believes that India with its strong social movements could play a role in removing "political, cultural, technological, financial, institutional and human capital building blocks and barriers..." (Fischer 2007:575) to the spread of science and technology in non-western locations.

While the proponents of global health envision biotechnology to be used in the service of empire, and that empire being squarely centred in North America (Birn et al 2009:26; Fischer 2007:573; Banerji 2003:163; Gosh 2008), there is also an opportunity to develop a cosmopolitan techno-scientific world that would be based on open access to science and technology rather than using science and technology in the service of empire (see Cohen et al 2008; Dirks 1997:205). Partnering with the formerly marginalised in formulating policy can be a positive

development if it is done as equals (Banerji 2003, 164; Dash and Behera 2010:425; Walling 2010: 371) where there really is nothing inevitable about another century of exploitation, plunder and misery. Fischer also envisions anthropology playing a significant role in socially reflexive research, (2007:540; Dirks 1997:212; Gosh 2008; Ribeiro and Escobar 2006) encouraging the open and accessible use of biotechnologies and opposing the current agenda of restricted access to genetic mapping and sequencing projects. While some forms of colonial era anthropology sought to canonize knowledge and regulation to help the consolidation of imperial powers (Qadeer 2011:50; Tanner 2012:225) and saw no contradictions between the use of science and profits (Dirks 1997:208; Qadeer 2011:385), Fischer encourages today's anthropologists to promote science and ecology that is not in the service of empire.

For example, the elimination of the Human Genome Diversity Project was halted only thanks to the exerted efforts and resistance to the bio-colonization of aboriginal groups, concerned anthropologists, nation-states like India (Tanner 2012:214; Fischer 2007:435)[3]. Open source systems such as Linux, digital tools to enhance communication for all, e-tools to monitor the biased enforcement patterns of the FBI, Dept of Homeland Security, and so on (Fischer 2007:572 and 576) are all ways that the emergent centres of science and technology could be employed in contrast to the old "imperial beneficence" approach (Fischer 2007:567-77). Instead, these new emergent centres of science and technology could work from a context free of US-centric assumptions about how the world ought to be (Fischer 2007:573).

It would be possible to learn from the excellent examples of past public health systems such as in Guatemala, Nicaragua, Cuba, Venezuela, the Canada, and the UK and so on to build a new public healthcare system using technology in the service of humanity rather than in the service of commerce. Building a healthcare system that is tied to notions of equity and an ethical imperative to protect the poor would enhance technological innovations (Castro and Singer 2004:xv) – and India could be a model for the world to follow. With the backing of the growing multitudes that are thirsting for equality, India could finally put substance to the lip service that had been paid for decades to the Alma Alta declaration of *Health for All.*

Saying What I have Said...

Alongside creating a deplorable economic and social environment, affordable access to curative healthcare has been denied to India's OBC, ST and SC peoples for at least two centuries. India has instead been viewed as a testing ground for new technologies and where failed vertical vaccination programs and family planning was offered-up instead. Health has been a way to guarantee peoples social

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[3] Vladimir Putin's letter to the New York Times in October 2013 also halted, or slowed down, some empire building projects; a stunning turn of the events in the collision course that was set to explode in the Middle East.

exclusion and ultimately, expedited their premature deaths. The OBC, ST and SC who constitute the majority in India, are the ones who have borne this ongoing violence. What role will India play in the coming years as the global centre of empire shifts and as formerly marginalised peoples call for, and sometimes demand, change? (Qadeer 2011:59). I have hinted at the possibility that India might opt for a more humane route than the past two centuries, and possibly reproduce, and surpass, some of the achievements that had been made in the 1960s when many nations built public healthcare systems into their vision of a just society and a form of social inclusion for all. I have also suggested that India might deploy technology in the service of humanity rather than in the service of capital, again, as a way of fostering social inclusion for all. The coming years will reveal what direction India will opt for and also what role anthropologists, if any, will play in the new configurations. It is my hope that they might both shy away from tactics that enhance social exclusion and instead chose the path toward increased humanism.

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Marian Constantin, *Apartenenţa etno-culturală din România în contextul globalizării. Criterii antropologice ale etnogenezei şi etnomorfozei (Ethnocultural Belonging in Romania within the Context of Globalization. Anthropological Insights on Ethnogenesis and Ethnomorphosis),* **Editura Muzeului Naţional al Literaturii Române, Bucureşti, 2013, 281 pages (with an English summary, pp. 254-280), ISBN 978-973-167-134-5.**

Reviewed by ŞERBAN STELU[2]

The volume I review here is the outcome of author's 24 months postdoctoral research, under the EU sponsorship and Romanian Academy led program entitled "Valuing the cultural identities in the frame of globalization processes". As part of this program, Marin Constantin's specific project aimed to record and analyse the main trends in the development of the anthropological literature on ethnicity in Romania. In order to be suitable for this generous topic the author circumvents the state of the art of Romanian social and cultural anthropology within the international arena. The book has the merit to scrutinize and gather all together a considerable bibliographical material. The works of this kind are quite rare in Romania. On the one hand, the need to review the state of the art in Romanian anthropology is strong as it was argued in recent works (s. for instance Chelcea, 2009). On the other hand, the room for this sort of analysis is free. Constantin's book partially fills this room.

The eight chapters divide the book into three sections. The first two chapters fall in the section *The study of the anthropological bibliography on ethnicity in Romania* (pp. 13-64). Under the concepts of "self-reference"/*auto-referenţialitate* and "inter-reference"/*inter-referenţialitate*, the first chapter draws the main lines of the development of cultural anthropology in Romania. Constantin emphasizes one pioneering period of the discipline when this was subdued to more prestigious academic fields such as folklore, sociology, and physical anthropology (p.19). Although at the edge of the academy, in the mid of 1960s the label cultural anthropology designing a distinct discipline begins to be used and implicitly recognized. Still, what the author calls the "self-reference" of anthropological research has been dominating since the pre-1990 period. This means the propensity of Romanian anthropologists to research their own peasant/rural society. Either smoothly labelled as "nativism"/"anthropology at home" (Geană 1999), or straight as a "nation-building ethnology" (Mihăilescu 2003) (p.29), this long incubation hindered the alternative of doing anthropological fieldwork outside Romania. Notwithstanding, here and there, there were anthropologists that, after 1990, carried fieldwork amongst non-Romanians populations, most of them national minorities. Constantin notices these researchers and puts their works under the label of "inter-reference" anthropology. In the next chapter the idea of opposing the "self-reference" to "inter-reference" is refined. The author shows that most of the time this opposition was reduced to the "politicized" dichotomy ethnocentrism vs. cultural relativism (p.50), and argues that one way to deconstruct this ideological frame is to adopt a comparative approach.

The second part of the volume, *Conceptualization and comparative approach in ethno-cultural and confessional variability in Romania* (pp. 65-136), seems to cover various fieldwork the author carried amongst ethnic minorities from Romania. Without giving details about the used methodology, the author tells us in the chapter that opens this section that in the 2010's summer he researched through an "ethnographic investigation" groups of *căldărari*, the most conservative Roma population from

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Romania, *rudari*, a Romanian speaking Roma people, Old-believers, Saxons, and Szeklers (p.73). The research sought to delineate "the contemporary narrative of the mentioned groups, with a special emphasis on the self-identification, ethno-cultural traditions, institutionalisation, the economic diversification, and traditional cuisine". All these variables are put in tables and described through the excerpts from the field material. As the literature which should inform the way the author constructs these variables completely misses, it is difficult to argue about the theoretical validity of the conclusions the author draws. Still, in the following two chapters, four and five, Constantin seeks to widen the frame of reference and analysis. He brings into discussion more such ethnic, linguistic, and religious groups, referring this time to a more consistent bibliography concerning them. Thus, in chapter four Constantin analyses the rural, urban, and regional frames of the above categories' "ethnicities" (p. 88 and forth), whereas in chapter five he attempts to embed the historicity of these categories in the analysis. In this latter respect, Constantin follows "the synchrony and the diachronic approaches in the ethnic variability in Romania". Thus, in the concluding page of the section (p.136), he is able to distinguish the "diachronic cultural nuclei" such as Aromanians, Saxons and Swabians, Old believers, from the "synchronic cultural nucleus", that of *căldărari*, while Muslims of Dobroudja seems to be an in-between category.

In the third section the author jumps to a really fashion topic, the European Union; more precisely Constantin looks for a comparison of the ethnic belonging in Romania and the European Union (title of the section *Ethno-cultural belonging in Romania and the European Union*). The first chapter of the section (the sixth of the book) opens with an apparently full-fledged statement: "In the ethnographical description, the oral traditional and handicraft goods appear in a general manner as forms of the ethnic identity *utterance/rostire* and *doing/înfăptuire*" (p. 139). No theoretical references are provided for and even less a critical examination of this thesis. The ethnic groups the author records in the previous sections are retaken and their "intra-ethnicity" and "inter-ethnicity" scaled alongside the two dimensions of utterance/narrative and artisanship. In the next chapter the author deals with the "ethno-genesis and ethno-morphism" of these ethnic and linguistic groups. The ethnicity concept seems to be equated with the "ethno-genesis and ethno-morphism" as it reads in a short theoretical sequel of the chapter (pp. 162-169). The title of this part is *The origin and the transformation of the ethnicity in anthropological theorizing*, but in fact there are recorded the ethno-genesis of various people from Basque country to Latin America, Turkmenistan, Central Europe and so forth. The third chapter of the section, and the last of the whole book, bears the title *The ethno-cultural dimension of the European citizenship (1992-2012)*. The author mirrors the European legislation regarding the ethnicity and national minorities and the Romanian one. Anthropological works regarding these topics are scattered through the chapter but their reflections on the other chapters of the book lack.

As I pointed out at the beginning of the review the most important merit of Constantin's book is the idea to work out the cultural/social anthropology state of the art in Romania, regardless the topic narrows to the ethnicity and its relates. Yet, there are some shortcomings that undermine this idea. First, the fastidious language troubles the reader. There are terms and concepts that at the first glance seem sophisticated but, are in fact meaningless: *etnogeneză, etnomorfoză, inter/auto-referențialitate, "variabilitate exonimică"* (p.119)*, "ontologie" a apartenenței etno-culturale* (p. 186). These concepts sound fully strange in Romanian while their translation in English is venturesome. The volume lacks also a theoretical frame. The chapters look like coming from various sources as research and field reports, reading notes and short articles. For instance, while in the first chapter the author tentatively covets to sketch the map of developing social and cultural anthropology in Romania, he further tackles the topic of ethnicity (or with the author's words "ethno-genesis and ethno-morphism") with a mix of some field trip notes (chapter 3) and ends by speaking about "European citizenship" (chapter 8). One last remark concerns the literature. Despite the obvious effort to cover a broad range of titles the author misses basic references as for instance, Fredrik Barth's or Thomas H. Eriksen's works on ethnicity (Barth 1969; Barth 1994; Eriksen 1993). Likewise the author ignores the works of younger Romanian anthropologists who carried excellent fieldworks (as part of their PhD studies in universities outside Romania) either on ethnicity and related topics, such as László Fosztó (2009), Remus Anghel (on work migration) (2013), Irina Culic (on Romanian diaspora from Canada) (2010), or on "exotic" areas, as for instance Tünde Komáromi in Russia (2008), Vlad Naumescu in Ukraine (2008), Alexandru Bălășescu in Iran (2007), Elena Magdalena Crăciun in Turkey (2013).

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Cornelia Rada, *Valori identitare ale familiei româneşti contemporane în contextul globalizării. O abordare antropologică (Identitary Values of the Contemporary Romanian Family in the Framework of the Globalization. An Anthropological Approach)* **Bucureşti: Editura Muzeului Naţional al Literaturii Române, 2013, pp. 354 (with an English Summary, pp. 324-354). ISBN 978-973-167-197-0**

Reviewed by Adina Baciu[3]

This book was published at the end of two years of research carried out as part of the *Turning to Account the Cultural Identities in the Global Processes project*, European Social Fund (ESF), Sectoral Operational Programme Human Resources Development (SOPHRD), 2007-2013. The first chapter presents the general objective of the study, namely the defining and intensive evaluation of the health of the conjugal and family system, through a battery of questionnaires/tests and a focussed interview, in correlation with various biological, psychological, and socio-demographic paremeters. The research appears to focus on the manner in which internal family functions are carried out, and evaluate the cohesion, flexibility and communication within the family. The author goes on to show

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that values, in terms of ideas about what is important in life, are initially developed at the microsocial family level. Furthermore, she highlights the fact that the family makes up a small cultural identity universe which, in the context of globalization, naturally tends to react for the preservation of identity. This chapter also presents family functions, characteristics and challenges for the contemporary family, and the author finds that the family has not lost its functions, but rather has modified the way in which it carries out and expresses these, continuing as one of the most important social institutions.

A full description of the sample and the measuring instruments makes up the second chapter of this work. The fieldwork was carried out on 1,215 subjects, aged 18-74, selected randomly in Bucharest, Craiova, Satu Mare, Stolnici, Cioroiaşi, and villages in Satu Mare County. The data was collected using two questionnaires, the first an omnibus questionnaire with 96 questions, and the second the Family Adaptability and Cohesiveness Evaluation Scale III. Axiomatic phenomena and aspects relating to marriage and family were covered through 12 focus group interviews with 324 subjects. For Prague, Rome, and Taranto the research used a shorter version of the omnibus questionnaire, with 59 questions, and the Family Adaptability and Cohesiveness Evaluation Scale III. This data will be quantified at a later time.

Chapter 3 presents the fact that the right to a home is a fundamental human right, explicitly or implictly stipulated in Romanian and international legislation. The term "home" becomes synonymous with that of "family".

The author describes the size, structure, and financial situation in Chapter 4 of the work, in which she shows that the size of the household, the number of persons that make up its dependants, including children, has an effect on the household's income. From the data presented it is apparent that the average income per person drops in proportion to the increase in the number of children.

Chapter 5 presents interesting aspects relating to the beginning of sexual life, sexual rights, attachment, gender differences, the first sexual encounter, virginity, but also getting to know one's partner, and protection during first intercourse.

Religious affiliation, church attendance, prayer in a private space, perception of one's own religiosity, and opinion on the role of the institution of the Church are all discussed in Chapter 6. Reading this material, one realizes that religion plays a major part in the daily life of Romanians. The author underlines that religious education, religious affiliation, the history thereof and of constitutional provisions, or of supplementary legislation regarding the Church continue to be factors influencing sexual and reproductive behavior, as well as marital behavior.

Marital and nuptial behavior are presented in Chapter 7. After reviewing marital patterns in different societies, the author underlines the tendency towards marriage among Romania's population, marked by: relatively rapid marriages, relatively young marriages, relatively low ratio of concubinage. As concerns knowledge about the partner before the beginning of a stable relationship, the author finds in this study that the highest ratio represented is made up of those who met during some form of entertainment (discoteque, dance, clubs, movie, theater), while the subsequent ratios are quite even for partners meeting during visits (among friends or family) or at work. The author also found that for most the motivation for marriage was love.

Chapter 8 broadly presents the reproductive behavior. First, the author refers to demographic transition, fertility, and variables which influence the latter, the connection between procreation, the church, and cultural concepts, as well as prognoses, and means for increasing birth rates. Rada then goes on to describe the influence of socio-demographic variables on reproductive behavior within the sample she studied. The present study reaches the conclusion that the main reasons for people to procreate are to ensure assistance in old age, consolidation of the couple, and the fact that it constitutes a stimulent for being successful in life.

The attention turns in Chapter 9 to education, culture, and family. This chapter makes an argument that morality and cultural values are internalized by the individual through enculturation, and that, from an anthropological standpoint, personality is the final carrier of culture. For members of a society, culture constitutes something innate which they are unaware of unless they come in contact with different cultures. Other subjects dealt with in this chapter are parental control, the relationship of parents with the school where the child is studying, and how free time is spent.

Chapter 10 deals with extended family relations and those with the family of origin, and the author argues that parents are the most important and closest support for the child until it reaches maturity, and even after, and that intergenerational support is a complex issue, especially in cultural, economic, demographic, and psychological terms.

The 11ᵗʰ chapter evaluates interesting aspects concerning family cohesion, flexibility and communication. A conclusion is reached that the Romanian family has *medium* functionality, tends to do quite well in terms of cohesion and less well with flexibility.

The material that was collected was subjected to statistical analyses, and the scientific argument is sound. The book ends with a synthesis in English of the general frameworks of the contemporary Romanian family in other geographic areas.

The quantitative results contained in the 11 chapters are qualitatively supported by individual, interviews, carried out in the form of "recounting the life problem", inspired by narrative theory. Some of the chapters include photographs taken during the research period.

The subject of this book is complex and timely because the modern family is in a stage of transformation, distancing itself from the traditional nuclear and extended family. This is a multi-disciplinary socio-psycho-medical approach which reflects the author's expertise in this area. However, a more detailed presentation of the multiple medical implications on the subject would have been useful. Thus, more emphasis should have been placed on the impact of poor living conditions and the high count of dependent family on the increased incidence of contagious, sexually transmitted, and chronic diseases (i.e. cardiovascular disease, diabetes mellitus etc.). I would have also expected an extensive presentation of the importance of marital, psychological and educational counseling, addressing communities characterized by early marriages and teenage pregnancy, aiming to alleviate the negative effects on the health and social integration of adolescent parents.

Dr. Cornelia Rada's book is recommended for both specialists and the lay public interested in the evolution of the current process of restructuration of the "traditional" family.

ERRATA

Due to an editorial error the following members were omitted from the listing of the scientific board in the printed version of previous issue (49/2012).

Constantin Bălăceanu-Stolnici
Gheorghiță Geană
Constantin Ionescu-Târgoviște
Alexandru Ispas
Sabina Ispas

We hereby rectify this mistake.

The Editors