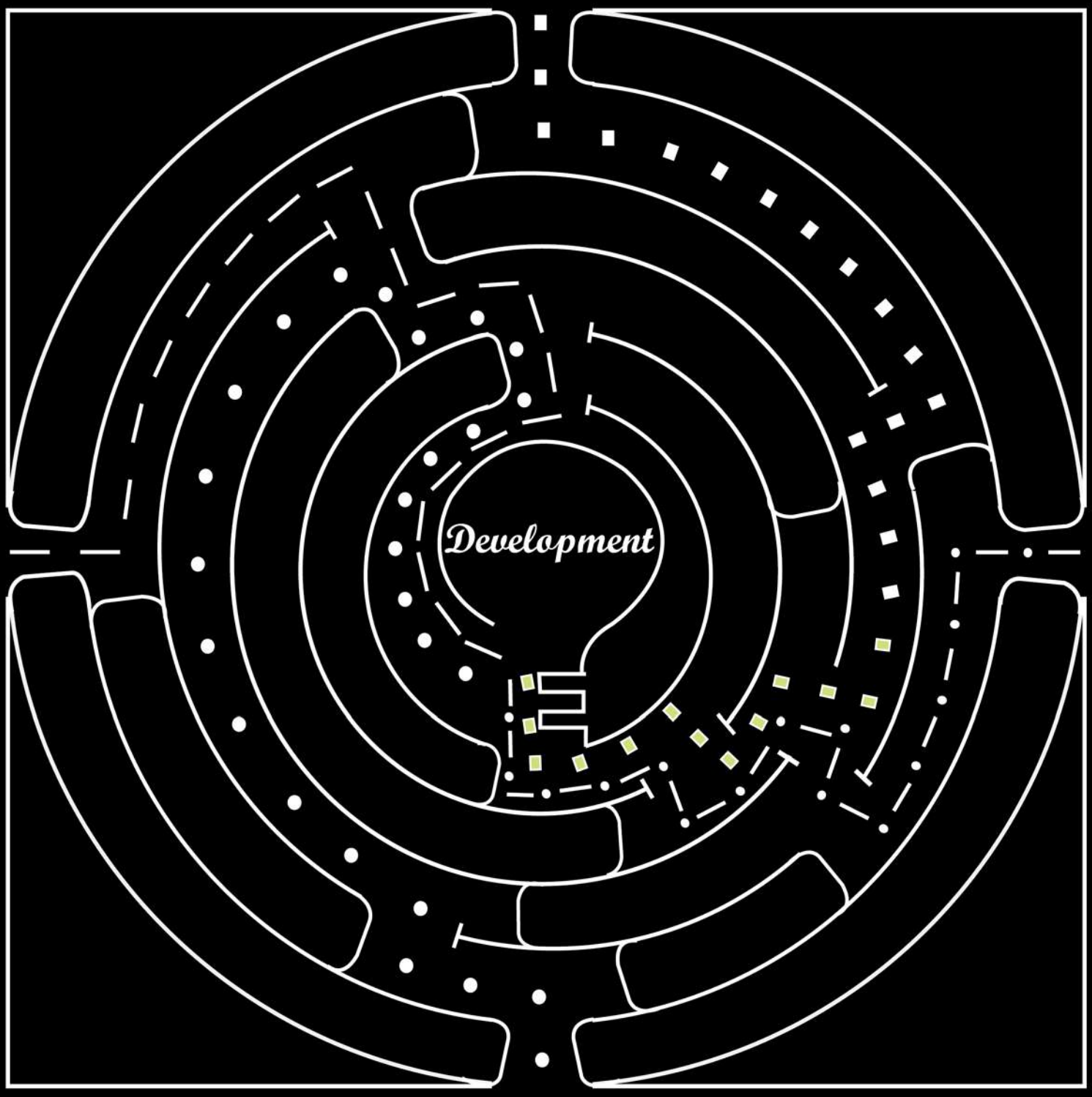
EIDOS

ALTERNATIVES TO DEVELOPMENT



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Eidos

2016-17

Alternatives to Development

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A big thank you to all our readers, we hope you enjoy this alternative edition of the Eidos!

Editorial

The discussion on how 'development' is approached in the world has become a topic of extensive analyses. It has fostered the link between academicians and policy makers to work in tandem. Thus, it is at an apt point in time that the journal encourages the students to begin thinking critically of the concept. And to think , in the sense of not just awareness but assess critically the already existing literature and proposing other ways to approach development.

The novelty of the topic "Alternative to Development" confounded most authors initially, as it isn't the same as Alternative Development. This is why many papers study the scope of development through unconventional means like art , memes, fashion or the media representation of the concept. There is also an inevitable possibility of looking at development only in terms of economic / structural framework. By either distancing oneself from it or limiting oneself to look at development as allied only to economic growth. This is not to say that economic analysis has been completely ignored. The papers on philanthropy as an alternative to development and obsession with GDP figures influencing development go in line with the popular definition of the process.

There will be a set of arguments the reader may find unsettling / difficult to agree with and find some that make them aware of a new perspective. We would welcome any healthy discussion that leads to better understanding. If there are any feedbacks / expectations, they can be expressed through a mail to the journal ID.
We have tried to incorporate visual interpretations of the theme as it makes expression of an idea more vivid. We hope that you read the journal and it pushes you to engage with the changes that affect humans and nature on many levels directly. It is not about only finding Alternatives to Development but to finding approaches that are adaptive of the times ahead.

Shreya Thaker
Editor-in-chief, Eidos 2016-17

The Department of Sociology and Anthropology- Through the Year.

This past academic year, 2016-17 has been an active one for the Department of Sociology and Anthropology. As a subsidiary of this department, The Academy of Sociology and Anthropology has been successful in conducting a few activities through the course of this year, also laying down certain frameworks which we hope to see continue in the succeeding academic years.

The Inter-class Mentorship Program- This was an academic initiative aimed at establishing a mentee-mentor relation between the First and Third year Sociology and Anthropology students. This program aimed to reach out in a personal manner of connecting one third year representative with 2-3 First year's and create a chain though which struggles at the first year level could be met with by the assistance from a third year level. This included feedback with assignments, general mentoring with regards to the subject matter and sharing of readings for additional help during the course of the year.

A talk by Mr.Jigmey Tsultrim titled "A Day In Tibet"- The following was an attempt to provide the students at Xavier's with an insight into the socio-cultural background, historical relevance, as well as the migration policies affecting the people of Tibet at the micro and macro level interactions with other nations.

A lecture by Prof. Joe Devine on " The Social, Political and Anthropological Aspects of Development" – This lecture was conducted in collaboration with the Council of International Programmes , where Prof. Devine spoke of varying developmental concept, substantiating it with data gained through his personal research work.

The Annual Department Seminar- Held from 29th November-1st December 2016 was one in collaboration with The Academy. The students at this seminar presented papers on the topic of "Alternatives to Development", critiquing and some providing viable solutions of their own.

"Sociological Monologues"- An initiative in collaboration with The Playhouse- English Theatre Society. An activity based on the format of the acclaimed "Vagina Monologues", where students will be provided the freedom to perform out their monologues on sociologically relevant themes and topics.

Honours programs - The honours course which is aimed at fostering academic excellence and creative development under Sociology and Anthropology organised lecture series on Gender and Migration, 8 Marxist thinkers, a course on Writing within academics and on Environment.

Guest lectures - The department encourages that understanding of a subject is necessary beyond a classroom and takes effort to organise guest lectures. This year there have been guest lectures on and by the following-

- Sinead D'Silva: Paolo Freire's idea of Education
- Smita Jacob: National Rural Livelihood Mission
- Sumitra Badrinathan: Do we need the nation anymore?
- Ms. Shriya Bhatia Kaul (Smart Cities)
- Dr. Sunetro Ghosal (Techniques of Academic writing)
- Ms. Ketaki Hate (Research Methodology in Gender Studies)

Professors' activities through the year -

Dr. Sam Taraporevala served as the vice chancellor's nominee as subject expert on the screening committee for career advancement scheme for making recommendation to the university for promotion of the university department teacher from Assistant professor in stage 1 to Assistant professor in stage 2 and /or Assistant professor in stage 2 to Assistant professor in stage 3 in the subject of Sociology. He has also addressed senior academicians at a conference organised on autonomy by RUSA at St Xavier's College. He spoke on the theme of building inclusion in higher education. He is also playing the role of a project advisor for design students at Industrial Design Centre (IDC) IIT Powai on inclusive design. He was invited by various corporates to conduct sensitisation and awareness workshops on the theme of social inclusion and awareness in the workplace. These included workshops in Pune and Chennai for BNY Mellon, Citibank, Sanofi Pharmaceuticals, Tatas (at Bombay House) and Deloitte. He also continued the association with Tata Institute of Social Sciences (TISS) as member of doctoral advisory committee.

Prof. Madhuri Raijada has been included in the Board of Studies (Sociology) of Mithibai College and is also the Vice-Principal of Bachelor of Arts, degree college.

Dr. Pranoti Chirmuley presented a seminar paper entitled Customs, Education and Rites: Do Rites Ensure Rights? at KC College and published a paper titled: Inked: The Untold Story of Dadasaheb Panvalkar, the Heras Institute publication: The Bombay Explorer. And she has been awarded the Post Doctoral Heras-Tata Fellowship.

Prof. Radhika Rani presented a paper entitled Online Misogyny and Virtual Feminism in India.

Dr. (Fr.) Arun D'souza has been awarded the Post Doctoral Heras-Tata Fellowship and continued the association with Tata Institute of Social Sciences (TISS) as member of doctoral advisory committees.The transfer of Fr. Arun as the Bombay provincial priest was met with mixed feelings from the college and the students. He is sorely missed as a teacher and a colleague by the department and the academy of Sociology and Anthropology. We wish him the best.

The department is proud to state that from the current batch that graduated: we have students pursuing -their Masters in Sociology, Anthropology as well as one year fellowship at reputed universities like: London School of Economics (LSE); Delhi School of Economics (DSE), Jawaharlal Nehru University (JNU) and Sciences Po in Paris.

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I HAVE THE SAME GOAL ... EVERYDAY
MILLENNIUM DEVELOPMENT GOALS
REDUCE HUNGER BY 2015

Rethinking Development: Moving Away from an Anthropocentric View of Agency

Agency has been defined in terms of human agents–and has dictated our approach towards development and growth. Humans endlessly exploit natural resources–creating the current disparity in development and the environmental challenges that we face globally. This paper aims to suggest–actor-network theory, which moves away from a human-centric view of Agency providing a framework to reconsider our approach to development [1].

> *"All our words commit us so much to an anthropocentric perspective. When we say agency, we are committed to a subjectivist, Kantian position in which only humans can actually have agency."*
> *– Amitav Ghosh (The Great Derangement, 2016)*

Introduction- Agency and Structure as Binaries

In economics, psychology, sociology and philosophy, agency is the capacity of an actor to act in any given environment. In sociology, an agent is an individual engaging with the social structure. However, there is an ongoing debate within sociology as to the primacy of social structure vs. individual capacity/action.

Human agency is the capacity for human beings to make choices, and have the condition, or state of acting or of exerting power. It is normally contrasted to natural forces, which are causes involving only unthinking deterministic processes. Human agency claims that humans do in fact make decisions and enact them on the world. Structure/s is/are the recurrent patterned arrangements which influence or limit the choices available. Agency is the capacity of individuals to make their own free choices. The structure versus agency debate may be understood as an issue of socialization against autonomy in determining whether an individual acts as a free agent or in a manner dictated by social structure.

The concept of agency has existed since the Enlightenment (17th and 18th centuries). René Descartes' phrase *Cogito ergo sum* [2] stated that anyone who could think is an agent, and any agent capable of knowing that it can think was a subject. Immanuel Kant expanded on this theory by stating that the only way to truly become self-aware is to engage with the outside world. These definitions of agency remained mostly unquestioned until the nineteenth century, when philosophers began arguing that the choices humans make are dictated by forces beyond their control. For example, Karl Marx argued that in modern society, people were controlled by the ideologies of the bourgeoisie, and Friedrich Nietzsche argued that humans made choices based on his own selfish desires, or the "Will to Power."

All of the above approaches to the concept of Agency are centered on the human mind and its power over all other natural, therefore unthinking deterministic forces, which humans can conquer and manipulate. Thus, laying the foundations for future scientific and industrial revolutions that have set the tone for ideas and approaches prevalent in mainstream development.

The Industrial and Scientific Revolutions and Our Ideas of Development

The industrialization of the world dramatically altered the natural world through new methods of resource extraction, production and transportation. The scale and intensity at which nature was used and abused increased manifold. More humans producing more and consuming more led to greater pollution and habitat degradation. The pace of environmental destruction greatly accelerated. Nature became a source of cheap raw materials as well as a dumping ground for the unwanted waste generated by economic growth.

Industries changed rural economies, which demanded materials that transformed the urban areas drastically. Industrialization also directly impacted colonial and imperial tendencies of western-European nations. They decimated local economies and ecological systems to meet the demands of the expanding metropolis.

After the end of the Second World War, the peace process in Europe/America and the decolonization of Africa and Asia, the western countries pursued a phase of production that became a preoccupation with materialism and consumption. Decolonization opened up the possibility of these previously 'underdeveloped' nations 'developing' along the same lines as the West. Rapid industrialization, it was thought, would end poverty and unemployment and make for a strong and self-reliant society. Henry Morgenthau, at the

founding of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD) in 1945, claimed that all nations could enjoy the fruits of material progress on an earth infinitely blessed with natural resources. In this manner, the prospect of unending economic growth was presented as a model of growth for the under-developed nations (Guha, 2000).

Thus, statesmen and development organizations of the west propagated unchecked use of natural resources claiming that Nature herself had 'enough and to spare' (ibid).

Our ideas of freedom and liberty, influenced by the Enlightenment, force us to think of being independent of Nature as a defining characteristic of freedom. 'Only those peoples who had thrown off the shackles of their environment were thought to be endowed with historical agency…' (Ghosh, 2016)

Only those who separated themselves from Nature (this included blind faith in magic, spiritualism, religion and mystic forces as opposed to rational, scientific thought) were seen as progressive and had made the choice of being free from the clutches that had kept them from developing.

Overlooking Nature: A Perspective on Development Projects

In his book, *The Great Derangement (Penguin Books, 2016),* Ghosh talks about collective wisdom accrued over generations that has been put aside when it comes to development projects. After the 2011 earthquake off the coast of Japan and the subsequent tsunami that caused the Fukushima Daiichi nuclear plant to go into meltdown, it has been recorded as the biggest nuclear fallout since Chernobyl. Ghosh (2016) tells us about the collective knowledge that was set aside when building the nuclear plant so close to the water, prone to nature's wrath. The coast around Fukushima has stone tablets placed along the shoreline during the middle Ages to serve as tsunami warnings. Future generations were told not to build anything, let alone a nuclear power plant,close to the water. Ghosh terms this as 'European Enlightenment's predatory hubris in relation to the earth and its resources' (Ghosh,2016). There are other cases of Hubris operating in a manner that forces development practitioners and planners to completely disregard natural forces in favour of 'development' and 'growth'.

The terrible floods in Uttarakhand, which killed more than 1,000 people in 2013, were caused by manmade interventions and mismanagement rather than natural causes. They ensured that cloudbursts and heavy rainfall, which routinely occur in Uttarakhand's upper hills, turned into a catastrophe.

The causes include official policies and governance failures: aggressive promotion and runaway growth of tourism; unchecked, unplanned development of roads, hotels, shops, mines and multistoried housing in ecologically fragile areas; and above all, the planned development of scores of environmentally destructive hydroelectricity dams.

The flood waters, laden with lakhs of tonnes of silt, boulders and debris from dam construction, found no other outlet than hundreds of villages and towns (Bidwai, 2013).

In November 2015, Chennai received the highest monthly rainfall total in its recorded history. But while the resulting rain was unprecedented, the flooding wasn't. Chennai has seen serious flooding several times before, and the local government has not learned its lessons. Part of the problem is how much development occurs near water. There are more than 150,000 illegal buildings in Chennai, according to the city's Metropolitan Development Authority, and many of them encroach on land adjacent to water bodies.

As with Delhi, Mumbai, and other cities in India developing at a breakneck speed, Chennai has relegated its most vulnerable residents to its most precarious regions. They are the ones who disproportionately bear the brunt of natural disasters (Misra, 2015).

All of the above point towards a complete dismissal and ignorance of natural systems and natural flows. Ghosh (2016) calls this 'predatory hubris' a habit of mind that creates discontinuities, 'trained to break problems into smaller and smaller puzzles until a solution presented itself. This is a way of thinking that deliberately excludes things and forces (externalities) that lie beyond the horizon of the matter at hand…' (Ghosh, 2016).

Rethinking Development

With the current attitude towards development that is the cause of climate change, disasters and subsequent conflict, we need to rethink our approach towards development. A fundamental paradigmatic change

needs to take place to gain insight. This paper thus puts forward a theory that might be adapted in the development context:

Actor-Network Theory

The heterogeneous network lies at the heart of actor-network theory, and is a way of suggesting that society, organizations, agents and machines are all effects generated in patterned networks of diverse (not simply human) materials.
The actor-network theory suggests that all knowledge is the end product of a lot of hard work in which bits and pieces-test tubes, microscopes, articles, computers, other scientists- that all form part of a patterned network.

This is a radical claim because it says that these networks are composed not only of people, but also of machines, animals, texts, money, architectures – any material that one can think of. So the argument is that the stuff of the social isn't simply human. It is all these other materials too. The argument is that we wouldn't have a society at all if it weren't for the heterogeneity of the networks of the social. This theory does not celebrate the idea that there is a difference in kind between people on the one hand, and objects on the other. It denies that people are necessarily special. Indeed, it raises a basic question about what we mean when we talk of people.

Regarding agency and an agent's capacity to exercise power, this theory raises some important questions: 'Is an agent an agent primarily because he or she inhabits a body that carries knowledges, skills, values, and all the rest? Or is an agent an agent because he or she inhabits a set of elements (including, of course, a body) that stretches out into the network of materials, somatic (of or relating to the body) and otherwise, that surrounds each body?' (Plumwood, 2006)

The Actor-Network Theory suggests that humans are part of and make up heterogeneous networks through which they exist. If we were to suppose, the natural environment as part of this network, as a two-way interaction, would that make us 'aware' of nature in the sense of a being that is dynamic and exhibits force, rather than a dormant, static entity?

How we distribute agency, is a question with major implications for environmental accounting, it also points towards human thinking: how and why is it that we have been unable to recognize the services and agency of the natural systems. Is it because policy is looked at more from the structural frame that we begin to disregard agency and all that it accounts for? In New Zealand, a former national park has been granted personhood, and a river system is expected to receive the same soon. The unusual designations, something like the legal status that corporations possess, came out of agreements between New Zealand's government and Maori groups (Rousseau, 2016). This indicates that humans are realizing or rather revisiting the concept of natural systems having agency and certain processes that should not be disturbed.

Vedika Inamdar, TYBA, Sociology

Endnotes

[1] One of the limitations of this paper is that it assumes all human beings as 'equal' in terms of being affected by climate change and uniform in their approach to development. Cultural, geographical, racial, socio-economic, political, technological, income and wealth, gender, temporal and spatial elements that create divisions and disparities in society (assuming only humans as part of social life) do exist and are of paramount importance but this paper does not delve into them much. This is due to the fact that we need to take attention away from human agency and choice and extend it to other non-human elements in a relational nature.

[2] "I think, therefore I am" (English translation of the Latin phrase)

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The Case Against GDP

The synonymy between GDP and development has existed unbarred for years within our political framework. This paper tries to present the case against GDP fetishism, by questioning the very use of it in the first place. It surveys some of the alternative ideas and, in the process; proposes an intermediary replacement.

Understanding the Predicament

Gross Domestic Product (GDP) has been used as an overarching measure for development for over half a century despite its long observed problems. However, what is particularly concerning is that this narrow measure of market operations is confused with broader measures of social progress. The measures used influence policy related decision-making and flaws in the measurement which could lead to distorted decisions. Presently, our policies seem to have a singular aim of increasing GDP and this isn't accompanied with adequate consequent welfare development. Van den Bergh (2009) proves that a welfare growth equivalent to the targeted GDP growth cannot be maintained. [1] Considering this, the logical conclusion drawn is that our indicators are faulty (van den Bergh, 2015). With advances in our understanding of the issue and widespread acceptance of the flawed nature of GDP we can and must move away from this fetishism and construct better indicators.

Deconstructing Degrowth

Degrowth is the most radical opposition to GDP fetishism. It is a multifaceted term that has no simple definition, and hasn't even made an appearance in social science dictionaries until 2006. It has been derived from the french slogan "Décroissance" which has the benefit of avoiding the negative connotation that degrowth has attached to it. The term 'Degrowth' was formally accepted as the English variation at the first Paris Degrowth Conference, 2008. This marked the beginning of academic research on degrowth and sparked debates in the international civil society (Degrowth.org, n.d.).

According to Degrowth.org,

> *"Sustainable degrowth is a downscaling of production and consumption that increases human well-being and enhances ecological conditions and equity on the planet. It calls for a future where societies live within their ecological means, with open, localized economies and resources more equally distributed through new forms of democratic institutions. Such societies will no longer have to "grow or die." Material accumulation will no longer hold a prime position in the population's cultural imaginary. The primacy of efficiency will be substituted by a focus on sufficiency, and innovation will no longer focus on technology for technology's sake but will concentrate on new social and technical arrangements that will enable us to live convivially and frugally. Degrowth does not only challenge the centrality of GDP as an overarching policy objective but proposes a framework for transformation to a lower and sustainable level of production and consumption, a shrinking of the economic system to leave more space for human cooperation and ecosystems."*

Latouche (2010) synthesises the ideas of Degrowth into the 8 R's: To Revalue, Reconceptualize, Restructure, Relocate, Redistribute, Reduce, Reuse, Recycle (Latouche, 2010).

To better understand the nuances and different interpretations, definitions and comprehensions of Degrowth they have been divided into the five following types: Gross Domestic Product (GDP) Degrowth, Consumption Degrowth, Work time Degrowth, Radical Degrowth and Physical Degrowth (van den Bergh, 2010). Although a movement with merit, Degrowth has been opposed on many fronts. Hueting (2010), shows that realising environmental restoration is likely to result in a contraction in the GDP, at least initially, since majority of economic growth is generated by sectors that contribute to pollution. However, the reverse may not hold true - GDP degrowth may not lead to environmental restoration. Therefore, degrowth isn't considered a strong solution and widely criticised for this unstable basis, among other reasons (Hueting, 2010).

Anarchism, Atheism, Agrowth

> *"...It would be best to speak about "agrowth", as one speaks about atheism. It actually means quite precisely, the abandonment of a religion: the religion of the economy, growth, progress and development." – Latouche, 2010*

The concept of Agrowth has been proposed as a more

viable alternative to Degrowth. The term expresses an indifference towards economic growth but doesn't oppose it; rather it targets GDP growth fetishism. GDP, in its restricted measurement has failed, as an indicator, to accurately capture development of a nation. There is a need to focus on more direct indicators of social and environmental welfare that can replace GDP. While Agrowth doesn't offer an alternative, it proposes a neutral or agnostic stance on the fluctuations of GDP (Latouche, 2010).

Growth may be beneficial to some nations in certain development stages, and even necessary, but "unconditional growth" shouldn't be the target. This places a needless and avoidable constraint on the social progress of a country, which impedes decision-making on health, climate and labor policies (van den Bergh, 2010). Optimization theory dictates that under an additional constraint the objective function (social welfare) results in a lower or at best equal optimal value, but never a higher one. The added constraint of a positive or minimum 2% economic growth will be unable contribute to an increased level of social welfare, and will possibly diminish social welfare. Thus, the aim of agrowth is dismissing economic growth as a necessary and sufficient condition to actualize welfare and its growth.

The Quintile Axiom

While Agrowth takes the shift away from growth, the need for a replacement arises. The obsession that surrounds GDP growth makes substituting it with Degrowth all the more challenging, especially considering the connotation of the word to those who are unfamiliar with its intricacies. Therefore, considering the disregard for GDP that Agrowth hopes for, the difficulties that Degrowth poses and the larger human development and environmental concerns, the idea of Quintile Axiom as put forth by Basu (2000) appears to be the perfect intermediate measure.

He proposes that while assessing a country's economic state or progress, our focus should fall upon how the poorest people in the nation are faring (Basu, 2000). This can be achieved by looking at the economic condition of the poorest 20 percent of the population - the bottom quintile. The per capita income of the bottom quintile (quintile income) and the growth rate of the quintile income (quintile growth rate) as opposed to that of the nation would give us a better evaluation of the state of development of the country (ibid).

This approach may not seem to be directly related to furthering non-economic goals of "comprehensive development" or environmental protection, or provide an indicator like United Nations Development Program's Human Development Index and instead just another measure that could lead to its own kind of fetishism (Basu, 2000). But the defense proposed against this criticism is twofold: Firstly, while our current focus is on GDP growth and per capita income, it proposes a less radical change to measuring quintile income in lieu of it. Secondly, the quintile growth rate [2] is likely to correlate better with social indicators, such as standard of living, inequality, environmental conditions etc. (ibid).

One of the major advantages of the quintile axiom is that while concentrating resources on the poorest 20 percent it does not ignore the people outside of this group (Basu, 2000). Any measure targeted at the worst of the lot is bound to benefit those who are better off. If those outside of the bottom quintile bracket fare badly, they will be included in the bottom quintile, thus brought into the focus of targeted policies. This provides us with a moving target that cannot be satisfied. There will always be a bottom quintile whose conditions can be improved, meanwhile constantly improving the overall standards (ibid).

The bottom up approach to welfare development proposed by the quintile axiom has a directness, which the other strategies lack (Basu, 2000). Instead of aiming for increased growth in the overall GDP and hoping for a spillover effect that benefits the poorest sections, this measure begins with the improvement in the growth rate of quintile incomes. This ensures that the weaker sections of society are not just included, but brought to the forefront (ibid).

Conclusion

In practical applicability, Agrowth could garner the most support, as there is growing recognition among politicians and economists of the limitations of the GDP measure (Stiglitz, 2009). Degrowth, on the other hand, may rouse the radicals that are certain that mere reforms cannot undo the ecological and economic crises, and that institutional and life-style changes are needed (Speth, 2008). The most viable scenario seems to be Degrowth proponents stressing on the need for a change through social movements, which may result in the adoption of Agrowth at a political level. Agrowth combined with policies modeled on the quintile axiom has the possibility to lead to

sustainable development, which concerns itself with human welfare above all.

Daksha Parmani, SYBA

Endnotes

[1] Assuming the average rate of annual GDP growth as 2% is maintained for the next 1000 years the GDP will be (1.02) 1000 ≈ 400 million times higher than it currently is. Clearly an equivalent increase in social welfare cannot take place implying that a decoupling of GDP and social welfare must occur at some point.

[2] Working towards constantly ensuring the bottom quintile is faring optimally.

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Memes and Non-Economic Forms of Capital

The de facto perception of capital as economic shapes a similar conception of the idea of development, isolating entire species of capital, and, by extension, notions of development along the way. Development is thus looked at via processes of social and cultural reproduction, which subtly define societal hierarchies and the accepted or aspirational reality.

Memes, according to Richard Dawkins, are the mediators of cultural evolution (Wiggins & Bowers, 2014); albeit not referring to the internet meme while saying so. Burman observed, as a characteristic of memes, that memes soon became active and non-metaphorical - a meme became a prime example of what a meme is or does (Wiggins & Bowers, 2014) [as the memes on the internet do]

H. Jenkins conceptualises participatory culture as "…a culture with relatively low barriers to artistic expression and civic engagement, strong support for creating and sharing one's creations, and some type of informal mentorship whereby what is known by the most experienced is passed along to novices" (Shifman, 2013). Memes are, thus, artefacts of participatory digital culture.

A Brief Insight into the Evolution of Memes

Since their inception, memes have undergone severe structural and narratological transformations. The "first generation" of memes, such as Bad Luck Brian and Socially Awkward Penguin, are pre-ironic in nature. They both act, and look like, memes. Subversion of genre is not a part of their humour. There was then a transition to ironic memes, that subvert the narrative structure, and build around it the mainstay of their humour. They do, however, retain some of the mematic structure of their predecessors - looking like a meme, but not acting like one. A segue from one layer of irony (as found in ironic memes) to multiple was ushered in by both, post-ironic, and meta-ironic memes. Post-ironic memes comprise of an acceptance of the ironic narrative, whose subversion is central to its humour. These memes stylistically subvert pre-ironic memes, and therefore act as memes despite not looking like them. Alternatively, meta-ironic memes find the mainstay of their humour in subverting ironic memes altogether. Therefore, meta-ironic memes neither look, nor act like a meme.

Memes and Cultural Capital

The structure of the distribution of the different types and subtypes of capital at a given moment in time represents the immanent structure of the social world; it symbolises the set of constraints inscribed in the very reality of that world, which govern its functioning in a durable way, determining the chances of success of practices. It is, in fact, impossible to account for the structure and functioning of the social world unless one reintroduces capital in all its forms, and not solely as recognized by economic theory. This paper will be dealing with two types or forms, as Pierre Bourdieu phrased it, of capital - social capital and cultural capital. The concepts of both, social, and cultural capital, were presented in Bourdieu's book 'The Forms of Capital' (1986), and while different, are strongly interrelated.

Cultural capital serves as the (cultural) knowledge that behaves like currency that helps us navigate culture and alters the experience and opportunities available to us. It refers to non-financial assets that demarcate social classes beyond economic means, and impact social mobility. Cultural capital can exist in three states: the embodied state, the objectified state, and the institutionalised state (Bourdieu, 1986).

The embodied state refers to the knowledge that has come to reside within us (due to our class), or "the long-lasting dispositions of the mind and body", as Bourdieu (1986) put it. Embodied capital is visible in how a meme is constructed, as well as our interpretation/treatment of it - the language used, the message depicted, the objects and their portrayal (clothes, cars, houses, any nouns), the actions performed and how, and our interpretation of all the above.

The material objects that indicate social class are representations of the objectified state. With respect to memes, the material object is usually the mode of access to the meme itself; for example: a laptop, a computer, a smartphone, a tablet, with a respectable internet connection. Therefore, there is a minimum material basis to access memes; within which, there exist hierarchies based on the facilities and ownership of each class. Although the idea of institutionalised form of cultural capital doesn't particularly apply to memes, Althusser's (1970) concept of ideological

state apparatuses is very apt.

Ideological State Apparatuses (or ISAs) help maintain the dominant cultural hegemony. They socially reproduce the capitalist relations of exploitation, legitimising and prolonging the ideology. As their name suggests, ISAs discipline the masses making them subservient to the capitalist system (Althusser, 1970); they might not only be the stake but the site of class struggle, as post-ironic propaganda meme pages prove. The propagation of the dominant perception of society in most aspects can be found within the format of a meme. Besides impressing the dominant class' rhetoric on politics and economics, the sexism, racism, transphobia, etc., that is rampant in "civil" society and the workings of the state, can also be found within memes; thereby acting as an agent of conditioning.

The case for memes as ISAs is further strengthened by their social nature, leaving one open to social ridicule for not following the dominant trend. The dehumanisation and marginalisation of certain sections of the population, insensitive jokes aimed at the oppressed, partaking in the dominant political and economic rhetoric, amongst other things, all go unquestioned as they are passed off as just jokes, despite beginning to socialise an individual.

Linguistic Imperialism and Cultural Capital

The presence of a more symbolic form of capital in mematic interaction is witnessed in the utilisation of English to disseminate information via memes. This is a direct product and a conscientious furthering of English linguistic hegemony, that was attained by linguistic imperialism. Imperialism, according to Galtung, is "a type of relationship whereby one society (or collectivity, in more general terms) can dominate another; linguistic imperialism is, clearly enough, the domination of another via means of language, that also proliferates other forms of imperialism" (Phillipson, 1992).

For a language that has been formulated on the shoulders of a numerous others (such as Spanish, Hindi, etc), as well as historically significant ones (such as Latin, Greek, and Sanskrit), the attempts to streamline and add rigidity to the usage of English seems almost comical. There are only two formally accepted variants of the language - the British and American versions. Local or regional variations of the language are looked down upon, and seen as indicators of an inadequate education, access to which is evidently dependent on one's class.

A Eurocentric education system only reinforces the class connotations of the ability to communicate in "good" or "proper" English. The neo-colonial idea of development (both, cultural and economic) being similar in structure to a trickle-down effect (i.e. top-downward development) strengthens the class structure and even making "proper" English a prerequisite to development.

These ideas are perhaps best represented by memes, as a majority of memes that flood one's social media are in English, despite the meme talking about, or being made by a non-native English speaker, or in a non-native English speaking country (in majority). These memes rarely follow their local variants of English, but instead, try their best to follow one of the two globally accepted versions. So sacrosanct is the idea of English and all it represents, that even meme captions that do not have their content and meaning based in English (instead in a regional language such as Hindi or Marathi), use the English script and 26 alphabet to frame their message. The soft power of and obsession with English can be summarised in a quote by Galtung: "an image of imperialism rich enough to capture a wide variety of phenomena, yet specific enough not to be a tautology" (Phillipson, 1992).

Language, being the most frequently used means of communication, made linguistic penetration essential for the establishment of both, imperialism and a class hierarchy. While memes are obviously not the sole sign (or site) of linguistic imperialism, they are particularly pertinent due to their global appeal and constant alterations with respect to content. However, irrespective of the content, English seems to be the predominant language in memes globally, especially within the upper classes.

The aforementioned may be due to a variety of reasons, ranging primarily from access to education, the association of a good education and upbringing with grammatically correct English, to the difficulty of certain languages, and related biases, that tend to inherit the hierarchical prejudices of society; thus, representing the larger socio-political structure and the class connotations of the same. Gilbert Ansre explains phenomenon wherein the minds and lives of a people are dominated by a non-native language, to the point where they believe that one must only

use that foreign language in dealing with advanced aspects of life, such as education, government, etc. (Phillipson, 1992).

Memes and Social Capital

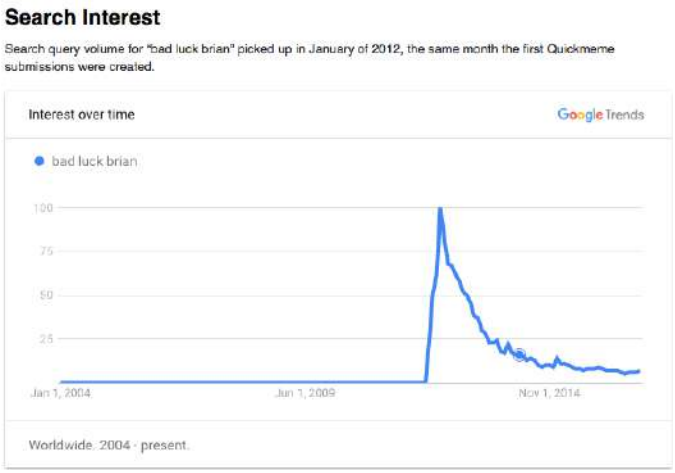
The aggregate of potential resources embedded in social relationships of mutual acquaintance, enabling individuals to mobilise these resources, is called social capital. Its 'social' aspect emphasises on the resources in question not being personal assets, for no single person owns them.

A preponderance of evidence has suggested a positive correlation between simply usage of the internet and social capital (Boase, Jeffrey and Barry Wellman, 2005). Ellison, Steinfield and Lampe (2007) suggest that social capital exercised on the internet tends to be a result of relationships formed online, enabling maintenance of the relationships and bridging capital.

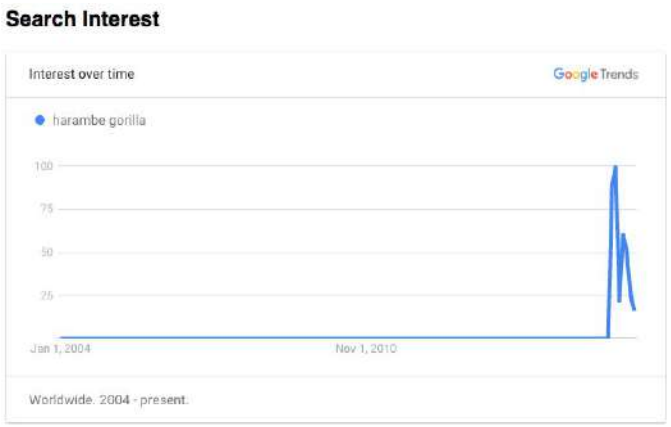
More specifically, informational uses of the internet showed a positive correlation with an individual's social capital, while recreational usage negatively correlated to one's social capital (Shah, Kwak & Holbert, 2001). Mematic interaction exists in both these forms. Informational usage of memes covers and instigates discourse on various forms of bigotry, oppression, and exploitation, while also analysing contemporary global events. Socio-recreational variants within the meme culture, such as trends of "shitposting" (that is, an internet slang term used to describe off-topic rhetoric and misbehaviours such as non-commercial spamming), can be viewed as reducing one's social capital due to a possibility of damaging or ending social relationships.

Apart from the aforementioned arguments (including that of access made under the ambit of objectified cultural capital), social capital attributed to memes can be measured in terms of the trends of usage. Memes tend to be more qualitatively subjective than other indicators of social capital, thus leading to the study of their trends.

The trend chart below depicts the exact time period wherein the meme 'Bad Luck Brian' went viral, and then retained relevance for. With time, this particular pre-ironic meme fizzled out. A similar trend chart of the meme related to Harambe, the (late) gorilla at Cincinnati Zoo, a much newer meme, shows a much sharper rise, as well as a sharp decline in popularity as compared to its predecessor. Interestingly, the trend graph belonging to Harambe shows a resurgence in interest after its initial decline. Unlike its pre-ironic counterpart, Harambe was a dynamic meme, and therefore permitted more than just one-dimensional usage. In a Bad Luck Brian meme, there was always an embarrassing or unfortunate situation within which the said character was involved - in fact this was the essence, and thus the prerequisite of the meme. With respect to relatively newer memes such as Harambe, the only common linkage between the types of memes was picture, mention or reference of Harambe. There was no other intrinsically binding prerequisite needed.



Search interest trend for the meme 'Bad Luck Brian' (Source: knowyourmeme.com)



Search interest trend for memes based on Harambe (Source: knowyourmeme.com)

Mematic evolution occurs in another manner as illustrated by the Doge and Doggo memes respectively; as the Doge meme's popularity and unique dialect gave rise to various permutations of dog-related memes under the ambit of a general type - Doggo.

While definitely important, perhaps even pioneering, in their respective rights, memes such as Doge and Bad Luck Brian simply are not circulated anymore (or at least not in significant amounts, therefore unable

to influence the trend). They just cannot be called relevant. Therefore, they will carry lesser amounts of social capital than their trending counterparts, since they play no part in bridging; that is, maintenance of relationships between local institutions (Baker, 2000). They cannot help one bridge with the community at large, that follows meme trends as they ebb and flow. Just as name generation (of personal contacts) is used to measure social capital of individuals, similarly the meme pages one follows and interacts with, and not just the memes, can have an impact too, as the pages can be entities in their own right, with their respective social capital.

When contextualised as per the Indian and American backdrops, however, there seems to be a difference in access to memes by individuals of a particular class. In India, mematic indulgence is highly unlikely to exist within the working class, thus permeating only till the middle classes. This is due to the minimum material basis needed to access memes to begin with; a lack of consistently fast internet connections in several areas hampering access to those that do possess the required hardware.

In countries such as the USA, however, there exists relatively easier access of memes to the working class individual due to the presence of infrastructure for an optimum internet connection, and a general difference between standards of living. It is, therefore, safe to infer that the number of individuals that interact with memes is greater in the USA, than in India. This only goes to highlight the dynamic nature of memes and the relativity of socio-economic capital they symbolise, as per the context they're situated in, but it also confirms that they do indeed symbolise socio-economic capital.

Conclusion

Memes, while starting as just another object for indulging in digital participatory culture, have somewhat become, in their own right, an art form and more. Based on the notions of hyper-imitation, memes proliferate through and permeate most digital interaction today. But while imitating aesthetic and punch lines, these memes also invariably imitate (and thus, transfer) the biases and hierarchies of society. They serve as social indicators, and therefore, also as social demarcations. The manner in which we behave online through mematic interaction shows us the privilege, which is otherwise, invisibilized in our daily lives. However, even as one persists firmly within the imitative and ever-changing discourse of the meme, we must never fail to unveil the relatively static power dynamic of society that they uphold; we must never fail to problematize the obvious.

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Post Development Critique of Development Agencies

This paper analyses instances of aid intervention by development agencies, through the post-development lens, with the aim of understanding the underlying political, economic and social intentions of said agencies, and the reasons for the failure of the same. Development agencies embody the 'development' discourse, and this position allows them to produce knowledge that perpetuates the Northern dominance on the Global South.

In Jeffrey Sach's book 'The End of Poverty- Economic Possibilities of our Time' (2005), development is conceived as a ladder. The "rich" occupy the higher rungs, "middle income" groups occupy the intermediate rungs, the "poor" are credited to have "at least" reached the first rung and the "poorest of the poor", who are unable to even get on the first rung, are not a part of this development ladder. He asserts that it is the responsibility of the "developed" nations to help the "poorest of the poor" onto the ladder. He outlines causes of poverty such as the physical geography, fiscal deficiency to invest in infrastructure, cultural factors acting as barriers, geopolitics leading to impoverished trade relations, lack of innovation and rapid population growth, in order to explain the reasons for economic degradation and stagnation in "underdeveloped" nations (Sachs, 2005, p. 56-61).

These causes are isolated and do not take into consideration the historical implications of colonial plundering, thus rendering these nations inherently incapable of moving up the 'development' ladder without intervention (Peet & Hartwick, 2009). 'Developed' nations or the Global North, exercise power directly over the 'underdeveloped' South, through aid intervention and indirectly, by dictating the course and preconditions of the development policies, thus limiting their agency and subordinating their knowledge (Gardner& Lewis, 1996).

The post development school confronts the development meta-narrative and the ethnocentric tendency of the discourse, while embracing alternatives to development excluded by the dominant neoliberal trends. Through the length of this paper, instances of aid intervention by agencies will be analyzed. This paper also aims at exploring a paradigm which uses local knowledge, promotes grass root initiatives, and does not neglect cultural nuances while framing policies.

Creation of the Field for Aid Intervention

The social space through which there emerged a need for aid intervention, was created post-World War II, where there was the sudden recognition of poverty in the 'Third World' - in countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. As in market economies, the poor are characterized by their lack of purchasing power and material possessions, in comparison to standards set by the rich. A measure of this economic deficiency on a global level, was realized when the World Bank, in 1948, defined those nations with an annual per capita income of less than $100 as poor, due to which two-thirds of the global population were suddenly victims of poverty. Thus, comparative statistical operations created poverty on a global scale (Escobar, 1995, p. 23-24).

To alleviate 'ignorance' and 'primitivism', any aid provided, required the intervention to be comprehensive (Escobar, 1992a). One of the first economic missions initiated by the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, in Colombia, in July 1949, was structured in a similar manner, so as to cover all aspects of the Colombian economy. According to the report, it was only through an integrated approach to education, housing, food, health and social planning that poverty could be defeated. Colombia's 'salvation' was made available only through 'development', with modern science and technology, international aid, planning and a market-driven economy. This "scientifically ascertained social requirement" (International Bank, 1950) left no space for negotiating the direction of development other than that asserted by the affluent North.

Although the 1950 IBRD report stated that Colombia would reach the stage of 'self-generating' economic development eventually, it is still largely controlled by the economic agenda of its 'development partners'. For instance, in the following years, in response to military aid received by Colombia to combat narco-traffickers, it had to implement certain neoliberal policies prescribed by the USA and in response to a stand-by loan produced by the IMF, the Colombian administration had to privatize one of the country's largest banks, Bancafé.

The 'Homogenous' South and 'Homogenized' Development

The definition of poverty that entails only a monetary deficiency, consequently includes steps towards eradication of poverty, through the goals of material prosperity and economic development, stripping the concept of its basic relativity (Rahnema, 1991). Thus, there is the portrayal of a unitary picture of the South, not taking into account the historical experiences and the cultural complexities it encompasses. The 'Third world', is one plagued by a common economic deficiency. One of the examples that ascertain the homogenizing tendencies of the South is Ferguson's study of the aid intervention policies in Lesotho (Murray & Ferguson, 1994). This nation had been receiving aid for nearly two decades without any evident results. The development plan failed because of the World Bank's construction of Lesotho as a subsistence based agriculture and market-less economy, was markedly different from the actual Lesotho, a large exporter of labour for the neighbouring South African mines. The economic and political landscapes on which the intervention was based, bore little or no resemblance to the actual structure (Murray &Ferguson, 1994, p. 176).

In contrast to the World Bank's claim that the livelihood of 85% of the people in Lesotho is provided to by agriculture, only 6% sustain themselves by means of domestic crop production. 70% of the population earn their livelihood by means of labour in South Africa. The World Bank's image of Lesotho corresponds the "underdeveloped" country within the modernization theory – a traditional, backward, agricultural society.

'Developing' the country, keeping in mind the nature of the occupation practiced by the people of Lesotho, would require development agencies to intervene in the formulation of schemes that increase and regulate wage rates of migrant workers in South Africa. However, the path taken by the World Bank, may have been an excuse to avoid intervention in binational politics, which would have otherwise been the best way to boost annual per capita income.

Intervention and Accountability in Development

Development aid provided in the form of loans by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) are given against the agreement that the 'beneficiary' nation will undertake certain Structural Adjustments. The prescribed adjustments are the increase of interest rates decreasing the money supply (monetary austerity), increase in tax rates and reduction of government expenditure (fiscal austerity), privatization of public enterprises and removal of trade barriers. In addition, foreign businesses and banks must be given the freedom to operate, buy and own national capital and business enterprises. It was only when these stated conditions were met, that the IMF would agree to provide loans ("Structural Adjustment—a Major Cause of Poverty — Global Issues", 2016).

The IMF states that it does not impose its policies over the countries receiving the aid, but rather "negotiates" the terms under which aid is provided. Considering the aspect of power it exercises and the knowledge it operates on, it is ostensible that the negotiations are one-sided. With reference to the example of Sub-Saharan Africa (Madagascar, Somalia, Zimbabwe, Tanzania, Sudan, Malawi), by the 1970's, the decrease in economic growth had turned into a full-blown crisis, with negative growth rates and expanding external deficit. Due to protracted negotiations and the inability to arrive at a unanimously accepted plan of action, these nations turned to the IMF and eventually accepted the prescribed Structural Adjustment agreement.

In order to understand the causes, effects and solutions for the crisis, these nations put forth the Lagos Plan of Action and the World Bank put forth the 'Accelerated Development in Sub-Saharan Africa: A Plan for Action' (Berg Report). Both reports contrasted each other on the identification of the causes. While the LPA stressed on the structural factors and the low internal commodity pricing, the Berg report claimed that the inadequate policies and corrupt governance were the causes of economic downfall (Cowan 1994). It did not take into account the global inflation and stagnation that occurred during the same period.

The lack of accountability held by development agencies is evident when their reports emphasize the internal, over the external causes of failure. In the case of failure of development projects in Lesotho, development planners placed the blame on locals, who were 'uncooperative' and 'inactive' towards the working of the development project, (Murray &Ferguson 1994).

Though the post-development thought has been met by significant critique, the content of which is beyond the capacity of this paper, it still fulfils the purpose

of initiating a critique against a dominant discourse of 'development' and the bodies through which this discourse is perpetuated. However, development aid agencies have brought about certain positive and well-received changes on the local level. Voluntary family planning programs and programs to improve the sexual and reproductive health of youth in the rural areas, are relevant examples of development intervention by private organizations. Thus, creating local definitions of development by taking community-based suggestions, may act as an important ground for change in the current ways of international aid intervention.

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Work, Till Death Do Us Part

This paper hopes to examine the relationship between development and psychology- a connection that is rarely made the race to boost GDPs. The consequences of this can run much deeper than one could imagine- and it is this fatalistic sense work ethic and ignorance towards mental health, that sets Japanese culture aside from the rest of the world.

Debates and measures regarding progress and development, all seem to speak in a similar tongue – economics. The rule of thumb to measure success is usually quantitative figures of how much output is generated, which is reflected in a country's Gross Domestic Product. One might go a little further and account for the quality of the product produced, but all efforts cease there. No heed is paid to how the figures that reflect a country's "growth" came to be.

Post World War II, the Japanese economic boom lead to a sudden spurt in its GDP.

In 1969, a 29 year old worker in the delivery department of Japan's largest newspaper has a stroke and dies.

Two seemingly unrelated events, intertwined in numerous ways.

Five of the 10 leading causes of disability worldwide are mental health problems (Harnois & Gariel, 2000). They are as relevant in low-income countries as they are in rich ones, cutting across age, gender, and social stratas, with an epidemic of deaths due to overwork and burnout having plagued numerous countries across the world. Social commentators and practitioners first identified the importance of burnout as a problem to society, long before it became subject matter for systematic study. Burnout research, uses a grass-root, or bottom-up, approach which is derived from people's experiences, and also highlights the complexities of it, rather than studying labour as a homogenous, undivided means to an end.

What has emerged from research is the conceptualisation of job burnout as a psychological syndrome in response to the chronic interpersonal stressors present on the job. The three key dimensions include, overwhelming exhaustion (the individual's stress dimension representing depleted emotional and physical resources), feeling of cynicism and detachment from the job (the interpersonal dimension characterised by negative, callous and a detached response), and finally a sense of ineffectiveness and lack of accomplishment (the self evaluation dimension dealing with one's competency) (Maslach, Schaufeli, & Leiter, 2001).

France, known for its long-lunches, five-week vacations and briefly implementing a 35-hour work week reported widespread burnout as the one of the top causes of death in 2011 (Johnson, 2013). A survey conducted by a UK recruiting firm of HR directors, 80% said that they were afraid of losing their top employees to burnout (Johnson, 2013). However, the most rampant form of all is found in Japan, so much so that it has found its way into Japanese vocabulary under the term "Karoshi" (Johnson, 2013). Karoshi or death by overwork is a phenomenon that has infected the Japanese society, but is not exclusive to it. Other forms of karoshi include "guolaosi", which is prevalent in China amongst factory workers and young white-collar professionals, and "gwarosa" in South Korea.

Japan's rise from the devastation of World War II to economic prominence has been regarded as the trigger of this new epidemic in which employers hire temporary, or "disposable," staff, that can be laid off easily. There was a simultaneous increase in the working hours with a greater emphasis on lean production. The fear of being fired negatively motivated such workers to work harder and longer at any cost - the cost in this case being strokes, cerebral haemorrhage, heart diseases, family neglect, social isolation -- inevitably leading to death**.** In the evaluation of the working practices of Karoshi victims 6 months prior to death, the Japanese Health, Welfare and Labour Ministry found that Karoshi victims were working an average of over 80 hours per week. The focus was on people who are precariously employed in dead-end and casual jobs with low pay, without any benefits, long working hours, and absence of stability of full time secure employment. The effects of Karoshi were far and wide, affecting both the homeless and white collar workers, who were driven to suicide due to mental and physical exhaustion (Zevallos, 2012).
However, it would be naïve to disregard the non-economic causes of Karoshi. From a sociological perspective, certain elements prevalent in Japanese culture seem to contribute directly to this phenomenon.

The Japanese cultural paradigm can be paralleled with Weber's Protestant Work Ethic, in which values like frugality and asceticism were favoured. Emphasis is laid on the importance of using one's skills and abilities to contribute to society. There is a great sense of duty and motivation to achieve, which is negatively reinforced by the avoidance of shame and losing face. For instance, the Japanese avoid taking, paid holidays in the fear of being ostracised by their colleagues. Despite being entitled to an average of 18.5 days paid holiday a year, Japanese employees take an average of just nine days, according to Japan's Labour Ministry, as taking any holiday at all is stigmatized and perceived as an act of disloyalty to the company. To avoid the shame of taking a holiday, workers call in sick (Smith, 2015).

Just like Weber theorized, there is a special sense of community where the needs of the society are placed over and above that of the individuals (Zevallos, 2012). Obsession with work is seen as a virtue in Japanese culture, and weariness, a sign of weakness. There is a patriarchal legacy of loyalty between the samurai and the feudal lord. Even doctrines of Japanese religions (like Shingaku and Tokugawa) seem to promote economic and political rationalizations which maintained and intensified people's devotion to core social values, just like the Protestants, as stated by Weber (North, 2010). This translates to Japanese workers being overly committed to working long hours at a great personal sacrifice, inattention to personal health, restraint from one's desires for consumption, and lack of recreation of recuperation (Zevallos, 2012). The more one complies with such practices, the more 'superior' and 'sacred' they are considered. Such acculturation of accepting minimal levels of self-assertion, as accurate and virtuous, and as propagating of asceticism is a few deadly virtues backfiring on Japanese society (North, 2010).

Another sociological concept that can be explored under this context is that of Anomie proposed by Durkheim in his study on suicide. Anomie is the moral isolation that follows a rapid change in social values, usually linked with modernity. There is a failure in the existing norms of the Japanese society to guide individuals through such a social transition, in this case upsurge in economic growth leading to Anomie. In the case of Japan, the economic boom experienced post World War II caused a drastic change of context, in which the traditional cultural values did not provide for social cohesion. The Japanese society has transitioned from a paternalistic, benevolent work culture to an Americanised, neoliberal ethic of normalisation of overwork and corporate familism, in order to reap economic gains. The consequent social disequilibrium and state of 'normlessness' contributed towards the psychological feelings of futility, lack of purpose, emotional emptiness and despair which further lent to the rising suicide rates. Thus, a dramatic change in the Japanese economy along with a greater emphasis on the ends, rather than the means of production, had its repercussions on its society's well being and mental health (Zevallos, 2012).

While sociological causes seem to be influencing Karoshi, it also has its impact on the social structures of Japan. Most Japanese fathers are workaholics, and are unable to share even a dinner with their family members. Coupled with that, is the personal trauma and grief of such suicides on the families. Wives and children are left to deal with the loneliness, secrecy, shame, and debt that follows. Some families report being harassed so as to deter them from seeking compensation (Zevallos, 2012). Besides that, working long hours severely restricts opportunities to meet and socialise with the opposite sex in the non-work setting, which limits opportunities of finding a partner. Social lives revolve around the office in which long days are followed by late-night visits to bars for "nominication" sessions: an invented noun that combines the Japanese word for drinking, "nomu", and the English word "communication". Employees feel obliged to attend these sessions because of economic intentions of forging connections to climb up the corporate ladder, which is made worse by their "disposable" status. This has been cited as one of the causes of the drastic fall in the number of marriages and the birth rate, which doesn't help Japan's aging population (Smith, 2015).

Karoshi can also be studied by adopting the lens of psychology. Studies have shown that the proportion of suicidal thoughts are higher for those who work more than 60 hours per week (in the case of a Karoshi victim, he/she puts in an average of 80 hours per week). This result remained significant even after controlling for household income, marital status, history of hypertension, intoxication, etc. Working hours per day, and per week, also correlate with recovery hours for workers i.e., longer working hours lead to longer recovery hours. Workers who have long working hours have less time for recovery and to improve their health. Hours and quality of sleep are affected by long working hours, which in turn, aggravate anxiety, depression, burnout and increases

suicidal thoughts (Yoon, Jung, Roh, Seok, & Won, 2015).

Chronic subjection to stressors leads to the buildup of hormones like cortical, which have no short-term impacts, but increase the body's sensitivity to stress and reduce the robustness of the immune system in the long run. Lastly, the melancholic personality type is admired and aspired to. Sadness, grief and melancholy are accepted as inevitable parts of life and are welcomed for their value.

Ironically, all this hard work put in to boost the economy is, in fact, slowing it down, as the workforce does not have time to spend the money earned. Even after being legally accepted form of death and the victim's families becoming eligible for compensation, Karoshi still claims the lives of thousands of Japanese. Workers continue to put in extra hours from home, or stay in their offices and, work through the night with the lights off.

There has been a failure to translate national wealth into a decent standard of living, worthy of an advanced, industrial society. A country's GDP is only a numeric figure, which tells us nothing about how it was achieved. It is just the tip of the iceberg. The World Health Organisation has rightly pointed out that most countries have at least minimum standards for safety and health in the workplace, which focus on its physical aspects, and do not explicitly include the psychological and/or mental health aspects of working conditions (Harnois & Gariel, 2000). As a correction, mental health must be considered as a marker for development, and countries should be more sensitive towards it. Instead of finding an economic solution such as limiting work hours or stricter labour laws, provision of counselling for workers and support for civil society groups should be made available. Public discourse, awareness and research should also be geared towards this direction.

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The Power Play of Food

This research paper shall focus on gastronomical development with regards to colonialism. The first half deals with soft power of food, while the second half branches out into the perceived superiority of western food, changes in cropping patterns, some recent developments in food trends, and arguing whether it can be attributed to colonization.

Gastronomy has been described by Savarin (1825), the famed 18th Century French lawyer, as, "the knowledge and understanding of all that relates to man as he eats. Its purpose is to ensure the conservation of men, using the best food possible" (Carruthers, 2016).

From the Colonised to the Coloniser

Soft power, a concept put forth by Joseph Nye (2004), is the ability to shape the preference of others through appeal and attraction. Indian food is no stranger to soft power. Indian diplomats like Shashi Tharoor have recently argued that if India is now perceived as a superpower, it is not just through trade and politics but also through its ability to share its culture with the world through food (Blarel, N.).

A country where the impact of the soft power of Indian cuisine is seen the most is Britain. Britain's fascination with Indian curries and other dishes has its roots in the colonization. Chicken Tikka masala, was claimed to be the National Dish of Britain by government minister, Robin Cook (2001). With over 10000 Indian restaurants in the UK and an annual turnover of about £3.5 billion, Indian cuisine is the most popular cuisine there (Times of India, 2012).

Such soft power of food does run a few risks. Using Edward Said's definition of Orientalism, Azam (2014) stated that, "(orientalism) can be discussed and analysed as the corporate institution for dealing with the Orient--dealing with it by making statements about it, authorizing views of it, describing it, by teaching it, settling it, ruling over it: in short, Orientalism as a Western style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient." Itis a rationalization for European colonization, is based on a self- serving history in which "the West" constructed "the East" as extremely different and inferior, and therefore in need of Western intervention. It involves seeing the Eastern culture as exotic, backward and uncivilized (Azam, 2014). Following the concept of Orientalism, ethnic food, such as Indian food in America, can be trivialized and reduced to simply exotic food. Lisa Heldke (1993) criticises a "colonial stance" among some Americans who eat ethnic food, in that they display a shallow interest in "exotic" foods, exploit the food of others to enhance their own prestige and sophistication, and "eat ethnic" without any real interest in, or concern for, the cultural contexts of the ethnic foods eaten (Narayan, 1997). Heldke (1993) critiques the low prices such "ethnic food" commands, as well as the low tips that are often regarded as justified by those who eat these foods, are connected to the devaluing of what such "ethnic food", is worth, in contrast say to the high prices and tips consumers pay for "culturally elevated" foods such as the French cuisine. Many would describe the proliferation of interest in ethnic cuisines positively, as an aspect of formerly colonized outsiders infiltrating and transforming Western life, but this may run the danger of reinforcing the attitudes she describes as food colonialism (ibid).

From the Coloniser to the Colonised

The supposed superiority of western food can be traced back to the time when Spaniards arrived in Mesoamerica in the 16th century. They encountered the Maya, Aztecs and other prominent indigenous groups who cultivated food crops such as beans, pumpkins, chillies, avocados, elderberries, guavas, papayas, tomatoes, cocoa and corn (Armstrong, R., & Shenk, J., 1982). The colonists considered this food to be substandard and unacceptable for the proper nourishment of European bodies as their diet consisted of bread, olive oil, olives, meat and wine. They had exhausted their supplies by the end of their voyage and devoid of the foods that they considered necessary for survival, they died. The focus of concern shifted to food. In fact, Columbus himself was convinced that Spaniards were dying because they lacked "healthful European food" (Earle, R., 2012). Herein began the colonial discourse of "right foods" (superior European foods) vs. "wrong foods" (inferior Indigenous foods). The Spaniards considered that without the "right foods," they would die or, even worse, in their minds, they would become like the Indigenous. The concept of orientalism can be observed here; the way the Europe (generically speaking; the West) dresses, speak, eats, and thinks

is considered the ideal ones and anything that goes opposite of these actions and manners is considered imperfect (Azam, 2014).

Such superiority still exists with the noticeable changes in cropping patterns. It is important to understand gastronomical development in terms of changing cropping patters as the introduction of foreign crops can be considered a huge change in not only the food industry but also towards globalization [1].

A drastic change and enforcement of cropping patterns was seen in El Salvador by external influences, namely the Spanish colonialists. It sees the dominance of indigo and subsequently, coffee, coupled with forcible replacement of the indigenous crops by the said two.

In El Salvador, indigo was the most important crop throughout the Spanish colonial period. At one stage, the province of San Salvador provided over 95% of all indigo produced in Central America (Boland, 2001). But by 1846, the development of synthetic dyes in Europe, replacing indigo, lent more urgency to the expansion of coffee production (Murray, 1997). The enormous profits generated by the indigo industry gave the Spanish elite the ability to move aggressively into the coffee industry, which by the mid- nineteenth century dominated the nation's economy, leading to the establishment of the "coffee republic" by 1871 (Pearcy, 2006).

The Spanish initiated a process of gradual dispossession of the indigenous population of its most sacred possession, the land. By 1770, fewer than 500 Spaniards controlled 1/3rd of the country's land (Murray, 1997). But despite over three centuries of encroachment by the hacienda [2] system, large amounts of land still remained in the hands of the indigenous communities, who raised corn, squash and other food crops on small plots under communal control. Fixated over need to expand coffee production, the government considered such 'conservatism' an unacceptable obstacle to progress. In 1881 and 1882 the Salvadoran Legislative Assembly passed a series of laws, the so-called Liberal Reforms [3]. These reforms stripped nearly half of El Salvador's population of their lands because Indigenous communities in El Salvador typically farmed communal property and very few farmers held individual property titles for the land they cultivated (Murray, 1997). Establishment of the National Guard to specifically protect coffee farms was among the many such measures to establish the dominance of coffee.

The concept of western hegemony (Gramsci, 1971) arises here. A native country, here, the El Salvadoran government, accepts western hegemony, which concerns a way in which a 'fundamental social class' attempts to exert a moral and intellectual leadership over subordinate social group, and the latter actively subscribe to the views of the former, rather than passively accepting them (Ashley, 2004). Hegemony branches out of Orientalism.

Recently, development may not always be viewed in terms of change in the core ingredients of the Indian cuisine. It can be seen in the approach towards viewing the cuisine. Growing sales of processed food, particularly products such as 'ready meals', can be regarded as a key barometer for the Westernization of developing markets, and it is therefore no surprise to find that seven of the world's fastest-growing major markets for "meal solution" products are in Asia-Pacific. (Kaur, I; Singh, S, n. d). Focusing on the words "key barometer for the Westernization", it seems that development can only be considered development if it is validated by the standards of the West. This idea of perfection or imperfection can be traced back to Orientalism (Azam, 2014).

Attraction towards elements of the Western diet like animal by products, foreign produce and fat components over traditional staples could be attributed to rapid economic and income growth, urbanization, and globalization (Pingali, 2004).

Therefore, the introduction of foreign food cultures need not always be about western supremacy or an effect of colonization; it might just reflect a change to suit the ever-evolving lifestyle, which has been greatly prevalent in Asia.

Conclusion

This goes to show that food pathways are never unilineal. While such food pathways may be signs of soft power, colonization or simply a change in lifestyle, they are undeniable signs of a cultural melting pot as well. This melting pot has led to the merge of multiple cuisines, for example the decade-old Floribbean cuisine, which is representative of the variety and quality of foods indigenous to Florida and the Caribbean Islands. Some are as old as the Yoshoku cuisine which is a branch of Japanese cuisine with western origins, and can be traced back to the 19th century. When it comes to gastronomy, the colonizers still may exert greater power over the colonized, but

the colonized are gradually marking their territory.

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Endnotes

[1] Foreign crops are extensively used in food supplies: 68.7% of national food supplies as a global mean are derived from foreign crops and production systems: 69.3% of crops grown are foreign (Khoury et al., 2016).

[2] Hacienda: a large landed estate in Latin America worked by various forms of unfree labour, generally with mixed farming production for subsistence, a local or regional market, and for the consumption of the owner, the hacendado. This was one of the main ways in which agriculture production was organized in colonial Latin America until the 19th century and in some cases, into the 20th.

[3] The Liberal Reforms: It abolished the communal land tenure system and established mechanisms for titling those lands to anyone who would use it for the cultivation of coffee and other export crops (Murray, 1997). Another decree forbids "vagrancy", so this newly created class of landless peasants was suddenly forced to work for slave-like wages, and in poor conditions on coffee, sugar and cotton plantations. Regardless of such legal decrees or the expanding market for coffee in the US and Europe, Salvador peasants would continue to search for land on which to plant their corn.

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The Pocahontas Effect: The Romanticising of Colonisation in Western Movies

Allen Ginsberg once said: "Whoever controls the media, the images, controls the culture." Mass media is indubitably a significant contributor to the shaping of modern culture, affecting our thoughts, values and actions, and giving rise to what sociologists refer to as a "mediated culture". After a point, these inaccurate depictions cease to be merely offensive, and start to alter perceptions of history. The aim of this paper is to attempt to analyse how Western movies try to justify colonisation and imperialism by portraying it in a favourable light in contemporary works.

In an age where the media shapes reality and practically creates culture, it is essential that the messages delivered through media channels be entirely unbiased and accurate. However, the class-dominant theory about the role of media suggests that the media tends to project the views of only a minority elite which controls it. Although they strive for objectivity, the dominant minority - through the words they use and the perspectives they take into account - often ends up trivialising cultures and societies which are different from their own, and therefore leading to misrepresentation.

Western media, in particular, has been guilty of cultural misappropriation and misrepresentation. The representation of African Americans, Latin Americans, and even Indians (think about Apu from *The Simpsons* or Raj from *The Big Bang Theory*) is usually based on stereotypes and generic models, and their cultures are repeatedly exploited for commercial purposes and in a way that maintains ruling class hegemony (Kopano& Brown, 2014).

Review of Literature

The notion that the media was romanticising colonisation first came to the forefront of people's attention after the release of Disney's *Pocahontas* in 1995. Indeed, despite the fact that there have been dozens of movies depicting the British colonisation of the Americas, *Pocahontas* remains one of the most frequently touted example of a neo-colonial depiction of the historical event, and will form the main focus of this paper.

In "Civilized Colonialism: Pocahontas as Neocolonial Rhetoric", Buescher and Ono defined neo-colonialism as "Contemporary culture's wilful blindness to the historical legacy of colonialism enacted in the present." They suggested that the film helps audiences unlearn the history of mass slaughter by retelling it as an endearing love story, in which colonialism is simply a cross-cultural exchange of resources. In the paper, they also brought up the fact that the narration depicted the Native Americans in a light that made it seem like the colonisers would need to return because "the natives seemed almost civilized and therefore civilizable" (Buescher& Ono, 1996). Because the film is ostensibly based on historical events, it verifies the viewers' pre-existing assumptions about the necessity and benefits of colonisation.

In addition to maintaining an ethnocentric view which allows them to justify the colonisation and domination over the Native Americans, the media also attempt to shape the perception of the people who belong to the culture. Portman and Herring's paper, "Debunking the Pocahontas Paradox: The Need for a Humanistic Perspective" focused on the feminist aspect of the misrepresentation of Native American women in Western media, stating that they are either romanticised or vilified, and nothing in between, when in fact, women were an integral part of Native American societies, many of which were matrilineal Another criticism extended to the movie and to the excessive sexualisation of the character of Pocahontas. In conjecture with this, Portman and Herring proposed the idea of the "Pocahontas Paradox". This is similar to the "prostitute-princess syndrome", which suggests that Native American women are depicted in anthropological literature as either princesses or women of noble birth, or uncivilised savages, rather than multi-faceted individuals (Portman & Herring, 2001).

The Romanticisation of Colonisation

On the surface, *Pocahontas* is the touching story of two people from vastly different cultural backgrounds who fall in love. However, upon deeper inspection, it becomes evident that not only is the movie historically inaccurate, but the romance between Pocahontas and John Smith and the happy ending underplay the ill-treatment and suffering of the Native American tribes at the hands of the colonisers.

For *Pocahontas* is undeniably a love story. Early in the

movie, when Pocahontas and John Smith encounter each other for the first time, he is about to shoot her, but stops himself once he notices her beauty. The two of them develop a relationship, and the imagery and music that accompanies it distracts the viewers from the fact that John Smith was on the verge of shooting an unarmed native just because she was different from him, and prevents them from wondering what would have happened had Pocahontas been less beautiful. In a way, telling a story of colonisation that ends with harmony, while banishing thoughts of savagery and emptiness, is an attempt to cope with the sense of guilt that Americans feel (Strong, 1995).

Theoretical Perspectives

All too often, Native Americans have been depicted as a primitive and superstitious people, who are inferior to the white people who colonised them (Pewewardy, 1996). This ethnocentric view allows the Western Media to justify the colonisation and domination over the Native Americans, based on an image created from the negative stereotypes perpetuated by the white settlers. Of course, they can hardly be blamed for their inaccurate depictions. For eons, western historians have tried to depict colonisers as going out of their way to "help" the peoples perceived as the Other. The following sections explore some of the theoretical perspectives used in relation to the colonisation of the Americas.

The White Man's Burden

The idea of the White Man's Burden was first used in the poem of the same name by Rudyard Kipling. The first two lines "Take up the White Man's burden, Send forth the best ye breed / Go bind your sons to exile, to serve your captives' need;" (Kipling, 1899) reveal the imperialist belief that it is the White Man's duty to civilise and educate the "backward" cultures through conquest and colonisation. This notion that white men had to take care of the world's people because they were incapable of taking care of themselves legitimises, justifies and even glorifies colonisation.
The concept evolved out of the social location in which the dominant cultures found themselves at that time of colonisation. The European ambitions of cultural and political expansion were encouraged by the Church, which viewed it as a means to convert more people to Christianity. Further, in their minds, their colonial education - a symbol of their hegemony - made them more qualified to govern a region than the locals. This self-righteousness made the colonisers regard their actions as an altruistic service, by which they used their "power" (a construction only real to them) to "save" the indigenous cultures.

While the notion of the White Man's Burden doesn't persist in the traditional sense, the neo-colonial retelling of historical events closely mirrors the spread of European religion and language. Although most cultures that were once under colonial rule have their own understanding of the history of their people, Western media believes that it is their duty to educate the "others" about the events of colonisation. In doing so, they often put forward the version of history that is most in line with their ideals, which is not necessarily an accurate depiction.

Social Darwinism

A saviour complex similar to the White Man's Burden also emerged out of the principle of Social Darwinism. Sociologist Herbert Spencer applied Darwin's theory of evolution and the principle of "survival of the fittest" to human societies, arguing that societies gradually progress towards a better state. It was his view that Western societies had survived because they had evolved and were better adapted to face the conditions of life. (Spencer, 1868). The theory gave a sense of "might is right" to the settlers, who believed that if they had the wealth and power to gain control over the locals, it was the natural thing to do.

This notion of superiority is seen in the sequel, *Pocahontas II: Journey to a New World*, in which tells the story of Pocahontas' journey to England. She is shown to be fascinated by the seemingly superior English lifestyle, and eventually takes up their ways. The fact that it is a member of a "backward" culture who changes her values to match those of the Western cultures and not the other way around and further perpetuates ruling class hegemony.

The Noble Savage

In its depiction of Native American people, Pocahontas, like many other fictionalised retellings of history, dabbles heavily with the idea of the Noble Savage. According to Jean Jacques Rousseau, who put forward the myth of the Noble Savage, "men in a state of nature do not know good and evil, but their independence, along with the peacefulness of their passions, and their ignorance of vice, keep them from doing ill" (Rousseau, 1984).Pocahontas , who symbolises the innate goodness of humanity

in contrast with the English colonisers' greed and cruelty, is depicted as one such Noble Savage.

In the portrayal of Native Americans as Noble Savages is a rare instance of Western cultures acknowledging their wrongdoings, by stating that the Noble Savage has "not been corrupted" by civilisation. However, the term itself is potentially problematic - not only does it work on the assumption that the lack of a colonial education is synonymous with ignorance, but the term "savage" has cruel racial undertones. In the course of the movie, the colonisers repeatedly refer to the natives as savages, singing "They're different from us / which means they can't be trusted". Even a mellow label further establishes the Native Americans as Others - and by that extension, untrustworthy.

Evolution of Depiction

Over a decade after Pocahontas came Terrence Malick's The New World (2005), which was yet another retelling of the story of Pocahontas that was initially told in the two animated Disney movies. The movie received positive reviews for its production and cinematography, but also for its relatively unbiased depiction of colonisation. The New World refrains from using the concept of a noble savage, and tells the story at hand without taking into account the neo-colonialist ideals that the colonisers would eventually develop. As one review puts it, "what distinguishes Malick's film is how firmly he refuses to know more than he should in Virginia in 1607 or London a few years later... No one here has read a history book from the future" (Ebert, 2006).

Conclusion

It is said that history is written by the victors. In retelling the history of colonisation, a number of Western movies and stories conveniently use romantic or dramatic subplots to shift the focus from the reality of subjugation and domination. Setting the Native Americans aside for a moment, the prevalence of romanticisation and neo-colonist justification in Western media is a cause for concern irrespective of the peoples being represented. Hegemonic representations in movies and literature are inherently dangerous, because they significantly affect the perceptions of a culture. The depiction in media - whether fictional or based in fact - tends to create a social reality that is believed to be the natural order of things. As a result, a majority of the stereotypes and prejudices that exist have risen out of the inaccurate portrayal of cultures by the ruling classes.

While it is practically impossible to do away with misappropriation entirely, it is important to move in that direction. Malick's retelling of an age old story is a step forward in the sphere of cultural representation. The lead actress in The New World is descended from the indigenous peoples of the Americas, and the movie featured contributions from Native Americans in the production teams. By involving people with the appropriate cultural background in the creation and production of films, Western media can tell empathetic stories and avoid misrepresentation, and prevent the accusations of romanticisation that have surrounded *Pocahontas* for two decades.

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The Big Brother Theory

Power and control, these are the concepts that run a country. Foucault looked at power as the interaction between the institution and the individual and how, more importantly this power is indoctrinated. The point really is to establish a connection between the fatality of perceived power and how the life a society are so seamlessly governed by this that its existence is close to invisible. Orwell through his dystopian novel, 1984 presents a structure that proves how man's search for order and security would ultimately bring a society to its knees where its every move is manipulated to serve a 'greater purpose.' Most of us would like to indulge in the belief that there is a limit to the possibility of a dystopian reality and dwell in naïve hope that this would never come to pass. However this manifestation of dystopia is more than evident in a nation like North Korea, whose dictatorship seems to run the play of 1984 as the guide to their social structure and control. And so the question really remains- what is our society's potential for dystopia?

When we look at the future we cannot help but identify it as something overly dreadful. Every futuristic work of fiction that attempts at a foresight in its own right, sees human nature disintegrating into a uniform mass that is without liberty and freedom. They find themselves in a social form without malleability. This cynical prudence finds its roots in a somewhat Christian orthodoxy which attempted to kerb the speculation of the future as something that can only be in the power of God (Mourby, 2003). This sort of singularity of power stems from a divine recognition as that of a saviour that protects us from the fatality of our own freedom. This concept of power is what really drives the design of dystopian universes. Ultimately we come to the conclusion that there is a finality to the freedoms that we are afforded, one that comes at the hand of a rhythmic totalitarianism. Undoubtedly this topic can be explored in a plethora of lights from an academic standpoint to themes of literary classics. And through this article, we will put all these spheres into perspective.

'Power is Everywhere'

'Power is everywhere' and in that sense, it 'comes from everywhere' and can neither be pegged to an agency or structure (Foucault, 1998.) Foucault in his understanding and interpretation of concepts of development and power sees it as being a regime of power or 'a general politics' of truth. The concept of truth here shows vast disparity. For what we are informed of becomes our truth and thereby those who control the means of dissemination of knowledge and information thus forms the powerhouse in our society. A misleading structure of perceived knowledge is built, and within that blissful ignorance, we all unwittingly reside. Accepted forms of knowledge and understanding wielded through constant institutional reinforcement implements a flux in political and economic ideologies. These truths induce the effects of power. Now in this light the 'battle for truth' is less about the searching for absolute truth that needs to be discovered and accepted but rather about the 'rules' according to which true and false are separated and the effects of power get attached to the truth' (Foucault, 1991)

In this interpretation we might find that Foucault recognised that power wasn't simply coercive or repressive, it doesn't force us to do things against our wishes. More accurately power produces reality, a reality that is defined by forms and rituals of truth. It comes down to the discourse which allows for these truths to function as such. Discipline and control in society stem from this power, which in the larger picture alludes to conformity. In moving away from the 'episodic' mention of power, we move towards what we could concur is an alternative to development. When we look at power, we find that in its most nascent form it reels its ugly face in the veneer of self-importance. But it happens in such a manner that it is almost always invisible. Foucault attributes this kind of power to the likes of the exercise of control seen in schools and mental asylums. With minimal violence, they elicited anticipated and required behaviour. And for better or worse we see the same thing happening in the framework of dystopia. In a state setup, Foucault transcends politics and sees it an daily phenomenon. It's the attribute of elusiveness that creates scope for the application of this theory in our narrative. Norms are embedded so deeply into the fabric of society that they are beyond perception.

This form was seen and largely predicted by George Orwell who forms this veracity for us now close to 70 years ago through his novel, 1984. He illustrates this through the control effected over the constituencies. From the mandatory communal morning exercise that was meant to negate loyalties to the individual families upholding instead the sense of community

family – the notion that one plays a pivotal role in the mechanism of society but only in relation to the masses and not towards an innate individuality. More focal is the ambiguity with which his power is represented. It forms an intangible force (conceptualised divinity.) Big brother, which is the symbol of power, becomes this divinity thaumaturge. Despite him being repeatedly portrayed and considered as 'party propaganda' he wields an unparalleled form of domination over the people. which means imply a severe undermining of the concept of power, that a society's fate should be sealed their existence through effect.

'Big Brother Is Watching You'

With this power at hand, it can be taken up in two lights. The first is the dangerous notion that 'who controls the present controls the past, and who controls the past controls the future.'(Orwell, 1949) This is the crux from where society at large is adapted to concepts that 'the big brother' would rather have them believe. Time can prove to be fatal in this regard because we come to a point where the past is an account rather than an experience but is still taken as truth. what we would be keen to identify here, is the way in which is truth is spread through the education such that the future generation would have no cause or motive for dissent. Through the conviction that your reality is the truth, they can manipulate the masses into subjugation through censorship and surveillance. In the novel 1984 the most significant form of surveillance, apart from the government regulated telescreen and patrols were the very children. The constructs of a round the clock surveillance described to the people under the guise of 'protection' strips the person of a sense of privacy to the point where the masses cannot trust their minds to cultivate a sense of reason in the social order, for fear of committing 'thoughtcrime' or 'face crime.' This, is its perfect design to stall any form of insubordination, to be constantly faced with the notion that "Big Brother is watching you"(Orwell, 1949.)

The Organic Individual

The second key concept that we can draw from Foucault is the work and role of the 'organic individual' who, for all intent and purpose, can be visualised through the work of Winston Smith. This individual functions so as to question these invisible norms and constraints which juxtapose the concepts mentioned above. Therein lies the key to recognising and separating the hegemony in society from the narration of 'truth.' Winston in the novel is configured to this new political stance he stands closer to the proletariat though is singled out through his universal consciousness, that counters him against the populous that serve the state. But what we need to revisit is the fact that the 'universal' individual has now been overtaken by the 'specific' individual, who is no more than the one in the masses that has the position and capacity to infer change and to dream of the world that is different than the one projected. We realise that truth isn't quite outside power.

But at the end of the day when reading 1984, we secure ourselves from its ominous perceptions by understanding that this is an imagined situations of an illusory world. But the veracity of the condition of North Korea should shake us in our very place. The government (Big Brother), through systematic manipulation, has starved the people of the slightest knowledge of the world so that we see our very own 'Oceania' or 'dystopia.' In an eerie replication of 1894, North Korean media exposure stops at the two government television stations running propaganda material that has the words 'Kim Jung' in every context slightly enlarged to marked its revered importance. In much the same way as the citizens of Oceania, this insulated population is informed of the 'jungle law' of the world outside (USA) and the privileged protection that it gets from the government. What this ensures is that the citizen has no reason to dismiss the fact of these reports. Orwell, through the power of Big Brother exercises a control over the masses from a general awareness to countries outside Oceania so that to the citizens it all seems as though he has fortified them from the savage wars in 'Eurasia' or 'Eastasia.' In addition, the very lifestyle of the citizens as reported by undercover journalists and expats confirm an unnerving reality of apartment blocks with no water and electricity where a vast majority of the city is starving (an intentional power grab to weaken the people into a survival dependency on the government's inadequate food program). A morning procession of grey-faced people marches to work with only the chant of "Praise Kim Jong-il, our great leader! Long live the great leader, the sun of the 21st century!" to be heard. The certainty is this, that North Korea has it all, from the thought police, the ministry of truth, the war rhetoric and above all else, the big brother.

The question on all our minds still remains, why don't the people revolt? And once again we can turn to 1984 for answers to the endurance of this circus, "The masses never revolt of their own accord, and

they never revolt merely because they are oppressed. Indeed, so long as they are not permitted to have standards of comparison they never become aware that they are oppressed." (Orwell, 1984.) Then what becomes of the organic individual? His power as well as limitation prove a critical point. It proves the inevitability of resistance, the fact that he never let himself believe the 'truth' that was being told to him proves that the power is not absolute. But the brutality with which this rebellion, however small it was, broke him both mentally and physically. Orwell calls to 'doublethink', a brainwashing mechanism of a calibre so extreme that it reorients his very definition of reality. "We will crush you down to the point from which there is no coming back...Never again will you be capable of ordinary human feeling...friendship, or joy of living...courage or integrity." (Orwell, 1948.) And we can scarcely believe that this is fiction. Despite them denying its existence, the 'political camps' of North Korea are said to be a replication of orwell's ministry of love where labour beatings and death are commonplace and people are indoctrinated into the principles of Kim Jong Un. Not just this but in an attempt to stamp of all forms of dissent, they adopted in concept called guilt-by-association that allowed the government to imprison and kill three generation of a family.

Conclusion

But even though it seems like – War is peace, freedom is slavery, and Ignorance is strength (Orwell, 1949) there is always hope for change. It is a sort of bleed in the system. This allows for us to fall for the dystopian society - 'an imagined place where everything is bad.' (Oxford Dictionary) A part of the imagination would be where we come through it. The eternal inevitable silver line. But we wait for the storm to pass, hoping as Foucault did, that this 'individual' will one day change the string of 'truths'. We wait for it as much as we wait for a spring in North Korea or a flood of actuality from our media. But even when we stall for this millennial hero, as much of an ideology as it might be, even if he manages to effect change, change becomes an endless incorrigible cycle of the need for power. But malleability of this power tells me that the next time we most definitely will not be able to perceive it.

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Fashion as a Catalyst of Social Change

This paper studies the subtle manner in which fashion can be used as a means to reinvent social identity and break away from the traditional norms that instigates a change that pushes for more acceptance and can lead to the overall development of society.

Change is a phenomena that is constant and has been witnessed in societies across the globe. Social change, in sociology, the alteration of mechanisms within the social structure, characterized by changes in cultural symbols, rules of behaviour, social organizations, or value systems (Form, Wilterdink, 2009). The ongoing alterations causes changes in certain functions and characteristics of the society and can eventually lead to an alternate society with a new set of norms and characteristics. Considering the constant nature of change that takes place in our society, social change is a factor that is hard to measure. This paper highlights the impact that fashion had in creating the change that has led to the society that we see today.

People sometimes interact with objects, in this case garments, because they want show to others what they believe they represent (Adelman, 2008). Despite the fact that not everyone is involved in fashion it becomes a part of their personal identity. Daily selection of dressing affects the way in which the individual is perceived by those around him/her. Fashion defines the expectations of those around them and has the main contribution in forming impressions. (Arvantitidou, Gasouka 2013). However the impact of fashion is far greater than an individualistic message that is being sent out to society. Fashion can be used as a means to instigate social change and spark a revolution.

According to Tseelon (1989), garments influence and shape the appearance with significant impact on the construction of social identity. The materials which are worn and carried on the body are obvious and with these people create "social contacts" involved in the unstable interaction between the body and the outside world (Joyce, 2005; Turner, 1980). Dress as a form of material culture is particularly suited to express the relationship between personal values and those assigned to material goods, because of its close relationship with the perceptions of the Self. The dressing affects and reflects the perceptions of Self and has specific character as a material object, due to the direct contact with the body, acting as a filter between the individual and the surrounding social world (Crane & Bovone, 2006).On account of their gender women have constantly faced discrimination. Considered to be inferior to their male counterparts, they were denied certain basic rights like the right to education, to work, to vote amongst other factors. Considered to be the property of their fathers and their husbands, their role in society was secondary and limited to their households and their families.
The phenomenon of fashion, the impact of which is recognized by the famous cliché —You are what you wear- offers a dense, rich set of costume options and reveals multiple and unexpected ways through which fashion is part of the concrete, tangible, profound, complicated and symbolic process of forming of the modern and postmodern Self, identity, body and social relations (Arvanitidou, 2012). The attire of a European woman consisted of a tight corset, with a bustling skirt and a pair of kitten heels, the gowns that women wore in the past were very restrictive and did not allow for free movement. The restrictive nature of the attire worn by a woman in the past can be considered a reflection of the restrictive nature of the society that she lived in.

Coco Chanel played a major role in liberating women from the bondage of the corset. Coco Chanel aimed at breaking down the gender binary through fashion to create a situation where her designs allowed women to stand equal to men (Marcangeli, 2015). Chanel began her venture with the use of Jersey fabric. Initially jersey fabric was used in men's golf clothing, yet Coco Chanel incorporated it into her designs to create her line of Jersey dresses that offered something stylish to the public while at the same time allowing for free movement.

The 'Chanel suit' was the perfect article of clothing for a modern woman who wanted to make her mark on the professional world post World War 1. Consisting of a blouse with a pleated skirt and a jacket, the 'Chanel suit' was designed to be the female equivalent of a suit. Through this piece of attire, Chanel empowered women to enter the professional world and to stand on the same platform as men (ibid).

A study done by Adam and Glinsky introduced the concept of Enclothed Clothing which stated that outfit worn by an individual has direct links with their emotional state, as well as their ability to perform. (Adam, Glinsky 2012). In the experiment Adam

and Glinsky invited college students to take part in an experiment wherein half the students were given white lab coats while the other half were made to do it in their own clothes. The students were given a test and the results showed that the students who were given lab coats made less mistakes than the students who wore their own clothes. This is because there is a symbolic representation of the piece of clothing that the individual wears alongside the actual wearing of the clothes (ibid).

"The little black dress" is an iconic Chanel design that is popular till date. Chanel launched this iconic design after the First World War and the Spanish Flu when many women were mourning and were forced to wear the colour black. In the past, the colour black was used to signify death, submission, mourning and sadness. Chanel appropriated the colour black as a symbol of sexual impropriety, modernity and authority. She gave women strength and gender ambiguity by transforming the colour black into the little black dress. This is one example of how fashion has been used as a means to change the manner in which a symbol or an object is perceived. This process is known as reclamation (Marchangeli, 2015).Another trend wherein fashion changed or reformed the meaning of a symbol was when French brand *Mugler* used the upside down pink triangle in his fashion line. The upside down pink triangle was used as a symbol to identify the homosexuals in concentration camps. Over the years people have begun to use the Nazi symbol of oppression into a symbol of empowerment (Stephinson, 2013).

Chanel's designs were revolutionary for her time because they offered women something that allowed for mobility while at the same time being affordable. Chanel's contribution to the upliftment of women is crucial because she eased women's transition from traditional household roles to entering the working environment with her radical designs. Her designs empowered women to challenge the norms society had enforced upon them and to take a stand to create equality in society. While it's impossible to truly measure social change the impact of Chanel's design can be seen in the women of France. It was in 1944 that French women were given the right to vote and it was during this period that Coco Chanel took the major steps in her initiative to liberate women from the bondage of the corset.

Recently Emma Watson refused to wear the traditional corset when acting in the live action version of the Beauty and the Beast because she is attempting to reshape the identity of Disney princesses whom have been a constant symbol for women as a helpless, damsel in distress who needs to be saved by the male protagonist. Instead she is trying to spread the message that women should prioritize their personality, skills, movement and actions over their appearances (Bateman, 2016).

Conclusion

Fashion has a rebellious nature that cannot be ignored. Through fashion, individuals have challenged and redefined gender roles by making very strong statements through their garments. that pushes for greater acceptance in society. Fashion can be used as a means to encourage people to take a stand against the discrimination they face. It can be used as a medium to create a personal identity away from the one that society has determined for the individual. It can create massive cultural changes that pushes the boundaries of societal norms and forces a change that allows for acceptance and overall development of the society.

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Looking at Dada

The following paper explores the art movement Dadaism vis-a-vis its theory, and art as an alternative to development. Linearity and rationality, conventionally linked to development, saw betterment and superiority in the realm of art as clean lines and structure. Dadaism introduced the idea of irrationality and linked it to the intellectual progression of mankind by introducing postmodernist ideas that allowed artists to transition into "intellectually conformist" art- not unlike what alternative development aims to do.

Dadaism began as a post-war art movement by numerous disillusioned artists, emerging from the war-torn cities of Zurich, Cologne, and Paris. It fought against the conventional notions of art, as well as rational thought. "The beginnings of Dada," poet Tristan Tzara recalled, "were not the beginnings of art, but of disgust." (Rubin, 1968). The movement began with a few artists in Cabaret Voltaire, Zurich, but slowly grew to become a widespread movement of resistance. The roots of Dada are thought to lay in pre-war avant-garde. While cubism and the development of college, combined with Wassily Kandinsky's theoretical writings and abstraction, detached the movement from the constraints of reality and convention, the influence of French poets and the writings of German Expressionists liberated Dada from the tight correlation between words and meaning (Ades ,2009).

An unconventional art movement, Dadaist art is anti-aesthetic, 'anti-art,' that serves as a protest against bourgeois and colonial nationalist interests. It was believed that a widespread intellectual conformity had been the cause of war, and the subsequent actions taken by the movement thus dealt with the rejection of the dominant ideas of the period and an embracement of irrationality. Dada fought ideas of colonialism that manifested themselves in artwork and literature with its own rebellious work. This paper will explore portrayal of development in art in the pre-Dada period, as opposed to its later representation, audience, and impact in the Dada period, as art transitioned from modernism to postmodernism.

The transition from modernism to postmodernism was steady and widespread, wherein the latter served as a way to further improve societal treatment of art, an idea that modernism attempted to improve. Beginning with Duchamp and Dada, the world was introduced to postmodern art. The conception of Dadaism, was within what was the time period of modernist art. Dadaism evolved into a postmodern art movement after the 'motive' of Dada was made clear. Thus while Duchamp might chronologically belong to modernism, his work is widely marked as the beginning of postmodern art. The above mentioned transition commenced as the effect of nihilism permeated through modernist art. Existential thought deeply affected the postmodern artists. Despair, particularly in the human condition, became a prominent element in the art of the period. Furthermore, as Dada was both a post-war and deeply anti-war art movement, existential philosophy shaped the understanding of ideas, such as anxiety and the alienation of the human consciousness.

The subsequent change came in the elimination of oppressive, traditional categories that modernism had failed to remove. While modernist art was deeply reductionist, it failed to remove a large share of oppressive techniques that were yet widely accepted. The idea of anti-aesthetic art, for instance, was an important Dadaist introduction that attempted to replace aesthetically appealing art that followed the trend of a particular art movement or school. It did so as this 'variety' of art was conformist, and catered directly to the likes of the elite. For instance, the usage of the tache brushstroke in impressionist paintings may have simply been understood as a characteristic of the art movement. However, being labeled an impressionist painter due to the usage of a particular brushstroke was. in fact, another means of distinguishing and organizing the populace - the very reason an art movement 'reflective' of an era was directly connected to its popularity and its popularity, in turn, to its consumer - without surprise: the upper-middle class. Postmodern art therefore eliminated the requirement for a definitive style.

This idea deals closely with the reintroduction of self-referential and ironic content - the propagation of the idea that reality is a social construct, and thus, any content in art was allowed, just as long as it presented social reality ironically.

Furthermore, content representation of 'The Human Condition' was not permissible. This meant that postmodern artists could not paint a universal image of humanity, since there was no common, shared experience of existence. Postmodernism's rejection of Universalist human nature states that

there is no such thing as an artist, only what is called as an "hyphenated artist": black-artists, woman-artists, homosexual-artists, etc. Thus, no artist was defined solely by her/his art; rather, each represented an ethnic niche, and made art for that community. The hyphenated artist, then, became a means of representation for an entire community.

DuChampian philosophy was, and has remained, the most influential impact on Dadaist art. With his first piece, 'The Fountain" (a 'readymade' piece, Duchamp simply labelled an ordinary urinal as 'art' and titled it the Fountain), Duchamp fought the belief that an artist was a creator - in creating an installation such as the Fountain, he did not create art - he simply went to a plumbing store. He did what anyone could have - it was an ordinary person buying an ordinary thing. Here, the mastery and talent that becomes synonymous with an artist's production of intricately detailed art is dissolved. There is no talent in purchasing a urinal. Thus, the artwork is not a special object - it is not a result of a creative process - it is a mass produced object. "Duchamp did not select just any ready-made object to display. In selecting the urinal, his message was clear: Art is something you piss on." (Hicks, 2004). Thus, when Duchamp said: "I threw the bottle rack and the urinal into their faces as a challenge, and now they admire them for their aesthetic beauty.", he was reiterating the purpose of the urinal; it is not art, rather, it served as intellectual exercise.

DuChamp's declaration of art as ordinary was the first time a statement this bold had been made. DuChampian philosophy thereby set the tone for the principles that postmodern art would be based on. Dadaism, without doubt, was one of the strictest in terms of adherence to the foundation. The principles of postmodern art allowed it to explain to the people the dangers of intellectual conformity and the famous idea of 'no sense but not non-sense.'

Based on these principles, Dadaism began its rebellion - which, fuelled by DuChamp and his fountain only increased in bold and blasphemous content as the movement grew. Works of art of "high value" were destroyed: Postmodern art came to become destructive. It was, and continues to be, an internal commentary on the social history of art, albeit a subversive one. "Here there is a continuity from modernism. Picasso took one of Matisse's portraits of his daughter—and used it as a dartboard, encouraging his friends to do the same. Duchamp's L.H.O.O.Q. (1919) is a rendition of the Mona Lisa with a cartoonish beard and moustache added. Rauschenberg erased a de Kooning work with a heavy wax pencil." (Hicks, 2004)

Another example, Raoul Hausmann's sculpture titled 'Spirit of Our Time' serves as a metaphorical representation for the failure of the German establishment to inspire the changes required in order to rebuild the country. It is a sculptural representation of the artist's' view that the average supporter of a corrupt society was one that lacked even the ability to make a decision - the blind, selfish believers of every piece of information that was handed to them by men is suits, so as long as they were prettily packaged and better their lives. The head lacks eyes in order to represent the average 'blinded' citizen whose brain lacks the ability to engage in any kind of creative thought.

Therefore, the Dadaist philosophy of art began to evolve from simply presenting works as socio-political statements (which were eventually appreciated for their so-called uniqueness, thereby turning them too into a bourgeois interest) to works that emphasized the concept over the actual (anti)art piece. That is to say, the underlying philosophy redefined and strengthened its emphasis upon the concept of the work, and all subsequent works created were made keeping this in mind - the concept must be made evident and understood, always overruling even the slightest aesthetically appeasing characteristic it could have. Out of fear of being turned into another public spectacle, if the aesthetic needed to be foregone for the sake of the concept, it was. It is worth noting that since the motive of Dadaist art was not to be attractive in the conventional sense, this was not a difficult idea to apply.

Interestingly, the Kantian idea of the aesthetic states that "The beautiful in nature is a question of the form of the object, and this consists in limitation, whereas the sublime is to be found in an object even devoid of form." (Kant, 1952). It is already established that Dadaism is anti-aesthetic, and in The Critique of Judgement, Kant contrasts the beautiful (conventional) with the sublime (here, Dadaist/PostModern art) - as, the form is tied to beauty while formlessness is tied to the sublime.

"As two examples, think of the Venus de Milo and Duchamp's Fountain. The Venus de Milo is a beautiful female form embodied in stone, which "consists in limitation" in the sense that she is a final concrete end. The Fountain, a urinal, on the other hand, derives its postmodern aesthetic value—not because of its value as a sculpture—but because of its "concept." Its purpose was, to offend the sensibilities of the art-

going public and artists by the act of exhibiting a toilet as art. Kant's concept of the formless nature of the sublime elevates the concept of the aesthetic work over the work itself. In other words, it is the concept that counts and not the artwork." (Newberry, 2016)

Thus, it is prudent to pose the question of whether this formless, concept-centric anti-art, is solely Dadaist ie: is all formless art, with a conceptual focus to be considered as Dadaist? Consider simply the root cause of Dadaism - it began as a movement to combat colonialism and to reclaim art as a powerful political tool. Thus, owing to its unpredictability, there are no basic, defining features that allow a spectator to qualify a certain artwork as dadaist. Additionally, seeing the burden on the audience to understand the concept and interpret the art, an artwork turned into a public spectacle for its eccentricity cannot be salvaged once the middle class have claimed it.

While Dadaism, with respect to its recorded history, appeared to be short-lived, its effects influence are still flourishing. With the emergence of movements such as conceptual art (a longer lived movement, for the target audience of the movement increased with time) as well as radical artists that employ Dadaist technique to send their message across, the impact of Dada has been undeniable. Multiple techniques and methods, now commonly applied such as automatism, decoupage, the element of 'chance,' photomontage, as well as the treatment art such as temporary installation, were all ideas introduced by prominent Dadaists. From conceptual artists both borrowing these ideas and distorting the original purpose to artists such as Faith Ringgold and Banksy, amongst multiple others, the line between what truly counts as Dadaist art and what does not, has began to blur. There is no perfect Dadaism. But, perhaps, this very lack of perfection is what makes it Dada.

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Endnotes

Art conventionally refers to art as a bourgeois pastime. 'Conventional art" refers to artwork belonging to specific art movements, which catered to changing public taste. Attraction to Dadaist art meant understanding the concept and thus, the statement it served to make.

Faith Ringgold and Banksy are both artists that create art that is politically charged. While Ringgold creates blankets with art that deals with injustice against women and people of colour, the latter values anonymity - both artists emphasise the statement their art is meant to make; the aesthetic is not conventional and neither artist values fame. Banksy in particularly uses the 'poor (wo)man's' canvas - public property - and the poor (wo)man's medium - spray paint. Graffiti is commonly associated with life in ghettos or lower income neighbourhoods.

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Philantrophy- An Alternative to Development?

The traditional driver of the multiple models of economic development has always been the State. But these models have led to the creation of global inequality, which today, has reached its worst proportions. In this context, this paper analyses an emerging alternative to development- Philanthropy. In addition, the paper aims to review an alternative view of human behavior through learnings from Cognitive Neuroscience and Behavioural Economics, which explain philanthropic behavioral tendencies.

The discourse on economic development, which is complex and multidimensional, has resulted in the creation of a number of theories, arguments and assertions (World Development Report 1999/ 2000). Even before the establishment of economic development as a discipline in the 1950s, several early economists, such as Adam Smith and Karl Marx, wrote extensively about the nature of economic structures within a society and their relations to prosperity. However, there arose a fundamental difference in their ideologies, which led to the development of capitalism and socialism respectively.

According to Smith (1976), specialization and exchange were the main mechanisms to increasing a nation's wealth. Division of labour was the key to specialization, which therefore made the production processes more efficient. He argued that within an economy of competition, private investors, keeping in mind their individual selfish motives and guided by the 'invisible hand', would work for the larger good and promote public interests. The "invisible hand" doctrine became the foundation for the working of capitalism (Skousen, 2007). On the other hand, Karl Marx believed that the division of labour perpetuates poverty for the large work-force within a capitalist society (Marx, Engels &Wood, 1998). According to him, the capitalists earned more wealth by exploiting the surplus value of the workers. Hence, he emphasized on the intervention of the State, to manage and plan the nation's economy.

Post the Second World War, several other models of development were put forward. Some of the prominent ones were Rostow's'stages growth' model, the Harrod-Domar model, the International dependency models, the Neoclassical counter revolution models and the New growth theory. Over the centuries, as the global, dominant economy moved from the agricultural sector to that of the industrial and further on to the knowledge-based economies of today, one can see that several models of economic development have been tried and practised.

Emergence of Global Inequality

The crucial question one needs to ask, concerns the net impact of these various models on economic development. Have these models of development made the world a safer and more suitable place to live in? Unfortunately, the end result of these development theories, inspired by the utopian drive for a perfect society, has been the creation of global inequality.

A study conducted by Milonovic (2009), shows us that global inequality has been steadily increasing ever since the 19the century. The below table affirms this trend.

Estimated GINI (Global Inequality Index)
1820-2002

Year	GINI CO-EFFICIENT
1820	43.0
1850	53.2
1870	56.0
1913	61.0
1929	61.6
1950	64.0
1960	63.5
1980	65.7
2002	70.7

Data from the Maddison Project (Hickel, 2016), shows us that inequality has been increasing between various countries in the world. According to the data, in 1960, at the end of colonialism, people living in the world's richest country were 33 times richer than people living in the poorest country. Furthermore, by 2000, after neoliberal globalization had run its course, they were a shocking 134 times richer and these figures ignore extreme outliers, such as small oil-rich kingdoms in the Middle East or offshore tax havens. From 1960 to today, the absolute gap between the average incomes of people in the richest and poorest countries have grown by 135%. Over the past few decades, inequality has widened the gap to the extent that, in 2000, Americans were 80 times richer than south Asians. These numbers reveal the

unequal means of distribution of wealth within a global economy.

As the 2006 Nobel peace laureate Muhammed Yunus, founder of the Grameen Bank, Bangladesh said, "The widening gap between the rich and the poor is a ticking time bomb threatening to explode into social and economic unrest, if left unchecked." It is therefore imperative that development agencies and nation states around the world find an alternative model to socio-economic development, which discourages growth of global inequality.

In his book 'Capital in the Twenty-First century' Thomas Piketty (2014), discusses the subject of 'global inequality'. Piketty promotes the idea that the future might follow history's trajectory into becoming a highly unequal society. In order to solve this dilemma, he proposes a solution in which government agencies intervene by increasing taxation of the wealthy. However, this proposal fails to acknowledge the significant role played by tax havens in the covering up of wealth possessed by the global rich. According to research conducted by James Henry, former chief economist at McKinsey & Co., up to $32 trillion is stored away in tax havens – around one-sixth of the world's total private wealth (2013). Therefore, while Piketty's solution is ideal, it is incapable of solving the problem of global inequality in the long run.
In this bleak reality, one thus begins to question whether there truly exists an alternative to reducing global inequality.

Philanthropy- An Alternative Model of Development

Several suggestions have been made in order to encourage the flow of wealth from the top 1 percent to the lower 99 percent. In this context it is worth taking note of an emerging trend which has been occurring since the last half century, where some of the wealthiest people of the world such as Bill Gates (Co-founder, Mirosoft), Warren Buffett (CEO, Berkshire Hathway) and Mark Zuckerberg (CEO, Facebook), are contributing substantial portions of their wealth to charity, rather than passing them down to their offspring. This could be a viable solution to a more equal distribution of wealth across the global society.

The 2014 Annual Report of the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation shows that almost four billion dollars of monetary aid, has been dispensed by the Foundation to developing countries such as India, Nigeria, Zimbabwe and Ethiopia, to fight diseases such as H.I.V., malaria, polio and tuberculosis. In addition, Mark Zuckerberg has publicly mentioned that advancing human potential, promoting equality and fighting the Ebola virus, are some of the focal areas of the Chan Zuckerberg Initiative, the new philanthropic organization set up by Zuckerberg and Chan (Cassidy, 2015). These activities undertaken by these individuals, were traditionally considered the responsibility of the respective national governments, however, they now enable the redistribution of wealth between the global rich and global poor.

Today philanthropy is growing as a proportion of total ODA-Official Development Assistance, a term that was coined to measure aid, by the Development Assistance Committee of the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development. This is an essential contribution to the immense undertaking of development (UNDP Report,2014).Bain and Company's India Philanthropy Report (2015), reveals that while powerful businessmen such as Azim Premji (CEO, Wipro), make large charitable contributions to society, philanthropy as a trend that envisions income equality is also growing in India.

Bill Gates in his 2007 talk at Harvard University said, "From those to whom much is given, much is expected." He epitomizes the unambiguous message philanthropists such as himself, send to the global rich, in order to promote collaboration with governments, as being the new alternate model of development to reduce global inequality.

Alternative Understanding of Human Behaviour

To accelerate this new trend towards philanthropy, one needs to develop a new understanding of human behaviour. The traditional analysis was not originally proposed by a psychologist, but by the economist Adam Smith. His observation of man being rational and driven by self-interest, created the 'Homo econimicus' or the 'economic man'. For centuries now, this assumption has been the foundation of popular development-related policies and economic strategies of governments around the globe (Thaler, 2015). The mathematical disposition of the leading economists to substantiate their explanations of behaviour and the confidence one derives from the surety of numbers, strengthened the belief on the rational, conscious, self-interested man. This paradigm of human nature, however, has been contradicted by learnings from new behavioural sciences such as cognitive neuroscience

and behavioural economics, which provide alternate perspectives in the field of development studies.

Theories of behavioural economics put forward by Thaler (2015) and Kahneman (2002), particularly, on the irrational nature of human behavior, run contrary to the concept of Adam Smith's rational man. Simultaneously, a larger revolution in the study of human behaviour has been brought about by the field of cognitive neuroscience. According to Scientific American (2014), "In the last 10 years, our understanding of this mysterious organ (human brain) has exploded. The new understanding of the human brain shows that all human decisions involve emotions." This sheds more light on the cooperative nature of human beings. This view was echoed by Robert W. Sussman (2011), who, in his book 'Origins of Altruism and Cooperation' , says, "Cooperation isn't just a byproduct of competition, or something done only because both parties receive some benefit from the partnership, rather, altruism and cooperation are inherent in primates, including humans."

These new insights of human behaviour enable one to understand the motivation of humans to share their wealth with the economically and socially disadvantaged and thus help accelerate philanthropy as a key constituent to the new initiatives on development. The emerging view is that governments cannot be solely responsible for development. Wealthy citizens and capital-rich corporates are becoming more aware of their responsibility to compliment the efforts of the government in the developmental process. The general consensus is that traditional theoretical models of economic behaviour should be reconstructed, to integrate new models based on altruistic economics, which can further socio-economic development through a balanced distribution of wealth across a global society.

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Buen Vivir

Buen Vivir arose as a movement in Latin America that focused on equal rights for humans and nature. It grew as a response to neoliberalism, but slowly transformed into a movement heavily based on neo-extractivism, and thus became subservient to global capitalism, which does not leave room for nature and humans to truly be equal.

The mainstream understanding of development comes from a Western perspective that emphasizes economic growth, individual rights and neoliberal capitalism. However, Buen Vivir, a movement in Latin America (mainly Bolivia and Ecuador) has been garnering attention for its progressive and holistic definition of development. Buen Vivir loosely translates to "good life" or "well living". In an interview with Oliver Balch (2013), Eduardo Gudynas, a scholar on the subject suggests that it is more: it is beyond individual well-being, it is the well-being of an individual in the social context of their community in a unique environmental situation. It is collective development of the individual, society, and the environment that surrounds it, with a strong basis in indigenous traditions that values and respects nature. The Buen Vivir movement is built on the basic pillars of harmony with nature, respect for values and principles of the indigenous peoples, satisfaction of basic needs, and where social justice and equality are responsibilities of state and democracy (Mercado, 2015).

Buen Vivir is deeply rooted in the history of Latin America, and its indigenous people. Although most countries in the region achieved independence from Spanish colonizers in the 19th century, the Creoles and the Mestizos dominated the countries, and exploited the indigenous peoples. The indigenous remained marginalized, illiterate and isolated in the rural areas (Dosch, 2012).

The fight against this oppression by the Mestizos and the political elites, led to the emergence of transnational social movements across Latin America in the 1970s. These organizations were born out of the need to defend the land rights of indigenous peoples, and eventually moved on to address other issues like bilingual education and a recognition of indigenous systems of laws and governance. Until a couple of decades ago, Latin American public discourse did not push for indigenous movements into the political sphere. The fall of the Soviet Union in the 1980s and the collapse of the political left internationally reflected the downfall of leftist political parties in Latin America. This is when indigenous parties began to enter the political sphere, and gained support of the non-indigenous population who was seeking alternatives to conservative elite parties and their neoliberal strategies. Bolivia, Ecuador, Peru and Mexico saw the indigenes become important political actors, replacing the formerly leftist parties, and they established themselves as some of the most dynamic voices against neoliberalism (Ibid).

Indigenous movements have been a strong force in Bolivia and Ecuador. Bolivia, by mid to late 1990s, had the indigenes as an active actor in development. They were recognized as a group that demanded respect for their rights and entitlements, and they witnessed an increase in their participation at the municipal level. Evo Morales, the first indigenous President of Bolivia and thereby Latin America, won by a large margin in 2005, with the support of the indigenes. Morales' government strongly criticized neoliberal capitalism that was exploiting the country's people and its resources, and laid a heavy emphasis on its indigenous roots. The social movements that previously demanded recovery of land territories which were lost during Spanish colonization, now became some of the most powerful institutions in the country, as opposed to more formal institutions like political parties and the Congress (Bueno & Datta, 2011). Following Bolivia, Ecuador's indigenes also went through a landmark victory in the form of Rafael Correa's government in 2006. Correa's government had two significant demands: to end neoliberalism in Ecuador, and an abandonment of party rule (Fatheuer, 2011).

In their fight against an imperial development approach with negative repercussions, Correa and Morales adopted a new constitution in 2008 and 2009 respectively that incorporated Buen Vivir and its principles of peace and sustainability. The Buen Vivir movement is representative of indigenous principles of harmony and community, and peaceful coexistence with nature (Ibid).

Buen Vivir is deeply rooted in indigenous Andean tradition. It is born from the Quechua expression "*Sumak Kawsay"* which means good living. It is a new social pact, of coexistence in diversity and

harmony with nature and others. The idea of Buen Vivir goes beyond material well-being and happiness, it is a life of fullness in equilibrium with various dimensions of human being. It gives people the right to live in a healthy and ecologically sustainable environment (Mercado, 2015). The movement gives Nature its own identity, which has its own intrinsic significance, regardless of human life. Conservation of the ecosystem and biodiversity are an inseparable part of the movement, with consistent advocacy for prevention of environmental damage, and a demand for recovery of degraded natural spaces. Nature forms a legal entity in the constitutions. Nature has its own intrinsic rights, and must be prevented from exploitation. It is a distinct asset, which needs a legal advocate. The same movement also gives humans some basic rights to health, education, shelter, food and life in a healthy environment (Fatheuer, 2011).

Colonisation and the following rule by the political elites, internalised the indigenes as colonial subjects, and stripped away their power and right to land and the environment. Bolivia and Ecuador, have historically been poor nations, and they have been heavily dependent on international funding. Neo-colonial capitalist powers of the West and global markets demanded that Latin America opened up its economy. This eventually culminated into a fossil fuel economy, created by neoliberal policies of hegemonic Western powers and dictatorships, which exploited land and led to increasingly destructive climate change and inequities among people. Both Morales and Correa, promised to tread a path against neoliberalism and the conventional imperial path to economic development. Thus, the movement is not only a response to capitalist economies, but is also a process of decolonization and reclaiming the rights of the indigenous peoples to their land, and going back to a traditionally Andean concept of development (Demos, 2015).

Lanza (2012) posits that Buen Vivir goes beyond the binaries of the Eurocentric political thought: capitalism and socialism. For capitalism, money and production surplus form the basis of society, and socialism aims at satisfying greater material and spiritual needs of all humans, equally. Buen Vivir, however, considers Life as the most important thing; life for all – humans, animals, nature and the earth. Thus, the movement goes beyond an anthropocentric perspective of development.

Gudynas, in his interview with Balch (2013) suggests that this movement also comes together at the juncture of environmentalism and feminism, with its focus on equal rights and opportunities for all, thus aligning itself with the ecofeminist movement. The current discourse on development too, is reflective of neo-colonialism, which gives the western, developed nations an opportunity to impose their imperial form of development on other nations. Thus, the Buen Vivir movement highlights the importance of decolonization: decolonization of nature, freeing it from oppression and giving nature its own rights, decolonization of women, letting go of the notion that women are naturally closer to the earth and the environment, and should be the permanent caretakers of the environment, and thus decolonization of a country's measurement of progress, moving away from imperial and exploitative economic growth, and towards a more inclusive, sustainable and communal form of development (Demos, 2015 and Aguinaga et al, 2013).

Marxian analysis of the capitalist economy examines how women's (re)production is not considered as work in the economy, and thus the preconditions that make labour possible are ignored. Similarly, nature is also overlooked as a supplier of natural resources, which makes production possible. Both these forms of production (of supply of labourers and natural resources) may be acknowledged for their work, but they are considered to be free, and readily available in the environment. Further, hegemonic discourses on economic policies ignore women's care work and natural resources, and the underlying environmental and social costs that come along. Hence, sustainability is not compatible with a system based on economic growth, and the significance of preservation of life is highlighted under Buen Vivir. Production and reproduction values and costs are undertaken equally, by men and women, and humans and nature. Thus, there exists a highly complex relationship between decolonization, fighting capitalism, defeating patriarchy and establishing a new relationship with nature (Aguinaga et al, 2013).

While the Buen Vivir movement seems to be ideal and utopian, with equal rights for all, and sustainability at the core of development, it is still work in progress. Historically, the roots of the movement are based on social movements that aimed at assimilation of the indigenous people, but not their empowerment. The indigenes were earlier exoticised and glorified, which reinforced their marginalisation and oppression. The indigenes and their history and culture were reduced

to museums, tourism and folk events, which not only portrayed the indigenes as the 'exotic other', but also refused to acknowledge that the community had a voice of its own (Dosch, 2012). Although the indigenous social movements did eventually become active participants in the government in the form of Morales and Correa's governments, they have repeatedly been side-lined for the larger purpose of economic development, which is evident from the extractivist policies undertaken in Latin America.

Overexploitation of natural resources, especially in territories that were considered non-productive, forms the base of extractivism. Neoliberal policies that focused on transnational movements, free deregulated trade and privatization, are at the core of extractivism, which provided for a large number of livelihoods in Ecuador and Bolivia (Brand, Dietz & Lang, 2016). Over the decades of neoliberal extractivism that Latin America went through, the indigenous, mestizos, black and peasant women were the ones who were exploited the most, under domestic and productive work. This common experience led them to form organized resistance movements with indigenous organizations, to resist neoliberalism and aim for the state to play a role in redistribution of resources that guarantees socio-economic equality and cultural rights (Aguinaga et al, 2013).

In the last few decades, the environment conservation movement has been gaining traction, and the world has been realizing the significance of protecting the environment. Thus, in western neoliberal countries, free market environmentalism and green capitalism that have been advocated by the United Nations and the World Bank are gaining popular support. Economies are now placing a value on natural resources, and using the market to balance the damage being done to the environment. The Buen Vivir movement however, debunks the notion that nature's resources can be materially capitalized upon. It encourages a new discourse that regards the environment as an independent entity, with its own rights. Nature gets its own representation in the Constitution and has legal support through public lawyers that ensures protection of these rights.

The inclusion of Nature in the Constitution of Ecuador and Bolivia however does not reflect in their policies, particularly in the more recent neo-extractivist policies undertaken by them. Neo-extractivism, termed by Gudynas, is a more progressive extractivist policy where the state controls nature and nature's resources. It's a form of social extractivism where earnings from natural gas and mineral exports are used for public infrastructure and reducing poverty rates. There is a movement from private capitalism to state-run capitalism, under neo-extractivism. Morales' government implemented extractivism with a social redistribution and successfully reduces poverty rates (Fabricant & Gustafson, 2015)

Gudynas posits neo-extractivism as the new path for economic growth and development in Latin America, where the state is much more active and defines clear rules, with direct and indirect interventions in the extraction sector. However, it is a state business, which is dependent upon business strategies of cost reduction and profitability. The surplus of profits earned by the state is directed towards social programs for people (Gudynas 2010). Thus, neo-extractivism defends its activities as being of the people and for the people. Progressive governments of Correa and Morales use globalisation and competition as tools to defend neo-extractivism, whereas old extractivism focused on exports and the world markets.

Gudynas (2010) also proposes the functionalist understanding behind neo-extractivism, where it serves as a tool to reinforce commercial globalisation. The Leftist governments see these policies as the main source of economic growth, which will fund socio-political programs for its citizens, fighting against poverty. While trickle down policies don't work out at a global level, the government aim to use the trickle-down policies from the local, state-run industries to serve the people (Brand et al, 2016). However, this functionalist development model is likely to create a socio-economic and political hegemony that builds upon a material core – a sort of functioning capitalist political economy, and the willingness of the dominating classes to compromise on their privilege for the benefit of minorities. Neo-extractivism falls under a 'commodity consensus', a global phenomenon where, despite the global politicization of climate change and the environment, extractivism continues to be a dominant global dynamic. Ecuador and Bolivia, despite remarkably different Constitutions that were meant to overthrow neoliberalism, continue to be involved in the world market at a subordinate position, with very few opportunities to shape the global political economy (Ibid).

Thus, the policies that shape these countries' economic growth, do exploit nature which is against one of the core principles of Buen Vivir. Alongside nature, the

indigenes and the people from more marginalised communities, are bound to be the more exploited classes, and the ones to be affected most by change in the form of livelihood practices. Neo-extractivism and similar policies are built on a 'national-populist socio-political dispositif' that strategically functions as a source of political legitimisation' (Ibid). Hence, neo-extractivism justifies the exploitation of nature to promote national development, sovereignty and social redistribution, a struggle against poverty and social inequality (Ibid.).

The Buen Vivir movement is regarded as an effective alternative to the western discourse of development. Its sustainable degrowth strategies and communal living, shared food and culture, makes it is a unique movement that invites the traditions of its people to improve the future. Its principles are deeply rooted in decolonization, and encourage the indigenes' participation in decision making positions, recognizing their rights and the centuries of marginalization and oppression. It is also a movement that questions western and imperial ways of development, and acknowledges that a paradigmatic shift in development is now the need of the hour. The movement continues to be work in progress and Ecuador and Bolivia are currently struggling to incorporate Buen Vivir in modern politics. With the looming threat of global warming, a new understanding of nature and humans is needed, which is harmonious. It is perhaps time to move from anthropocentric forms of development, to socio-biocentric development, which is more holistic in nature and less harmful in its impact on everybody.

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Development through the Refugee Lens

Five years into the Syrian Civil War, 5 million displaced Syrians have caused a massive refugee crisis and the burden of accommodating them has fallen upon Europe and the neighbouring countries of Jordan, Lebanon and Turkey. This paper explores how their arrival has affected the economic and infrastructural health of the host country and also aims at addressing long-term solutions for their integration into that country's socio-economic development discourse.

In 2015, more than a million refugees crossed into European territory from conflict zones such as Syria, Iraq and Afghanistan (EUROSTAT, 2016). In 2016, this number quadrupled to a whopping 4.8 million (UNHCR, 2016). While some European and Middle-East countries opened their doors to this massive influx of refugees, hostility towards them has been mounting due to growing apprehension of their cultural and religious disparity, economic stress on the host country's resources and the divergence of jobs from the locals to these migrants. One amongst these host countries is Jordan.

Classified by the World Bank as an "upper middle income" economy and a country of "high human development", the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan is characterized by its large service sector, tourism and health sectors. Located amidst Middle Eastern countries plagued with turmoil and conflict such as Iraq and Syria, Jordan has historically advocated the inflow of refugees (such as the 2 million refugees accepted during the 1948 Palestinian war and the fleeing Iraqis in 2006 (UNRWA, 2015) and channelled them into opportunities to advance its national development. However as of June 2015, more than 620,000Syrians have taken refuge in Jordan, bringing the local-refugee ratio to 4:1, thus exacerbating their economic, political, social and resource situation (Alexander Francis, 2015). Public sentiment towards these Syrian refugees has become bitter, resulting in an unproductive response by the government.

Jordan stands to be an interesting case in this refugee crisis due to the parity in culture, religion, language and lifestyle that it shares with Syria, allowing refugees to identify with the locals without the threat of facing racism, Islamophobia or a barrier in language, thus stimulating the integration and acceptance process.

This paper intends to look at ways in which the Jordanian government can channel these refugees into rebuilding its currently crippling economy and integrate them into national development models.

Legal Obligations Towards Refugees

Jordan faithfully upholds its obligations to the 'non-refoulement' principle of the Memorandum of Understanding, signed with the UNHCR in 1998. This forbids the nation state to render a true victim of persecution to his/her persecutor. However, notably absent from Jordan's Memorandum are a variety of legal rights regarding refugees, including housing, employment, public education and freedom of movement. As a consequence of Jordan's limited obligations under international law, as well as tightening security and insufficient regulations, refugees within the country remain legally vulnerable, which prevents them from developing self-sustainable solutions to aid the deteriorating economy.

However, the government of Jordan has begun to shift from a humanitarian, to a developmental approach in tackling the refugee employment crisis by signing 'The Jordan Compact' with the European Union in February, 2016 ("*Peace, Bread and Work*", Economist, 2016).

Jordan's Economic Dilemma

The Jordanian economy, due to its inherent lack of natural resources, has historically been dependent on external suppliers to fulfil its basic necessities and has thus focussed on building its service sector; effectively utilising the constant trickle of migrants into its economy. As a result, Jordan is easily vulnerable to external shocks and was already struggling with destabilizing elements before the Syrian crisis, due to the 2008 global recession. The Syrian refugee crisis further exacerbated Jordan's negative economic trends in three primary ways: the extension of public and social services to Syrian refugees strained government funds; increased demand inflated the prices of finite goods like housing and finally, competition over jobs in the informal sector led to the depression of wages and has worsened conditions for the most poor Jordanians. As a result, public sentiment towards these refugees has deteriorated. According to a report by the International Labour Organisation, 85% of Jordanian

workers believe that Syrians should not be allowed to enter Jordan freely ("3RP Mid-Year Report", 2016). Politically, this is alarming because public perceptions of a government's inability to deliver adequate services can affect political legitimacy.

Theoretical Approach Towards Refugee Integration

With the recent hijack of Aleppo and the resultant lack of peace prospects in Syria, world leaders have acknowledged the need for long-term solutions to accommodate refugees into safer spaces. This has been supported by immigration economists in the past.

George Borjas, through his work on **'**Economics of Migration' (Borjas, 2000),suggests that in the long run, migrants cause an increase in national demand, leading to increased investment, increased demand for labour and subsequently an increase in wages.

In addition, the employment of migrants increases national output which increases national income. This increase is termed as "*immigration surplus"* in economic literature. Critiques of immigration argue that a large influx of low skilled workers into an economy lowers wage rates. Borjas' argument, which suggests that migrants create an increase in national aggregate demand, may be applicable, but only in the long run. The capital market takes time to adjust to the new aggregate demand and supply of labour, and jobs and wages maybe seriously affected in that period. Also, while the employment of migrants may increase national output, a large initial investment is required on the part of the government or private enterprises to create these employment opportunities, which may not be feasible for every country. Finally, the most important prerequisite for the prevention of turbulence in the wage market, is the fact that their skills are complementary to the skills of the natives, and not substitutionary, which may not be true in every case

However, this model is applicable in the case of the Jordan because, firstly, refugees invite a steady flow of international financial aid which, if channelled into the right sectors, can be used to create jobs and boost infrastructure. Secondly, the mammoth influx of refugees in refugee camps such as Za'atari, has created an instant increase in demand, which has allowed the blooming of thousands of informal businesses, indirectly aiding native businesses. Thus, capital has already begun reacting to the increased demand. Finally, as Jordan was already facing an economic slump due to the 2008 global recession, the emergence of these refugees may prove to be the stimulus required to push its economy onto the road to recovery.

Case Study- Growing Economy Within Refugee Camps in Jordan

A refugee camp is a temporary settlement built to receive refugees and internally displaced people, with the aim of meeting basic human needs, only for a short period of time. They also help create a sense of unity and provide emotional and mental strength among its inhabitants. Za'atari in Jordan is one such camp.

The largest Syrian refugee camp in the world with 80,000 people (UNHCR Data Portal, 2016), Za'atari was supposed to provide temporary housing when the government and United Nations opened it in 2012. But since residents have not been able to leave, they have started 3,000 businesses to sustain themselves ("World's largest Syrian refugee camp has developed its own economy", PBS Newshour, 2016).This has indirectly helped stimulate native businesses, as business owners within Za'atari buy resources from nearby Jordanian markets and eventually their products are consumed by both locals and refugees. According to the UN, businesses in Za'atari generate $13 million every month (ibid). The fact that Za'atari has spurred the local economy with simple trade, while also sharing their benefits with the locals despite their restricted legal rights, is the manifestation of Borjas' theory on immigration.

The Jordan Compact

Signed between the European Union and Jordan in February 2016, a deal called the 'Jordan Compact', aims at creating employment for the Syrian refugees while mitigating the economic crisis in Jordan.

The main objective of the Jordan Compact is to attract more foreign direct investment (FDI), by mobilising "Special Economic Zones" (SEZs), which are areas in which business and trade laws are different from the rest of the country and this aims at increasing trade, job creation and effective administration. The deal states that employment of at least 15% of the refugees into SEZs, would give Jordan access to EU's markets, free of tariffs and quotas. Finally, they would be taxed minimally, facing few bureaucratic hurdles.

Foreign aid, whilst appreciated, alleviates the problem only temporarily. The Jordan Compact acknowledges this and therefore elects a more sustainable, development-oriented approach that will expand Jordan's economy while simultaneously providing Syrian refugees with employment. The deal is still problematic because of the requirement of documents to apply for work permits (which most refugees may not own), but efforts can be made to minimize these issues as it offers a win-win solution to all.

Recommendations

There is no doubt that the sudden large scale emergence of refugees into Jordan has exerted insurmountable stress on its economy. However, worsening conditions in Syria call for sustainable and long-term solutions to their obvious long-term stay.

Providing education, healthcare and work permits to the refugees is imperative to equip them with the ability to contribute to the economy, rather than just exist as consumers. Making them self-sufficient would allow for international aid to be channelled into more long term investments such as infrastructure and thus strengthen the economy in the long run. In addition, social acceptance and economic dignity would help reduce criminal activity and lift the burden off the poorest Jordanians who have been affected the most.

In conclusion, if the Jordanian government takes the right steps to integrate the refugees into their community and economy, these refugees may prove to be a boon to and may help in reviving it.

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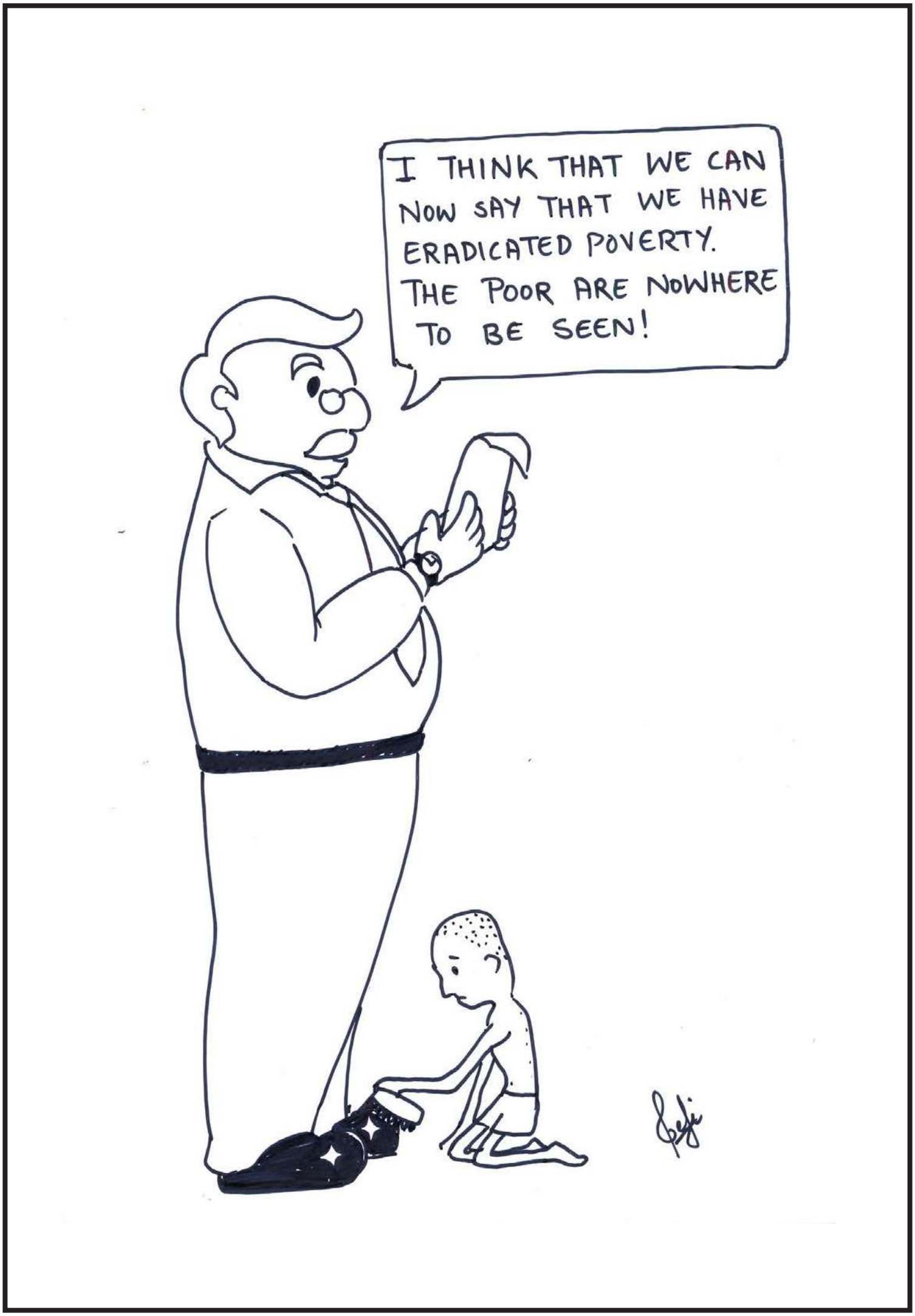
I THINK THAT WE CAN NOW SAY THAT WE HAVE ERADICATED POVERTY. THE POOR ARE NOWHERE TO BE SEEN!

Interview:Dr. (Fr.) Arun DeSouza

Fr. Arun de Souza has been, until very recently, a professor of Sociology and Anthropology at St. Xavier's College. He is a Jesuit priest, and began his career as a chemistry student. Aside from teaching for 11 years, he has also been the coordinator of the Master's in Public Policy program, and has curated the program himself.

Q. What is your favourite memory of teaching at St. Xavier's College?

I think it was when I was discussing with a student of mine, about a statement I make quite often, "the way you define reality is real in its consequences." So she responded by saying, "Next you'll say we should eat poo for lunch!" I had to explain to her that when you look at babies, they often play with it quite freely. These "natural" ideas, you know, to hate poop, is what we are trained to think: that it is horrible, that the stench is bad, that it is inedible. Otherwise, babies just play! That is my favourite memory, to realise how students take reality so much for granted that it becomes overwhelming to think otherwise.

Q. How has being in the education sector changed your perspective on life?

I think the first shocking thing was to realise that, you know, I came in as a young raw teacher, thinking that everyone *wanted* to get educated. I used to be this very naive teacher who told them that they could do what they wanted in class, they could sleep or read or eat, as long as they didn't disturb me. And then I suddenly realised that half, or most of the class was drifting away, that they thought that I didn't know what I was talking about, that even those interested got pressured into moving away. I think what I realised is something that students don't like- that discipline is necessary. After that, I became quite a strong disciplinarian, as you know. And I realised later, that it worked. All those students that would otherwise have lost interest, were suddenly drawn into discussions they never used to pay attention to. So in this sense, I've realised that you need to set parameters and boundaries in education, *and* also have interesting discussions.You can't just think that interesting discussions by themselves allow students entry into learning. Strangely, you need both discipline, and excitement.

Q. What attracted you to the social sciences?

Actually, you know, it was culture. I was a chemistry student, and I really enjoyed my science. What happened to me was, in the Jesuit order, I was transferred to a village, and I lived in a tribal community, and it struck me a lot how differently they thought of reality. And that's when I began questioning culture, you know, it's always something we take for granted, not something we think about, especially as a science student. That's how I landed up in the social sciences. A simple example, is how the tribals used to have what can be called half a headache, on one side of their head. They would go to the *bhagat*, and he would tie something on the opposite ear, and they would be cured! It struck me that I had never had such a headache in all my life! It set me off thinking, that even disease and health are not just purely physiological, in that sense, there's something more to life than I could figure out. I was very naive, but it did set me thinking.

Q. Would you say that there are shared elements between the natural and social sciences?

Yes, and no. If you talk to a hardcore scientist, for example, quite often, they think of reality as a given. But those that go deeper, like into things like particle physics, they begin slowly to realise that they are actually constructing the world through their mathematics. In other words, it's like a culture, a worldview created through math, to explain what they see. They're giving people an image of reality. In that way, it's very similar to anthropology, where we have begun to realise after postmodernism, that we actually create our worlds. Today, there are huge amounts of overlaps, and we begin to see that using mathematical formulae that are already known, they are just pushing ideas of reality. It isn't reality ,but a model of reality.

Q. As a social scientist in India, what do you feel are the shortcomings of the field? Is it growing or diminishing?

There is a difference, of course, between those who research, and those who are in classrooms. I think the unfortunate part about India, is that classroom teaching, with any subject, really, has become about rote-learning. Social sciences, as I've cribbed often, has become a "pink discipline", where girls and

parents who don't know what to do in life do it till they marry. Its become the great scoring subject for the IAS/UPS exams. The way it's taught, I think, is the bad part about India. It's come to a point where we're repeating cliches. However, at the same time, also a huge amount of social science there is questioning. You take people like Shiv Visvanathan, for instance, or the fact that there are a lot of postmodern scholars in India, like Homi Bhabha, there is that side of India, which is very critical in its thinking, very creative. I would say that that's the part that students should see, which they often don't in classrooms, largely because of the way teaching and syllabi are structured. So there are, of course, bad and good elements in sociology. I am at least hopeful that students in our college have had the chance to see that side- the creative, critical side, that is insightful.

Q. What do you think is the impact of an academic journal like Eidos?

It depends on how one does it. Talking about impact, if you take readership into consideration, a magazine would have a larger impact value, because you make it enjoyable and easy to read with pictures, jokes, anecdotes, etc. People may enjoy it, but you are not changing their world view. What we have tried here of making people think, has a small clientele, because most of us don't want to spend our time thinking, because here, we want to read for leisure. It's like critical mass in physics, which is one active amount that is required to create and trigger off a nuclear explosion. A journal like this is constantly seeking the critical mass. In India, we haven't developed an attitude of questioning our (figurative) Gods. But this seems to have spread across the world in this era of globalisation. Unfortunately, as sociologists we have to stick to our vocation of questioning these (figurative) Gods, but we are going to be marginal in this kind of culture.

Q. How do you interpret the theme of this year's journal?

Largely right across the world, the idea of development is very clear. According to departments like Economics, better infrastructure, rising incomes and economic growth in terms of value of money. Very few people are asking the critical question, growth for what? Development is usually understood to be synonymous with economic growth. We don't want to see whether human beings are happier, are we being more sustainable, why do we need more money, the current brand of development is not answering these questions. We take these things for granted. As students of the social sciences, we have to question the obvious. It's our vocation.

Q. How do you think development policies will translate from the academia into real life, in terms of practicality?

That's a long drawn out process. My favourite example is the feminist movement. When it started out people didn't think that much would come of it because in the 1920s it just seemed to be a movement driven by fancy women in their huge hats and gowns. But quite clearly this has had an enormous impact on society, with a close correspondence between activism and academia. I have a great faith in academia, because without thinking you cannot complement what is happening outside. Even with regard to the current identity and caste politics in our country. If a social scientist doesn't question this, we will never reach an alternative. In that sense, I am hopeful, but not that it will happen today (reaching an alternative). Academic questioning is very important. But don't expect people to put you on a pedestal, they will most probably hammer you!

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