Research on India in Finland
Past, Present, Future

Edited by Xenia Zeiler

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Research on India in Finland: Past, Present and Future of Social Sciences and Humanities based Studies

Xenia Zeiler

India today is a highly dynamic, transforming, and complex nation. Its global engagement and influence in the economic and business sectors, high-tech research, IT, the entertainment and art industries, as well as in many other areas is steadily expanding. To study the expressions of social and cultural life in India from historical times to the eco-social environments of today broadens and deepens our knowledge and understanding of India. In particular, the importance of the academic disciplines in the Social Sciences and the Humanities (SSH) in this quest to comprehend India cannot be overemphasized. SSH is comprised of numerous disciplines in which society and culture are researched through various approaches, theories, methods, and research questions. These disciplines range from South Asian Studies as an area-related discipline to Art, Anthropology, Development, Media and Communication, and Sociology to Education, Economics and Business, to name only some examples.

Not surprisingly, given the growing importance of India both in the region and as a global actor, the interest in researching India has increased also in Finland. For some time now, this area of research has attracted studies in disciplines beyond the more traditional spectrum. From the beginnings of India-related research in Finland in the nineteenth century (which, as in other countries across Europe at the time, centered on Sanskrit and in Helsinki was related to the comparative study of Finno-Ugric languages) up to the present, the research themes on India have broadened immensely. Arguably, the most characteristic aspect of this development is that the research has moved beyond the long-held primary orientation toward language and culture-related themes (especially the arts and religion) and beyond the classic Humanities subjects. As a matter of course, this correlated with the transformation of societies worldwide and the resulting developments in international academia.

The Example of South Asian Studies

Let us take one concrete example to show how the research on India has changed, in Finland as well as internationally. Within the SSH disciplines, South Asian Studies plays a specific role. As a so-called area studies discipline, by definition it focuses on the region (and on themes closely related to the region, for example, themes involving so-called NRI, "Non-resident Indians"). In this regard, South Asian Studies is a comprehensive discipline with a thematically wide-ranging interest in India. South Asian Studies as an academic subject involves research into the cultures and societies of the Indian subcontinent, including various social and cultural themes, such as media and communication, religion, politics, history, the arts, and so on. As an area-related discipline, South Asian Studies also naturally includes the region's languages, because language enables direct admission into a culture, allows for unaltered access, and facilitates unbiased approaches to regional developments and events.

Precisely because it is such a comprehensive discipline, South Asian Studies not only embraces many topics, but also is shaped by the many approaches, theories, and methods needed to research these topics adequately. Briefly put, influences in South Asian Studies come from many disciplines. These influences range from Indology, which traditionally has focused on Sanskrit language and literature and the study of Indian languages and literatures from all times and regions beyond Sanskrit, to the study of very recent phenomena, such as digital media as related to present-day Indian culture and society. Given that the themes vary according to researchers' academic backgrounds and interests, the range of subjects researched in South Asian Studies can be enormous.

In Finland, South Asian Studies is part of the Faculty of Arts at the University of Helsinki (http://blogs.helsinki.fi/SouthAsianStudies/). As in many other European universities, the study of South Asia at this university began in the nineteenth century (specifically, in 1836) with the study and teaching of Sanskrit. In 1875, the Finnish linguist Otto Donner began his teaching of Sanskrit at the university within the comparative study of Finno-Ugric languages. His successors included the Indologist Julio Nathanael Reuter; Pentti Aalto, who concentrated on comparative studies in Altaic languages and Sanskrit; Asko Parpola, who

introduced the teaching of Hindi and Tamil as additional subjects; and Klaus Karttunen. In 1987, the name of the discipline was changed to "South Asian and Indo-European Studies." Since then, it has been possible to profoundly study modern South Asia.

Today, with the ever-growing importance of South Asia in the global culture, economy, and politics, South Asian Studies at the University of Helsinki focuses on contemporary India. While in our view India's present cannot be fully understood without the context and knowledge of the past and while consequently, historical textually-documented traditions are part of the teaching and research at the university, nowadays the majority of students concentrate on modern India. As a subject in the Humanities, South Asian Studies encompasses the study of culture as well as the study of society and language. In order to bridge the past and present and to advance South Asian Studies as a discipline in the digital age, the strategic research foci are currently Digital Humanities and communication culture related to India, with a focus on video games and gaming, popular culture in India, and the Indian diaspora; literature and performance, with a focus on Sufi literature; and Sanskrit narratives.

The Approach and Contents of this Book

This publication arose from an academic seminar jointly organized by the Embassy of India in Finland and the unit of South Asian Studies at the University of Helsinki in May of 2017. The event, entitled "Research on India in Finland," was aimed at both the interested public and the academic community in Finland. In light of Suomi 100, the centenary year of Finnish independence, the celebratory event was designed to present examples of research on India in Finland, especially in the areas of the Social Sciences and Humanities, as well as to offer a platform for discussion and possibly support for new research and project ideas.

This book attests to the high interest in India-related research topics in Finland, which is visible, among other things, in the various disciplinary backgrounds of the contributors and the broad range of themes they address. It also attests to the high quality of research on India in Finland which has been carried out, still is underway, and in the near future will be carried out. This book

endeavors to present an exemplary (though by no means exhaustive) introduction to and overview of studies and projects, both large and small, by researchers in the senior, middle and junior phases of their careers.

The book's configuration developed out of the structure of the initial event. The themes are arranged in four parts, each consisting of key issues in SSH research on India in Finland. Part 1 contains studies on language and literature; Part 2 discusses aspects of art and culture; Part 3 presents studies on digital media and culture; and Part 4 deals with development, environment, and business. These themes and more broadly, the past, present, and future of research on India in Finland are contextualized in the introductory chapter. There is also an overview which introduces the research carried out in India on Finland and the Nordic region.

The book is comprised of 17 chapters. This opening chapter, written by the event's coordinator and co-convener and the editor of this publication, Xenia Zeiler, provides an introduction and an overview of the past, present, and future of research on India in Finland. It highlights the role of the research in the SSH fields and the importance of this research for understanding India's past and present. The chapter furthermore discusses South Asian Studies at the University of Helsinki as an exemplary discipline in carrying out SSH research on India, while providing an overview of the book's structure and chapter contents. The introduction is followed by an essay written by B. Vivekanandan, formerly of the Jawaharlal-Nehru University in New Delhi, which provides an overview of and reflections on the research on Finland and the Nordic region which has been done in India.

In Part 1, Language and Literature, Mikko Viitamäki in "Popularizing Sufi Hagiography: An Excerpt from *The bamboo flute of Nizamuddin*," introduces the magnum opus of Khwaja Hasan Nizami, a hagiographical-historical work entitled *Niẓāmī bansurī* (The bamboo flute of Nizamuddin), written in 1941 and brought out in a second, enlarged edition in 1945. Viitamäki provides a contextualization of the author, his work, and Sufi hagiography, and gives a translated excerpt of this work of Urdu prose. Asko Parpola, in "Sāmaveda, the Indus Script and Aryan Prehistory: The main Targets in my Study of Indian Culture," shares major aspects of his lifelong research at the University of

Helsinki. He introduces three areas related to the formative phase of Indian culture, namely, Sāmavedic texts and rituals, the script, language and religion of the Indus civilization, and the pre-history of the Aryan and Dravidian languages. Klaus Karttunen, in "Indian Literature in Finland: A Historical Overview" introduces us to the history of translations of Indian literature in Finland – both classics and modern works – into both Finnish and Swedish (the second official language of Finland). The first part concludes with Virpi Hämeen-Anttila's "Stories inside Stories inside Stories," which presents the stratagem of the frame story, a type of storytelling that was developed and cultivated in India very early and in great numbers.

Part 2, Art and Culture, begins with Hanna Mannila's "Indian Dance gurus and their Authority in Transformation." This chapter introduces the transformations which have been and still are taking place in the figure of the guru and his authority in Indian society, from classical Sanskrit texts to contemporary mediatized contexts, with a focus on Indian classic *kathak* dance. Marjatta Parpola in her chapter, "Collecting and Exhibiting Material Culture of India, and Traditions of the Nambudiri Brahmins of Kerala," summarizes the principal topics in her study of Indian culture over the past 45 years. "Western' Lifestyle Migrants in India: Neither Tourists nor Residents" by Mari Korpela discusses lifestyle migration, a phenomenon whereby citizens of affluent industrialized countries move abroad in order to find a more relaxed and more meaningful life, with India a popular destination for this kind of transnational mobility. The chapter is based on two extensive ethnographic research projects conducted in the city of Varanasi and the state of Goa.

The focus of Part 3 is on a more specific and increasingly influential field within the larger theme of culture, namely, digital media and culture. Sirpa Tenhunen in "Intersectionalities and Smartphone Use in Rural India" explores how smartphone use mediates social hierarchies. The chapter is based on her long-term ethnographic fieldwork in rural West Bengal. In "Indian Video Games and Cultural Heritage," Xenia Zeiler presents examples of how cultural heritage is implemented in video games made in India. How is Indian cultural heritage represented and constructed so as to craft narratives of India's past and present?

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Sharon Ben Dor in "Some Observations on the Relation between Sanskrit Grammatical Texts and their Sources" presents observations on the relations between selected Sanskrit texts, which he compared with the help of a popular text analysis software. "Increasing Information Access with Interactive Technology Solutions in India" by Markku Turunen, Jaakko Hakulinen, Mikko Ruohonen, Sumita Sharma, Pekka Kallioniemi, and Juhani Linna presents the key findings from the HCI4D (Human Computer Interaction for Development) projects in India, which focused on improving information access in education, healthcare, and agriculture.

The volume concludes with Part 4, which takes up development, the environment and business. Jukka Jouhki, in "Democracy in the Slums: Meanings of Voting among the Poor of Chennai," discusses how people in the slums of Chennai relate to voting. How do they decide whom to vote for? What do they think about politics and politicians, and how does democracy function in their case and in their views? "Socio-Economic Perspectives on the Livelihood Security in a changing Himachal Pradesh, India" by Tikli Loivaranta, Reija Hietala, and Rebecca Frilund addresses agricultural diversification, improving land productivity, and a broad scrutiny of knowledge-sharing and community participation in the local carbon forestry initiatives. Satu Ranta-Tyrkkö, in "Mining-Related Social Work Needs and Possible Ways forward in the Sundergarh District, Odisha," takes a closer look at iron mining and its complex contextual factors and consequences in northern Odisha, discussing these from a social work and specifically eco-social perspective. Narashima Boopathi Sivasubramanian's "Managing across Cultures with the Cultural Intelligence Quotient (CQ): A Study of Finnish Business Leaders' Experience in India" concludes this last part of the publication. He discusses the prominent cultural capability theory, Cultural Intelligence (CQ), as applied to Finnish business leaders in India.

Overall, this publication presents examples of the past, present, and future of research on India in Finland. It highlights the role of the SSH disciplines in particular in understanding India. In subjects such as development, education, and business, the publication highlights the advancement of the country's social

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and cultural landscapes. Bringing these chapters together here also allows us to demonstrate the interdisciplinary nature and broad thematic scope of research on India in Finland. This book includes overviews of and introductions to the work of researchers from all career stages, including leading senior level, middle-level, and emerging junior levels. We hope that it will contribute to raising awareness of the research done on India, both in Finland and in India, and will interest the public as well as the academic community. It is my hope that this kind of research on India will continue to proliferate in Finland and that established topics as well as emerging key themes will continue to shape future research agendas.

Popularizing Sufi Hagiography: An Excerpt from *The Bamboo Flute of Nizamuddin*

Mikko Viitamäki

Khwaja Hasan Nizami (d. 1955) was a Sufi author whose literary career coincided with a period when a number of new genres were introduced into Urdu literature. During the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, European influence contributed to the emergence of Urdu prose, and the consumption of literary products changed radically as a result of what Benedict Anderson (2006, 37) calls 'print capitalism'. Printed word became an integral part of creating communities beyond restricted localities and the broadening readership encouraged the introduction of more popular literary styles to the fields where they previously had been unknown.

The arrival of lithography in India in 1820s proved significant to the development of Urdu literature. The Indo-Persian calligraphic styles in *nastaʿlīq* script could not have been reproduced by movable types. Lithography, on the other hand, allowed printing books that were written by calligraphers and thus resembled manuscripts. Such books became hugely popular and their success initiated the emergence of commercial printing and book publishing (Orsini 2004, 109).

The prospect of printing books, pamphlets and newspapers in large quantities made them an ideal means to address, affect and educate the reading audience. A great number of institutions, movements and individuals used printed word to promulgate their ideas. As a result, the scope of Urdu broadened from a language of poetry into a language of variegated discourses. Institutions of higher education, such as the Delhi College (f. 1828), Aligarh Muslim University (f. 1875) and Osmania University in Hyderabad (f. 1918), contributed to the evolution of Urdu into a medium of rationalist scientific discourse. It also became entrenched as a language of religion when the Muslim reformists decided to adopt it as a medium of their writing. The Dar al-Uloom (f. 1867) in Deoband was instrumental in making Urdu the common language of variegated Muslim communities around the Subcontinent. It upheld the position of Urdu as the

language of instruction even though a considerable number of its students were not Urdu-speakers (Metcalf 2005, 135–136). In the field of belles-lettres, the culture of private reading for one's own entertainment inspired a number of authors to write short stories and novels instead of exclusively concentrating on poetry.

Khwaja Hasan Nizami was an author who developed a unique prose style in the field of religious literature. His decision to cultivate literary prose instead of poetry was different from most other literary-minded Sufi authors. And instead of holding to the conventional genres of religious literature, he developed a kind of religious historical adventure novel written in straightforward and flowing Urdu, and devoid of excessively Arabicized or Persianized expressions. Nizami was extremely prolific and fourteen years prior to his death in 1955 he calculated to have written about two hundred books in addition to a number of newspaper articles and other shorter pieces (Nizami 2009, 9).

The religious outlook Nizami sought to disseminate through his writings was influenced by a number of intellectual currents. He hailed from the traditional environment of a famous Sufi shrine, the *dargāh* of Nizamuddin Auliyaʾ (d. 1325) situated in Delhi. He received his education in religious sciences from the scholars of Deoband. He was initiated into the Chishti Nizami brotherhood by Pir Mihr Ali Shah (d. 1937), a Sufi master who actively participated in religious and political debates. Nizami was also acquainted with the secularist Muslim elites affected by the modernist ideas of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan (d. 1898) and the Aligarh movement. And although he was interested in defining the validity of contemporary social practices, such as collecting the income tax (Nizami 1917), from the Islamic point of view, he did not push for an Islamic state. Instead, he propagated peaceful co-existence of Muslims and Hindus in the increasingly communalized atmosphere of late colonial India. This he tried to achieve by writing about the Hindu religion (Nizami 1927) and about the life of Krishna (Nizami 1923) in Urdu. However, he did not shun from fiercely defending the Muslim community, if he perceived its integrity to be under a threat from organizations like Arya Samaj (see Nizami 2009, 201–204).

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The literary oeuvre of Khwaja Hasan Nizami is as variegated as the religious and social debates in which he participated. His Urdu translation of the Quran (Nizami 2012) follows Shah Rafiuddin and Shah Abdulqadir's late eighteenth-century model discussed by Farooqi (2010). When writing about controversial issues, he followed the established patterns of Islamic legal argumentation. In the work defending the prostration before a Sufi master (Nizami 2005), a practice excoriated by the scholars of Deoband, his argumentation proceeds from referring to the Quran and hadith, to quoting the Prophet's companions and other religious authorities. As for his unique prose style, it comes to the fore in works dealing with historical events, like the 1857 uprising (Nizami 2008), or contemporary figures, like Edward VIII (Nizami 1937).

Nizami's magnum opus, a hagiographical-historical work entitled *Niẕāmī bansurī* (*The bamboo flute of Nizamuddin*) is an excellent specimen of his Urdu prose and a demonstration of the sustained appeal of his writing among the Urdu readers. The first version was written in 1941 and the second, enlarged edition was published in 1945. The work has been in print ever since. The sixth impression was taken in 2009, and the book is also available as a devanagari edition.

Niẕāmī bansurī tells the life story of Nizamuddin Auliya ʾ, the eponymous founder of the Chishti Nizami brotherhood and one of the best known Sufi saints of India, from the point of view of a Hindu prince called Hardev. Hardev arrives to Delhi after Alauddin Khilji's Deccan campaign and is introduced to Nizamuddin by the court poet Amir Hasan Sijzi. The work is allegedly a translation of Hardev's Persian diary *Cihal roza* (*Forty days*), in which he records his encounters and discussions with Nizamuddin and his disciples.

The work has many layers. Attached to the main narrative are the copious footnotes of the author as well as a lengthy supplement that takes about one third of the book's 540 pages. Into these sections, the author includes the gist of different religious debates in which he has participated over the years. Since Hardev's narrative does not cover the entire life of Nizamuddin but only the period from his arrival to Delhi to the latter's death, Nizami provides the missing information about the Sufi master's past and predecessors in the footnotes. As I

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have noted elsewhere, the footnotes and the supplement increase the scope of *Niẓāmī bansurī* beyond a conventional Sufi *taẕkira* (hagiography) and also make it a handbook for a twentieth-century Chishti Nizami disciple (Viitamäki 2017, 196).

Although the work is didactic in nature, its literary style is anything but dry or pedantic. The diary format facilitates introducing the first-person narrator into the text. This literary device brings into the text cohesion that is otherwise rare in *taẕkira*s consisting of chronologically and/or thematically organized individual episodes. Furthermore, it allows a nuanced portrayal of the character of a Sufi disciple. Although Hardev is awed by Nizamuddin and grows attached to him in the course of the book, he also has his moments of despair, apprehension, nervousness and exhaustion. Due to such depiction of Hardev's character, *Niẓāmī bansurī* rather resembles a modern novel than a conventional *taẕkira*.

Nizami's treatment of the events, on the other hand, brings to mind a historical adventure novel. Creating an atmosphere of suspense through lively narration is evident already in Nizami's autobiographical writings and travelogues (Viitamäki 2013, 217-218). In *Niẓāmī bansurī*, the characters' adventures are further elaborated by a supernatural element introduced into the text in the form of Sufis' miraculous powers.

What follows is a translation of one episode from *Niẓāmī bansurī, Targhī mughal kā ḥamla* (*The attack of Targhi the Mongol*). This episode is not found in the earlier *taẕkira*s, neither in the seminal mid-fourteenth-century *Siyar al-auliyāʾ* by Amir Khurd Kirmani nor in the eighteenth-century *Shavāhid-i niẓāmī* by Khvaja Muhammad Bulaq. In the episode, Delhi is under a Mongol siege, while the armies of the Sultan are absent in the Deccan. The destruction of the city seems imminent. In these conditions, Nizamuddin assumes the responsibility of protecting the city and its inhabitants. He transfers his clairvoyance to a handkerchief, and his disciple bravely takes it to the Mongol commander. The latter sees his homeland under a threat and abandons his plan to capture Delhi. Before the situation is solved, however, the disciples of Nizamuddin have to endure a period of anxious uncertainty. While the passage no doubt seeks to

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demonstrate the powers of Sufi saints and accentuate their role as protectors of common people, it also makes thrilling reading.

From *Niẓāmī bansurī* (pages 89–94):

The attack of Targhi the Mongol

For many days, it had been rumoured that a large Mongol army was approaching. The army had already defeated the troops defending Multan, Lahore and Sirhind, and now it was advancing towards Delhi. The army was led by Targhi, a blood-thirsty Mongol. The entire city was crowing anxious because of the rumour. The best soldiers of Sultan Alauddin had left to the Deccan and were absent from Delhi.

That day, I heard that the Mongols, numbering hundreds of thousands, had reached the outskirts of Delhi and surrounded the city from all sides. I was living in Ghiyaspur which is situated about nine kilometres south from Alauddin Khilji's fort, the Siri. Nonetheless, the inhabitants of Ghiyaspur, Kilokhri and all the surrounding settlements situated outside the fort were restless because of the Mongols' siege. That morning, I was present in the assembly of Hazrat [Nizamuddin], when the heir-apparent, Khizr Khan and Malik Nusrat, a prince who had accompanied Alauddin during his first campaign against my country, Deogarh, arrived with Amir Khusrau. First, the three presented themselves in front of Hazrat, kissed the ground and sat on their knees close to him.

Then, Amir Khusrau stood up and said to Hazrat, respectfully joining his hands: 'The Sultan kisses the ground and says that Hazrat is no doubt informed that the Mongols have surrounded the city from all sides. Their number is great and the successes in Multan, Lahore and Sirhind have made them bold. Our best troops, on the other hand, are in the Deccan. Hundreds of thousands of residents of Delhi are armed and they are ready to fight. In addition, there are some soldiers in Delhi, yet the situation is risky. We will try to do what we can, but we trust the help of God and that depends on your prayers.'

Having heard the message, Hazrat smiled and said: 'Convey my prayers to the Sultan and say that he should remain confident. The Mongols will retreat tomorrow.'

Hearing these words, Amir Khusrau bowed and kissed the ground. I noticed how Khizr Khan and Malik Nusrat exchanged bewildered and confused looks. However, they bowed after Amir Khusrau, kissed the ground and all the three took their leave. I was left thinking that Khizr Khan and Malik Nusrat must have been perplexed by Hazrat's words, because they had doubts regarding his ability to foretell the Mongols' departure the next day. But neither had courage to ask anything, and Amir Khusrau did not say a word, either.

After they had gone, Hazrat suddenly stood up as if to show respect to someone. All of us stood up as well. However, we were nonplussed, because we could see no one coming. In whose honour had Hazrat stood up? After a while, he sat down and so did we. Only a few minutes must have passed before he stood up again. We stood up, too. He remained standing for a while before he sat down again. Hazrat repeated this for altogether seven times. We were whispering among ourselves that there must be some secret behind this. But no one dared to ask the reason for his behaviour.

After some time, I braced myself, stood up from the row and went in front of Hazrat. I kissed the ground, stood up, hands joined, and said: 'We have no right to enquire about the hidden mysteries from you. However, your benevolence has always stayed with me and I feel encouraged to ask to whom did you show respect when you stood up seven times? We were not able to see anyone joining the gathering.'

Hazrat said: 'Hardev, when I told Amir Khusrau and his companions that the Mongols would leave tomorrow, my attention was directed to the [spiritual] victories of Baba Fariduddin Ganjshakkar. With his encouragement and blessings, I would make the Mongols leave by tomorrow and thus my promise would be fulfilled.'

A dog from Ajodhan

'Then, all of a sudden, I saw a dog walking in the courtyard outside our gathering. I had seen a similar dog in Ajodhan and stood up in order to show respect to it. When the dog had disappeared from my view, I sat down. Then the dog appeared again and I stood up. The dog passed by seven times. Even if it was not from

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Ajodhan, it resembled the dog I had encountered there. This is why I showed respect to it. Now that I have seen this dog, I know in my heart that the promise I gave to the Sultan will be fulfilled. This world and those who seek it are told to be like dogs, so I concluded that seeing a dog resembling a dog from Ajodhan indicates that the those dogs who have come here to seek this world will leave.'

A Mongol disciple

Then, Hazrat looked around. Among the people who were present was a disciple of Mongolian origin. He had served Hazrat for many years. Hazrat called him close to himself and gave him a handkerchief of his. He had used it to dry his blessed face after the ablutions.

Having given it to the disciple, he said: 'Take this to Targhi, the chief of the Mongols, and convey my greetings to him. Ask him to place the handkerchief over his face in your presence and then tell you what he has seen.'

The Mongol disciple promptly bowed, kissed the ground and said: 'I will be back as soon as I have fulfilled your command.' After that, the assembly broke up and everyone went to their homes.

Targhi's reply

In the evening, we had reassembled around Hazrat when the disciple brought a message from Targhi. He kissed the ground, joined his hands, stood in front of Hazrat and said: 'When I went to the Mongol camp, the soldiers blocked my entrance. But when I mentioned your name, they showed me respect and made me way so that I could go to Targhi. When I found him, I saw that he was, indeed, an exceedingly blood-thirsty and ill-tempered man.

> Disdainfully he asked: "Are you a Mongol?"
> "Yes."
> "What are you doing in Delhi, then?"
> "I am a servant of Hazrat Nizamuddin and it is from him that I have brought you a message."

When Targhi heard your name, he stood up and said: "Today, my glory has become as lofty as the heaven above, since a great saint whose fame reaches beyond the heavenly spheres has deemed me worthy of his attention!"

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I then conveyed your prayers to him and gave him the handkerchief. He bowed his head towards your dwelling place in acknowledgement of your blessings and placed the handkerchief over his face. All around, sturdy Mongol chiefs were standing with their swords. They had bows in their backs and quivers by their sides. Yet, they were baffled when they witnessed such behaviour.

Targhi let the handkerchief rest on his face for a while. When he removed it, he said to me in the Tatar language: "Kiss the ground in front of Hazrat on my behalf and tell him that I am much obliged. He allowed me to see my country in my heart. I saw how the enemies had proceeded there, and my countrymen, my kith and kin were helplessly calling me out. Tell Hazrat that I also saw Ajodhan when the handkerchief was covering my face and heard the voice of Baba Farid. It commanded me to go back to my country without a delay. I will fulfil his command and immediately prepare for the departure. But tell me, may I keep this handkerchief with me as a token from Hazrat?"

I replied: "He said nothing about this to me. On the other, he did not tell me to bring it back, either. So, I think I can say that you may keep it with you."

When I was preparing to leave, Targhi gave me a purse of silver coins to be given to you.' After he had finished, the Mongol disciple placed the purse at Hazrat's feet. Hazrat smiled and said: 'It belongs to you, I am giving it to you.'

The Mongol disciple kissed the ground again, took the purse and sat on his place. Hazrat remained silent for some time before he said: 'They will leave. They will have to. Baba Farid has given them a command.' Then the assembly broke up and we went to our homes.

The Mongols left

The next morning, it was announced that Targhi's troops had lifted the siege and were retreating. Not a single Mongol soldier was seen around Delhi anymore. We gathered around Hazrat again. That day, there were many more pilgrims than usual. There were people everywhere.

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Sāmaveda, the Indus Script and Aryan Prehistory: The Main Targets in My Study of Indian Culture

Asko Parpola

I started Sanskrit studies 58 years ago in 1959, and have since 1982 worked as Professor of Indology at the University of Helsinki, since 2004 as emeritus. Besides regular teaching I have organized a number of international conferences, among them Nordic South Asia Conference in 1980, South Asian Archaeology 1993 conference, a symposium on the contacts between the Uralic and Indo-European language families in 1999, the 12th World Sanskrit Conference in 2003, and also a seminar sponsored by the Embassy of India on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of India's independence in 1998. In collaboration with my colleagues I have also edited the proceedings of these conferences (see references), and also a fairly comprehensive illustrated cultural history of India in Finnish, *Intian kulttuuri* (Parpola, ed. 2005). My own research has mainly targeted three areas related to the formative phase of Indian culture. In the following I am briefly telling about this research and its results.

Sāmaveda

The first period known to us through an extensive literature in Sanskrit is that of the *Veda* or '(Sacred) Knowledge'. The Veda, composed between about 1200 and 400 BCE, has four divisions called Ṛgveda, Sāmaveda, Yajurveda and Atharvaveda, belonging to the four groups of priests who had different duties in the grand *śrauta* rituals.

The *Drāhyāyaṇa-Śrautasūtra* describes the duties of the Sāmavedic chanter priests. A critical edition of this text with the medieval commentary of Dhanvin was started by the Finnish Sanskritist J. N. Reuter, but only one fifth was published in 1904; the unfinished manuscript of the rest is kept in the National Library of Finland. For my Ph.D. dissertation, I prepared an annotated English translation of the published portion and its commentary (Parpola 1968-1969).

When studying the relationship of this text to the closely parallel *Lāṭyāyana-Śrautasūtra* and other Sāmavedic literature, I chanced to discover a

miscatalogued unique manuscript containing totally unknown texts related to another parallel text, the *Jaiminīya-Śrautasūtra* (Parpola 1967). I photographed this manuscript in the library of the former Maharaja of Tanjore in 1971, and started a systematic search for all existing manuscripts of works belonging to the less-known Jaiminīya branch of the Sāmaveda (Parpola 1973). My former student Masato Fujii, Professor of Indology at Kyoto University in Japan, has collaborated with me in this task since 1985. Our work has brought to light many new texts, including the previously unknown old Jaiminīya-Gānas (Fujii 2016; Fujii & Parpola 2016). The Tanjore manuscript unfortunately remains unique, but there are now several manuscripts of the excellent commentaries on the texts contained in it by Bhavatrāta, an 8th century Kerala Brahmin, and his student and son-in-law Jayanta. Together they significantly further the understanding of Sāmaveda. My critical edition is nearing completion and currently comprizes more than 1000 pages (Parpola, forthcoming).

The results of my field work in Kerala on the domestic rituals of the Jaiminīya Sāmaveda and their codification in the local Malayalam language still remain largely unpublished material, comprizing my own notebooks, photographs and videos, and two commissioned autobiographies in Malayalam and English by leading Sāmavedic authorities, Brahmaśrī Muṭṭattukkāṭṭŭ S. Iṭṭi Ravi Nampūtiri and Brahmaśrī Nellikkāṭṭŭ N. Nīlakaṇṭhan Akkitirippāṭŭ.

The Indus script

Before the Vedic period, ancient India housed one of mankind's earliest urban cultures, the Indus Civilization, which flourished c. 2600-1900 BCE. Its best known cities Harappa and Mohenjo-daro display extraordinary town-planning and water-engineering but not such splendid palaces and temples as ancient Egypt or Mesopotamia. It had long-distance contacts with West Asia, as proved by Indus objects found in Mesopotamia, and by cuneiform records telling of imports from the far-off land called Meluhha. The Harappans could also write in a script of their own, preserved in some 5000 very short inscriptions, mainly carved on seal stamps made of stone and usually decorated with the image of a unicorn bull or some other animal.

The forgotten Indus script has remained an enigma in spite of more than a hundred attempts to read it that have been published since 1877. The Indus script is not related to any other known writing system, and there are no such bilingual texts that have usually enabled deciphering an unknown script with the help of a translation into a known script or language. Yet the Indus script has the potential to reveal things that other archaeological remains cannot tell, especially the identity of the Indus language.

In the 1950s Michael Ventris performed the sensational feat of deciphering without bilinguals the Linear B script that was used in ancient Greece between the 15th and 12th centuries BCE. I had just read John Chadwick's fascinating book (1958) about the methods that had made this decipherment possible when my friend Seppo Koskenniemi, working for IBM, offered to do the programming if I wanted to try using the computer in any kind of study. As compilation of statistics and indexes to texts played an important role in the decipherment of Linear B, I suggested that we take up the study of the Indus script as a hobby. My Assyriologist brother Simo joined our team. We collected the Indus texts from archaeological reports, drew up a provisional list of the different Indus signs, allotted a number to each sign, and punched the texts in numerical form onto cards. After the computer had processed all this information into lists, we searched the lists for meaningful patterns. Later the computer was programmed to draw in Indus signs a concordance to all sign sequences (S. Koskenniemi, A. Parpola & S. Parpola 1973) and in a revised version in 1979-82 (K. Koskenniemi & A. Parpola 1979-1982). A second revision is due, as much more material is available.

During my first trip to South Asia in 1971 I was able to check most of the original Indus inscriptions kept in various museums of Pakistan and India. I discovered hundreds of unpublished inscriptions and initiated a major project to publish a comprehensive *Corpus of Indus Seals and Inscriptions* (CISI) in international collaboration under the auspices of UNESCO. Three of the projected four volumes have appeared (CISI 1, 1987; CISI 2, 1991; and CISI 3.1, 2010). This fundamental research tool is approaching completion.

In spite of the great odds, there are some favourable circumstances, especially the partially pictographic nature of the Indus script, which make a limited decipherment possible, if the language rendered by the script turns out to be suffiently well known from other sources. Starting from the successful decipherments including that of the Linear B and from the discussions and work with my brother Simo Parpola, my friends Seppo and Kimmo Koskenniemi and my Sanskrit teacher Pentti Aalto in the 1960s, I have been developing methods and concrete solutions to achieve this goal. The results have been published in an extensive book, *Deciphering the Indus script* (1994), and recently in an abbreviated form with additional arguments in the latter part of my book *The Roots of Hinduism* (2015).

There is no room here for a detailed exposition here, so I shall just mention some main conclusions. On the basis of its age, number of different graphemes and the length of identified 'words', the Indus script belongs to the 'logo-syllabic' type of writing systems, as do all other scripts of the world in use before 2400 BCE. Each sign denotes either the thing or concept that it depicts (unfortunately original pictograms have usually been simplified beyond recognition), or the phonetic shape that the corresponding word has in the language underlying the script. In the latter case, the sign can represent also any other homophonic words of that language, whatever the meaning: this is the so-called *rebus* principle of the earliest scripts. For example, the English phrase *"to be or not to be"* could be written with pictures as follows: *2-bee-oar-knot-2-bee*, and an English speaker may understand this 'picture puzzle'.

Isolated signs can be deciphered (1) if the pictorial meaning of the sign can be recognized, (2) if it can also be found out that the sign has been used as a *rebus* in a given context, (3) if the meaning of that *rebus* use can also be defined from the contexts, and (4) if a pair of words having the same phonetic shape and these two meanings (pictorial and rebus) can be found in a historically likely language. The tentative interpretation thus obtained can be checked by trying to decipher other signs by similar means. As in filling a cross-word puzzle, ideal targets are signs occurring together with the sign already deciphered, especially

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such that seem to form compound words, and seeing whether such compound words actually occur in the language assumed to underlie the script.

A common Indus sign has the shape of 'fish', and this pictorial interpretation is confirmed by iconographic scenes in which identically depicted fish are placed around a fish-eating crocodile and/or in its mouth. This 'fish' sign, with or without added modifying marks, occurs very frequently in seal inscriptions. A *rebus* use is suggested by the fact that West Asian seal inscriptions never mention 'fish'; these parallel inscriptions mainly contain personal proper names, with or without attributes of descent or occupation. Mesopotamian and Indian proper names are usually derived from, or contain, the name of a deity. The cuneiform script uses semantic classifiers as help signs: the sign depicting a star indicates that what follows is divine. In many Dravidian languages, and in their reconstructed protoform, —which historically is the most likely candidate for being the Harappan language— the word for 'fish' is *mīn*, and it has a homophone *mīn* meaning 'star'. Many of the added modifying marks, like the 'roof' added over the plain 'fish', or signs that immediately precede the plain 'fish', can similarly have a Dravidian interpretation, yielding compound words that occur in Old Tamil texts as names or star and planets. In ancient India, people had secret astral names from their birth stars and planets, and these heavenly bodies have been connected with specific divinities, like in ancient Mesopotamia.

The iconographic motifs of Indus seals and painted pottery and Harappan statuettes have parallels in Iran and West Asia on the one hand, and in later Indian religions on the other. Their comparative study, together with that of the Indus script, has led to major new insights in the history of Indian religions. These are also summarized in *The Roots of Hinduism* (Parpola 2015).

Aryan Prehistory

In *The Roots of Hinduism*, I also summarize my efforts since the early 1970s (Parpola 1974) to correlate the results of linguistics and archaeology to trace the migration of the speakers of the Indo-Iranian languages from their original Proto-Indo-European homeland to their historical areas in Iran and in Central and South Asia.

The methodology of this sort of reconstruction has been much developed by J. P. Mallory, who in his book *In Search of the Indo-Europeans* (1989) suggested that the Proto-Indo-European homeland was in the Pontic steppes between 5000 and 2500 BCE. David Anthony, one of the leading researchers of horse domestication, shares this view in his book *The Horse, the Wheel, and Language* (2007).

I agree with Mallory and Anthony that the homeland of Proto-Indo-European (PIE) speakers was in the Pontic steppes north of the Black Sea in the early Copper Age. But while these colleages place it there also in the Early Bronze Age, I proposed in 2007 (Parpola 2008) that the Late Tripolye culture of Ukraine and Moldavia developed into the homeland of Late PIE between 4100 and 3400 BCE. In the Copper Age, the Tripolye culture was the world's most advanced agricultural community. Invadors from the Pontic steppe took over the rule in the Tripolye culture c. 4100 BCE, initiating a gradual language shift in the local population. By 3600 BCE, when the Tripolye people invented the world's first archaeologically attested wheeled vehicles, they spoke Late PIE. This can be concluded from the fact that the reconstructed Late PIE had twelve terms related to ox-drawn wagons, all derived from native Indo-European roots. This gives the initial date and area for the dispersal of the Indo-European languages, which now spread with Tripolye-derived cultures having wheeled vehicles to their historical speaking areas.

The Corded Ware cultures of North-Western Europe, from the Netherlands to Russia, and the Pit Grave cultures of South-Eastern Europe, from the Danube to the Urals, are the two major post-PIE speaking cultural blocks, dated between 3400-2500 BCE. The Pontic steppes now became the Proto-Indo-Iranian homeland. It split into two around 2300 BCE, when the Proto-Indo-Aryans moved to the metal-rich area in the Kama Valley between the Volga River and the Ural mountains, until then occupied by Proto-Finno-Ugric speakers. Linguistically this move is attested by numerous Aryan loanwords reconstrable to Proto-Finno-Ugric (Parpola 2012a).

After moving to the southern Urals the Proto-Indo-Aryan speakers invented the horse-drawn chariot around 2100 BCE in their Sintashta culture,

which subsequently spread widely to the Asiatic steppe in the form of the so-called Andronovo cultures. These Proto-Indo-Aryans of the steppe took over the rule in the Bactria-and-Margiana Archaeological Complex (BMAC) in southern Central Asia c. 2000 BCE, continuing in the BMAC garb c. 1900 BCE to northern Iran (and from there further to Syria, where they ruled the Mitanni kingdom 1500-1300 BCE) as well as to the Indus Valley (see fig. 7). It appears that this first wave of Indo-Aryan speakers in South Asia brought there what later emerged as the 'Atharvavedic' tradition. The Ṛgvedic Indo-Aryans arrived some five centuries later, after also Iranian-speaking and horse-riding Dāsas had come from the Pontic steppes and taken possession of southern Central Asia c. 1500 BCE (Parpola 2012b).

This reconstruction helps understanding the formation of the Veda, and distinguishing elements of Aryan origin from those inherited from the Indus Civilization in Vedic and Hindu religion (Parpola 2015).

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Indian Literature in Finland: A Historical Overview
Klaus Karttunen

India can boast of a literary tradition extending over three thousand years and of a vigorous modern literature in several languages, including English. In the West this tradition became known very slowly. Leaving out a few cases of texts carried through several transmitters – such as the Buddha legend and the narratives of the *Pañcatantra* – Indian literature was opened to Western public only at the end of the 18th century, but already the first half of the 19th century saw a number of translations of Indian classics especially in English, French and German. In Finland the teaching of Sanskrit started at the University of Helsinki as early as 1836 (although I must admit that the modern Indian languages only followed about 140 years later). Soon some echoes of the richness of Indian literature were also heard here. In the following, I shall present the history of the translations of Indian literature – both classics and modern works – in Finland, also including Swedish as the second official language of the country.

However, until well into the 20th century the teaching of Sanskrit in Helsinki was given in Swedish and also the first translations were published in the same language. The very first was the famous Nala episode of the *Mahābhārata* translated by Herman Kellgren from the Sanskrit original in the middle of the 19th century. Some years later appeared the metric version of the Sītāharaṇa – "The carrying off of Sītā" – part of the *Rāmāyaṇa* by Otto Donner, who then became the first Professor of Sanskrit at the university. In recent years, Måns Broo of Åbo Akademi has published some good translations in Sweden.

Herman Kellgren: *Nala och Damayanti, en indisk dikt ur Mahâbhârata från originalet öfversatt och med förklarande noter försedd*. Helsingfors 1852 (with appendix "Epigrammer af Amaru", in 8 pages).

Otto Donner: *Sîtâharanam, episod ur Rāmāyaṇa.* Text, öfversättning och förklaringar. Helsingfors 1865.

Nino Runeberg: *Bhagavad-Gita. Herrens Sång*. Helsingfors 1910 (NR, 1874–1934, was a teacher and author, son of Walter R., grandson of the poet).

When we turn to the Finnish side, the favourite of Indian classics has been the *Bhagavadgītā*. There are at least seven different versions published between 1905 and 2011, but unfortunately only two of them are made directly from the original language: Those by Marja-Leena Teivonen and Mari Jyväsjärvi.

Martti Humu (Maria Ramstedt): *Bhagavad-Gîtâ. Laulu jumaluudesta tahi Oppi jumalallisesta Olemuksesta.* Helsinki 1905 (from Franz Hartmann'a German theosophical version).

Pekka Ervast (?): *Bhagavad Gîtâ. Herran laulu.* Suom. tri Annie Besantin laatimasta englanninkielisestä käännöksestä. Helsinki 1936 (from the English theosophical version of A. Besant and Bhagavan Das).

Marja-Leena Teivonen: *Herran laulu. Bhagavadgītā.* Sanskritin kielestä suom. Helsinki 1975 (from the Sanskrit original).

Bhagavad-gītā kuten se on. Helsinki 1983 (the ISKCON-version from English).

Matti Heikkilä: *Herran laulu: Bhagavad-Gita aum*. Xerox 1992.

Mari Jyväsjärvi: *Bhagavadgītā.* Suomentanut M.J. Helsinki: Basam Books 2008 (from the Sanskrit original, the best of all).

Taavi Kassila *Bhagavad-Gita: jumalainen laulu*. Suomennos ja tulkinta. Helsinki: Like 2011 (from English, using the commentaries of modern Indian gurus).

Leaving out some very short extracts published in journals and magazines, the number of direct translations from Indian languages has been extremely limited. The beginning is rather unexpected: an Italian professor of Sanskrit, Paolo Emilio Pavolini (1864–1942), who was keenly interested in Finland and Finnish literature. After a visit to Finland he published in Florence a Finnish translation of a small collection of Indian short poems about hospitality. Pavolini also translated the *Kalevala* into Italian.

> Paolo Emilio Pavolini: *Intialaisia mietelmiä vieraanvaraisuudesta*,
> suomensi P. E. P. 8 s. Firenze 1905, also the article "Muinaisintialaisten
> mietelmärunous", *Valvoja-Aika* 3, 1925, 136–147.

As a secondary issue I can mention that translations of German and Swedish stage versions of two Indian classics – *Śakuntalā* and *Mṛcchakaṭika* – were performed at Finnish stage as early as around the turn of the century. The reception was generally favourable, but these translations were never published.

> *Śakuntalā:*
> 1906 in Suomalaisen Maaseututeatterin Viipurin näyttämö (Viipurin
> kaupunginteatteri), also touring in other towns.
>
> 1908 in Kansallisteatteri.
>
> 1950 in Yleisradio as adapted to the radio performance.
>
> 1987 in Kuopion Kaupunginteatteri (the only one based on direct the
> translation of the original play).
>
> *Mṛcchakaṭika:*
> 1895 *Vasantasena* in Suomalainen teatteri (Kansallisteatteri), again in
> 1903.

1904 *Vasantasena* in Suomalaisen Maaseututeatterin Viipurin näyttämö, also touring in other towns.

1926 *Savivaunut* in Kansallisteatteri.

In the last thirty years the number of Finnish translation has greatly increased, mainly through the work of Virpi Hämeen-Anttila and myself – including some foremost classics such as the *Rigveda, Śakuntalā* and *Pañcatantra*. An early and remarkable work was the direct translation of the *Dhammapada*, made from Pāli and published in 1953 by Hugo Valvanne, a diplomat who in his early days had studied Sanskrit and Pāli under J. N. Reuter. A few other Buddhist texts have been translated from secondary versions as well as some further Indian classics. Of the Finnish versions of the classical epics, the *Rāmāyaṇa* is based on the free English version of Kṛttibās Ojhā's Bengali *Rāmāyaṇa* – and, I think is rather good as such – while the original of the *Mahābhārata* version is freely retold in English by the Tamil author and politician C. Rajagopalachari alias Rājāji. The excessive didactic style reveals that it was primarily meant for children.

From Sanskrit:
Marja-Leena Teivonen: *Seitsemän Upaniśadia*. Gaudeamus 1975 (Aitareya–Īśa–Kaṭhā–Kena–Māṇḍūkya–Muṇḍaka-Praśna).

Asko Parpola: "Pilviairut (Meghadūta)", in: T. Harviainen (ed.), *Sana ja ruokokynä.* W+G 1988, 178–200 (of Kālidāsa).

Klaus Karttunen: Kaalidaasa: *Šakuntalaa.* Suomen Itämainen Seura 1988.

Virpi Hämeen-Anttila: *Viisi kirjaa viisaita satuja. Intialainen Pañcatantra*. Suomen Itämainen Seura 1995.

Virpi Hämeen-Anttila: *Papukaijakertomukset. Lemmentarinoita muinaisesta Intiasta*. Basam Books 1996 (*Śukasaptati*).

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Virpi Hämeen-Anttila: *Jasmiiniyöt. Eroottista runoutta Intiasta*. Basam Books 2000 (an anthology of erotic poetry).

Klaus Karttunen: *Huumori muinaisessa Intiassa. Kolme pienoisnäytelmää.* Yliopistopaino 2000 (three short plays: *Mattavilāsa, Bhagavadajjukīya* and *Ubhayābhisārikā*).

Klaus Karttunen: *Rigveda. Valikoima muinaisintialaisia hymnejä.* Yliopistopaino 2003.

Måns Broo: *Patañjalin Yoga-sūtra. Joogan filosofia*. Helsinki: Gaudeamus 2010.

Klaus Karttunen: Two plays (Bhāsa's *Ūrubhaṅga* and Harṣa's *Ratnāvalī*) in: Jukka O. Miettinen & Veli Rosenberg (eds.), *Samaan aikaan idässä. Aasialaisen näytelmäkirjallisuuden antologia*. Teatterikorkeakoulun julkaisusarja 52. Helsinki 2016, 21–98 (an anthology of classical Asian theatre).

From Pāli:
Hugo Valvanne: *Dhammapada. Hyveen sanoja*. WSOY 1953, 2nd ed. 1958, again publ. in *Idän viisautta*. WSOY 1977.

Teivonen, Marja-Leena: *Buddhan jäljillä. Buddhalaista filosofiaa, luostarielämää ja pyhiä tekstejä*. Gaudeamus 1978 (p. 51–106 extracts from the Suttanipāta, etc.).

Virpi Hämeen-Anttila: *Kun Buddha syntyi hanhen hahmoon. Valikoima buddhalaisia jataka-tarinoita*. Basam Books 1998 (selected Jātakas).

Idän viisautta. Ed. & transl. by Klaus Karttunen, Leif Färding and Kai Nieminen. WSOY 1977 ("The Wisdom of the East" – an anthology translated from Sanskrit, Chinese, English, etc.).

From English, etc.:

Dhammapada. Buddhalainen mietelausekokoelma. Maailman pyhät kirjat 2. Helsinki 1925 (first published in the Theosophic magazine *Tietäjä* in 1908–09, probably translated by Pekka Ervast from some Western version).

C. Rajagopalachari: *Upanišadit.* Suomentanut toukokuussa 1949 ilmestyneestä neljännestä painoksesta Juho Savio. Helsinki 1952 (selection of short passages).

Juho Savio (ed.): *Intialaista viisautta*. WSOY 1961, 3rd ed. 1963 ("Indian Wisdom" – an anthology).

Ramajana. Krittibas Ojhan bengalista engl. Shudha Majumdar ja suom. Juho Savio. WSOY 1962.

Mahabharata C. Rajagopalacharin kertomana. Suomentanut Juho Savio. WSOY 1963.

Vatsjajana: *Kama Sutra*. Suom. Eila Kostamo, selitykset kirj. Antti Pakaslahti. Tammi 1966 – later four other versions, all far from the original.

Kokkoka: *Ratirahasja. Lemmentaidon salaisuudet.* Siegfried Lienhardin sanskritista saksaksi kääntämän laitoksen mukaan suomentanut Yrjö Varpio. Jyväskylä, Gummerus 1968 (from German).

Patanjali: *Patandshalin jooga-ajatelmat William Q. Judgen tulkitsemina*. Suom. Uuno Pore. Ruusu-Risti 1974. – and a couple of other versions.

Dhammapada. Totuuden tie. Paalin kielestä [englanniksi] kääntänyt Sangharakshita, suom. Lauri Porceddu (Dharmachari Sarvamitra). Like 2001.

Now it is time to have a look on the modern Indian literature. For a long time the great favourite, in fact the only favourite, was the Bengali Nobelist Rabindranath Tagore (1861–1941). His success had been noted even in the Finnish press already before the Nobel Prize made him world famous in 1913. In fact, the first translation, the *Gardener*, by the well-known Finnish poet Eino Leino (1878–1986), appeared so soon that he must have began the work before the news from Stockholm arrived. But with all his fame as a poet and also as a translator, his command of English was rather defective, which is clearly seen in the result. Four years later Leino also translated the *Gitanjali*. In the twenties Juho August Hollo (1885–1967) made a great work translating no less than eight volumes of Tagore's novels, short stories, plays and essays from their English versions. All were published by Otava and, having collected almost all of them, I can assure you that they are still very readable. After a long slumber the interest in Tagore has again revived in the new century. Great thanks for this are due to the industry of Hannele Pohjanmies, who has mainly concentrated on Tagore's poetry. A few times some of Tagore's short plays have also been staged in Finland.

Puutarhuri. Suorasanaisia runoelmia. Tr. by Eino Leino. Helsinki: Kirja 1913, 2nd ed. 1924, again with Sādhanā Otava, Seitsentähdet 1967 (*The Gardener*. 1913).

Uhrilauluja. Tr. by Eino Leino. Helsinki: Kirja 1917 (*Gitanjali. Song Offerings*. 1912 < *Gītāñjalī*. 1910).

Haaksirikko. Tr.by J. Hollo. Otava 1922 (*The Wreck*. 1921 < *Naukādubī*. 1905).

Koti ja maailma. Tr.by J. Hollo. Otava 1922, 2nd ed. 1937 (*The Home and The World*. 1916 < *Ghare Bāhire*. 1916).

Ahnaat paadet ynnä muita kertomuksia. Tr. by J. Hollo. Otava 1923 (*The Hungry Stones*. 1913).

Elämäni muistoja. Tr. by J. Hollo. Helsinki, Otava 1923 (*My Reminiscences*. 1917 < *Jīban smṛti*. 1912).

Pimeän kammion kuningas ja muita draamoja. Tr. by J. Hollo. Otava 1924 (*The King of the Dark Chamber.* 1914 < *Rājā.* 1910).

Gora. 1–2. Tr. by J. Hollo. Otava 1925 (*Gora.* 1910 < *Gorā.* 1907–09).

Sādhanā. Elämän oleellistaminen. Tr. by J. A. Hollo. Otava 1926, again with Puutarhuri Otava, Seitsentähdet 1967 (*Sadhana: The Realisation of Life*. 1916).

Persoonallisuus. Tr. by J. Hollo. Otava 1928 (*Personality.* 1917 – Lectures in the U.S.A.).

Ihmiskunnan uskonto. Transl. by Heikki Eskelinen. Helsinki: Biokustannus 1990 (*The Religion of Man*. 1931).

Villilintuja: elämänviisautta. Transl. by Pertti Seppälä. Helsinki: Memfis Books 2002 (*Stray Birds*. 1916).

By Hannele Pohjanmies:

Rakkauden laulu. Helsinki: Kirjapaja 2002 (selected from *Fruit-Gathering, Lover's Gift* and *Fireflies*).

Rakkauden lahja. Helsinki: Memfis Books 2006 (selected from *Lover's Gift and Crossing*. 1918, and other collections).

Hedelmätarha. Helsinki: Memfis Books 2007 (selected from *Fruit-Gathering*. 1916, and other collections).

Tähtitaivaan runot. Helsinki: Memfis Books 2008 (*Poems*. 1942).
Toiselle rannalle. Helsinki: Kirjapaja 2009 (*Crossing*. 1918).

Kuukeinu. Helsinki: Therapeia-säätiö 2010 (*The Crescent Moon*. 1913).

Gitanjali. Helsinki: Basam Books 2013.

Sininen sari. Lauluja rakkaudesta. Helsinki: Basam Books 2014.

All Tagore translations were made from English versions (many of which were prepared by the author himself). To my knowledge, the only work translated into Finnish from a modern Indian language is the great novel *Godān* written in Hindi by Premchand alias Dhanpat Ray (1880–1936). The translation was made by Bertil Tikkanen and myself and published by Otava in 1988. The work was an interesting challenge, but not as difficult as I had anticipated. Unfortunately it did not sell well – it was hardly advertised at all – and the publisher withdraw from further plans.

Premchand: *Pyhä lehmä*. Translated by Bertil Tikkanen & Klaus Karttunen. Helsinki: Otava 1988 (*Godān*. 1936).

[From the English version of Urdū short stories: Naiyer Masud: *Kamferin tuoksu*. Translated by Juhani Tervaharju. Like 2001 (*The Essence of Camphor*. 1998).]

[Nirupam Chakraborti: *Lumoojatar · Enchantress. Intialaisia runoja Suomesta · Indian Poems on Finland*. Toimittanut ja suomentanut Hannele Pohjanmies. N.Ch. & H.P. 2016 (translated from the English version, also published here, of these Bengali poems prepared by the author himself).]

But if the number of direct translations from Indian languages has been negligible, after the slow beginning in the 1950s we have seen a growing number of works by Indian authors writing in English translated into Finnish. At the beginning there are such names as Kamala Markandaya and Ved Mehta, then followed R. K. Narayan, Salman Rushdie, Arundhati Roy, Jhampa Lahiri, and many others. I know of no less than 48 translations and some have certainly escaped my notice. Among the translators are some of the foremost names in the field, such as Kristiina Drews, Arto Häilä, Kersti Juva and Paavo Lehtonen. Let us hope that this trend will continue in future.

Kamala Markandaya (1924–2004): *Savimaja ja temppeli*. Transl. by Kaija Lintumaa, WSOY 1955 (*Nectar in a sieve*. 1954).

– *Punaista tomua*. Transl. by Mikko Kilpi, WSOY 1956 (*Some Inner Fury*. 1955).

– *Kirjuri ja hänen vaimonsa*. Transl. by Kyllikki Mäntylä. WSOY 1962 (*A Silence of Desire*. 1960).

Bhabani Bhattacharya (1906 or 1910–1988): *Ken tiikerillä ratsastaa*. Transl. by Marja Helin. Kansankulttuuri 1957 (*He Who Rode a Tiger*. 1955).

Ved Mehta (1934–): *Kasvoista kasvoihin: omaelämäkerta*. Transl. by G. Lindgren. WSOY 1958 (*Face to Face*. 1957).

Khuswanth Singh (1915–2014): *Kylä rajalla*. Transl. by Marja Niiniluoto. WSOY 1961 (*Train to Pakistan*. 1958).

R. K. Narayan (1906–2001): *Kilpimaalarin rakkaus*. Transl. by Paavo Lehtonen. Gummerus 1978 (*The Painter of Signs*. 1977).
– *Ihmissyöjätiikeri*. Transl. by Paavo Lehtonen. G. 1980 (*The Man-Eater of Malgudi*. 1961).

Salman Rushdie (1947–): – All translated by Arto Häilä:
– *Keskiyön lapset*. WSOY 1982 (*Midnight's children*. 1981).

– *Häpeä*. WSOY 1983 (*Shame*. 1983).

– *Jaguaarin hymy: matka Nicaraguaan*. Transl. by Arto Häilä; poems transl. by Matti Pellonpää, Matti Rossi ja Pentti Saaritsa. WSOY 1987 (*The jaguar smile*. 1987).

– *Saatanalliset säkeet*. WSOY 1989 (*The satanic verses*. 1988).

– *Harun ja tarinoiden meri*. WSOY 1991 (*Haroun and the sea of stories*. 1990).

– *Itä, länsi*. WSOY 1995 (*East, West*. 1994).

– *Maurin viimeinen huokaus*. WSOY 1996 (*The moor's last sigh*. 1995).

– *Maa hänen jalkojensa alla*. WSOY 1999 (*The ground beneath her feet*. 1999).

– *Vimma*. WSOY 2002 (*Fury*. 2001).

– *Shalimar, ilveilijä*. WSOY 2006 (*Shalimar the clown*. 2005).

–   *Firenzen lumoojatar.* WSOY 2010 (*The enchantress of Florence.* 2008).

–   *Luka ja elämän tuli.* WSOY 2011 (*Luka and the fire of life.* 2010).

– *Joseph Anton. Muistelmat.* WSOY 2013 (*Joseph Anton: A Memoir.* 2012).

Amitav Ghosh (1956–): *Järjen piiri.* Transl. by Saara Villa. W + G 1988 (*The Circle of Reason.* 1986).

Shashi Deshpande (1938–): *Pitkä hiljaisuus.* Transl. by Helene Bützow. Kääntöpiiri 1990 (*The Long Silence.* 1989).

Anita Desai (1937–): *Hämärän leikkejä.* Transl. by Riitta Oittinen et al. Kääntöpiiri 1991 (*The Games of Twilight.* 1978).

Vikram Seth (1952–): *Sopiva nuori mies.* Transl. by Pirkko Biström. WSOY 1996 (*A Suitable Boy.* 1994).

– *Rakkauden musiikki.* Transl. by Pirkko Biström. WSOY 1999. (*An Equal Music.* 1999).
Arundhati Roy (1961–): *Joutavuuksien jumala.* Transl. by Hanna Tarkka. Otava 1997 (*The God of Small Things.* 1996).

– *Kuuntelen heinäsirkkoja. Merkintöjä demokratiasta.* Transl. by Risto Tiittula. Like 2011 (*Listening to Grasshoppers: Field Notes on Democracy.* 2009).

– *Äärimmäisen onnen ministeriö.* Transl. by Hanna Tarkka. Otava 2017 (*The Ministry of Utmost Happiness.* 2017).

Kiran Desai (1971–): *Hulabaloo hedelmätarhassa*. Transl. by Kristiina Drews. Otava 1999 (*Hulabaloo in Guava Orchard*. 1998).

– *Menetyksen perintö*. Transl. by Kristiina Drews. Otava 2007 (*The Inheritance of Loss*. 2006).

Raj Kamal Jha (1966–) *Sininen päiväpeitto*. Transl. by Juhani Tervaharju. Like 2001 (*Blue Bedspread*. 2001).

– *Jos korkealla pelottaa*. Transl. by Terhi Kuusisto. Like 2006 (*If You Are Afraid of Heights*. 2003)

Jhumpa Lahiri (1967–): *Tämä siunattu koti*. Transl. by Kersti Juva.Tammi 2001 (*The Interpreter of Maladies*. 1999).

– *Kaima*. Transl. by Kersti Juva. Tammi 2005 (*The Namesake*. 2003).

– *Tuore maa*. Transl. by Kersti Juva. Tammi 2008 (*Unaccustomed Earth*. 2008).

– *Tulvaniitty.* Transl. by Sari Karhulahti. Tammi 2014(*The Lowland*. 2013).

Manil Suri (1959–): *Vishnun unet*. Transl. by Kristiina Drews. Tammi 2004 (*The Death of Vishnu*. 2001).

Gita Mehta (1943–): *Joen sutra*. Transl. by Virpi Hämeen-Anttila. Basam Books 2005 (*A River Sutra*. 1993).

– *Karma Cola*. Transl. by Hannu Tervaharju. Like 2008 (*Karma Cola. Marketing the Mystic East*. 1979).

Vikas Swarup (1963–): *Tyhjentävä vastaus, eli, Kuka voittaa miljardin?*. Transl. by Pirkko Biström. WSOY 2005, 2nd edition as *Slummien miljonääri*. WSOY 2009 (*Q & A*. 2005).

– *Syyllisten seurue*. Transl. by Eeva Siikarla. WSOY 2010 (*Six Suspects*. 2008).

Aravind Adiga (1974–): *Valkoinen tiikeri*. Transl. by Tarja Teva. BTJ 2009 (*The White Tiger*. 2008).

– *Viimeinen mies*. Transl. by Heikki Karjalainen. Avain 2011 (*Last Man in Tower*. 2011).

Kishwar Desai (1956–): *Pimeyden lapset*. Transl. by Terhi Kuusisto. Like 2010 (*Witness the Night*. 2009).

– *Postimyyntilapset*. Transl. by Ida Takala. Like 2013 (*Origins of Love*. 2012).

Buddhadeva Bose (1908–1974): *Kalkutta ja muita runoja*. Transl. by Hannele Pohjanmies. Basam Books 2013 (poems).

Aito huijaus: kymmenen novellia nyky-Intiasta. Ten short stories from modern India, by Tabish Khair, Parvati Sharma, Shahnaz Habib, Radhika Jha, Jaspreet Singh, Anjum Hasan, Mridula Koshy, Janice Pariat, Philip John and Manjula Padmanabhan; collected and translated by Titia Schuurman. Helsinki: Aporia 2016.

Stories inside Stories inside Stories

Virpi Hämeen-Anttila

Through history Indians have been expert story-tellers. One proof to this is the fact that the fame of their story collections spread to the west very early. The collection of five books of stories called the *Pañcatantra* was translated into Middle Persian in the 7th century CE, and this break-through led to dozens of translations in almost all of the literary languages of the Middle East and Europe and provided a model for native story collections. Thus in the Middle Ages, well before the *Thousand and One Nights*, this Indian work had become the literary hit of Europe.

Of course, not all the stories of the world come from India. One remarkable type of storytelling, however, was developed and cultivated in India very early and in such great measure that it may with justice be called "the Indian way to tell a story". This is the stratagem of the frame story. A typical frame story contains a narrator who presents another story inside the main story. This narrator may tell a whole string of stories, so that the frame is almost forgotten. Or the inserted story may contain a narrator and a third story, which gives us two frames, one inside another. There are many variations.

The Indian classics like the *Pañcatantra* and the *Mahābhārata* use the device of the frame story with such mastery and variance that has not been surpassed. The frame story has been the object of my interest ever since I specialized in classical Indian literature, and most of my scholarly work as well as my translations are related to it. I have translated the *Pañcatantra* (Pūrṇabhadra's version from the year 1199, Hämeen-Anttila 1995) well as some other Indian frame story collections into Finnish (Hämeen-Anttila 1998, 1999). My MA thesis compared four Sanskrit versions of the *Pañcatantra* (Hämeen-Anttila 1996), and my dissertation traces the origins and the development of the classical Indian frame-story (Hämeen-Anttila forthc.). Here I will pick up some questions and ideas of the latter.

First of all I would like to emphasize the ambiguous nature of the frame story device. Frame stories have an intellectual, artificial dimension, because they

draw attention to the structure of the narrative and its different levels, at the expense of the narration itself. But as the frame and the figure of the narrator evoke and reproduce the physical situation of storytelling, they have also a primitive, primeval flavor. This duplicity presents itself in many ways in the evolvement of the frame.

When the frame and the inserted story or a part of a story appear in a rudimentary form in the first Indian texts that have literary elements, the idea of evoking an actual narrative situation is hidden under other considerations. In most cases, the inserted element authorizes, justifies or illustrates the frame around it. This procedure is connected to the preservative tendency of the Indian culture. Many indologists, for example Jan Gonda (1965), have talked about the inclusiveness of Indian religious tradition. The old or the divergent is not discarded but preserved and modified inside the new. The result of this process is that the old lends its authority to the new and the divergent is interpreted as a variation of the normative.

The discourses of art and science have followed the same principle. Many texts have grown like a trunk of a tree, gathering new layers around an old core. An old text, like a *sūtra*, is enveloped by commentaries. The earliest frame stories in the Vedic *Brāhmaṇas* reflect this commentary-type of framing. In them an old story is inserted or implicated in a new frame and given a new interpretation.

The context of this shifting of material is the Vedic ritual. On the surface the purpose is to explain the use of certain verses in certain rites, or consolidate a new ritual practice. In an article about the story of Śunaḥśepa in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* (7.13-18; ca. 800 BCE) I analyze the frame story from this point of view (Hämeen-Anttila 2001).

Because the frame makes its appearance in ritual texts and contexts, some scholars have suggested that the idea of framing in literature has been copied from the rituals (Witzel 1987, Minkowski 1989). The Vedic rituals, after all, consist of larger units which contain smaller sections. Nowadays the literary discipline of narratology has widened its field from literature to other ways of expression, such as the film or the visual arts, and pointed out that frames can be

seen in other contexts too (Chatman 1978, Meister 2005). This leads easily to limitless reduction. Every single thing in our world is "framed" by something, for everything has a context, and to follow the logic, the model for a frame can be taken from anything. Why then the model should be the ritual and not something else? And there is another *caveat*. While literature uses external material for the content and themes of the narrative or the exposition, it has very rarely borrowed its *structures* from outside, from shapes and patterns of external world or other cultural forms.

For these reasons I am reluctant to accept the hypothesis of ritual origin. An analogy to the rituals is not needed, when the principle of recycling old material by putting inside new material, mentioned above, is apparent from very early times. Neither does the form of the earliest frame stories support the ritual hypothesis. In the early frame stories the insertions are not only smaller sections inside a text, but something that has been taken from another source and assimilated to produce a new text. Further examples of a purely literary use of the frame can quoted from other old literatures, from ancient Mesopotamian texts or works like the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, where framed stories serve clearly a narrative purpose and there are no rituals in sight to serve as a model. To sum up, framing is a device that is either born form the situation of the narration and the role of the narrator and her audience, or from the process of quoting, reference and assimilation. In India both alternatives are attested early and usually in a form that mixes them together.

Moreover, even if the context is ritual — necessarily so, because all the oldest Indian texts deal with religion and rituals — the nature of the frame in old India is literary and textual. This is prominent in the next stage of evolution, the Great Epic (from 400 BCE to the 400 CE), in which multiple frames guide and dominate the course of the narration. In the *Mahābhārata* there are over sixty inserted stories inside the main heroic narrative, some of them quite extensive, like the story of king Nala and the legend of Sāvitrī. There is also the narrative of the great battle which is told by the charioteer Sanjaya to the blind king Dhṛtarāṣṭra just as the fighting goes on in front of his eyes. The main narrative, in

its turn, is framed by two successive outer frames which have other minor inserted stories as well.

The two outer frames of the Epic are intricate and serve several purposes. First, they tell how the Epic was composed and recited for the first time, Secondly, they tell the back-story of the situation of the first narration and the history of the family of which the narration tells, and they also spin several subordinate yarns of narratives, some of which will be woven into the main frame story in the end of the Epic. Thirdly, they contain a summary of the whole Epic, a sort of miniature *Mahābhārata*. In addition, the second frame is a mirror story. A mirror story is an embedded story which has a parallel plot with the frame story. For example, the story of king Nala, which is told to the Pāṇḍava prince Yudhiṣṭhira, is a mirror story: Nala has gambled away his kingdom and his fortune like Yudhiṣṭhira. The second frame of the Epic tells about a bloody sacrifice driven by hate and vengeance. It presents a mirror to the battle of Kurukṣetra in the embedded main narrative, a destructive sacrifice which nearly ends the world.

After the profilic and varied use of frames of the influential *Mahābhārata*, it was self-evident that literary narratives took usually the form of a frame story. The *Rāmāyaṇa* (from c. 200 BCE to c. 200 CE) has a frame, and so do all the famous story collections of the classical age, the versions of the *Pañcatantra* (c. 600 – 1200 CE) the *Hitopadeśa* (9th century at earliest), the *Kathāsaritsāgara* (12th century), the *Śukasaptati* (14th century). Daṇḍin's romance *Daśakumāracarita* (8th century) uses also a frame.

In these the structure and the purpose of the frame show great variance. In the *Rāmāyaṇa* the frame, formed by the first and the last of the seven books, tells how Vālmīki composed the poem about king Rāma's life, drawing inspiration from the sorrowful lament of a bird, and how the completed poem was sung to Rāma by his own sons Kuśa and Lava. This is like a closing a circle. In some of the versions of the *Pañcatantra* the outer, overall frame tells also how and why and by whom the book was composed, but the frame stories of each of the five books inside contain dialogues between characters who narrate stories to prove their point, so that the embedded stories serve as examples of the wisdom or the folly of certain action. This scheme suits the outer frame and the usual

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interpretation given to the text, as it claims to teach worldly wisdom to young and inexperienced persons.

The *Śukasaptati* ("Seventy tales of the Parrot"), on the other hand, has a frame that seems to be a twisted version of the frame in the *Thousand and one Nights*. A woman, whose husband is away, has a parrot who tells a story every night to prevent her mistress from leaving the house and going to a paramour. The link of the frame and the stories is not similar as in the *Pañcatantra*. The stories told by the parrot depict faithless wifes who most of the time are cunning enough to get away with their bad behaviour. If the parrot wishes to keep the wife faithful, why does he tell about successful adulterers? The answer is that here the stories do not provide wise examples or moral education, but quite literally diversion, something that preoccupies the listener and keeps her out of trouble.

Both in the *Pañcatantra* and in the *Śukasaptati* there are multiple embeddings, so that as much as four or five successive embedded narrators and narratives can be piled upon each other. But even though the structure is complicated, especially in the *Pañcatantra*, the levels are distinct and their boundaries are not blurred as in some stories of the *Mahābhārata*. They display a formal neatness typical of classical age. They both belong formally to the *miśra* class of discourse, that contains both prose and verse. The verses in this kind of text are used in a disctinct and formal way. An introductory verse in the beginning of a story sums up both the teaching and the plot of the tale. Other verses are found in the middle of the narration and used by the narrator to underline and crystallize general moral thruths that the incident in the story illustrates. The latter type of verses are lifted from a large floating mass of metrical maxims and proverbs and can appear in many other texts too.

In the *Daśakumāracarita* ("The adventures of the Ten Princes") the frame is rather like that of Giovanni Boccaccio's *Decameron*: it gives the background history of the main characters, who then, by tales inserted to this frame, tell of their adventures to the others. The stories show a strong element of the picaresque and bring out the personality of each narrator. The latter feature binds the romance to the *Canterbury Tales* of Geoffrey Chaucer, written about 900 years later. The narrative of Daṇḍin is written in ornate prose.

The huge *Kathāsaritsāgara* ("The Ocean of Stories") by Somadeva is composed in verse. As the title implies, it employs multiple frames with their own stories within its main frame story. It contains a version of the *Pañcatantra*, another independent story cycle called the *Vetālapañcaviṃśati* and many other clusters of stories. The multitude of frame stories and subordinated tales has confounded scholars, so that some of them have dismissed the work as formless, incoherent and mediocre. This kind of criticism has earlier been directed to the *Mahābhārata* and nowadays contested (see e.g. Hiltebeitel 2011), and like the Epic, Somadeva's story cycle deserves another look.

Finally, a note on the travels of the Indian frame story collections outside India. As soon the *Pañcatantra* was translated into Middle Persian in the middle of the 7th century and soon after that into Syrian and Arabic, it acquired a new frame and a new title, *Kalila and Dimna*, which refers to the two jackals Karataka and Damanaka who appear in the frame story of the first book. In later versions the text began to expand and show the influence of Arabic and Persian flowery literary style. This is shown in the early history of texts and manuscripts of *Kalila and Dimna* that has been described and analysed by de Blois (1990). The *Tūtīnāme*, the Persian version of the *Śukasaptati*, has undergone same kind of modification. These versions were in their turn the sources of the early translations in European languages. Some Indian stories have found their way independently into the *Thousand and One Nights*. One can compare for example the tale of "The woman with four lovers" as it is presented in the *Śukasaptati* and in the Arabic collection. The tale of "The loyal mongoose" from the fifth book of the *Pañcatantra* has had a long after-life in Europe, mostly in stories about a faithful dog.

It soon becomes clear to the student of old Indian narratives that the frame story device is not only very common but also applied in a very sophisticated way. The various levels and different kinds of narrators are used skillfully to acquire special effects. Especially in the pre-classical literature there are self-concious narrators, who comment on their narratives, and instances of metanarration, in which the levels of narration are blurred by the narrator talking about things happening on other level of narration. Time sequences may be turned

around, so that the past and the future change places or happen at the same time: there is a time loop, so to say. These kind of literary tropes are usually connected to post-modern Western literature, and it is beneficial to remind Western literary scholars of their wide and varied appliance in the old Indian literature.

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Indian Dance Gurus and Their Authority in Transformation

Hanna Mannila

In this paper I will introduce the topic of my PhD thesis with a working title: Can YouTube Be a *Guru*? Indian Dance *Gurus* is Transformation: Changing Perceptions of their Status, Role and Function from Text to Digital Media. The research is currently in its initial stages and therefore I can only present here the plan for the work and some preliminary findings and thoughts.

My PhD research analyses the transformations that have been and are taking place in the figure of *guru* (teacher) and his authority in the Indian society, from classical Sanskrit texts to the contemporary mediatized contexts. *Gurus* traditionally have a specific and highly revered position in the Indian society – they can be seen as an embodiment of authority. *Gurus* and *guru*-like figures can be found everywhere in the Indian society, from religions and arts to politics and business. The research focuses on Indian classical *kathak* dance as the base of exploration, examining the continuities and changes in the authority ascribed to the *guru* in the transmission of dance heritage from one generation to the next. The approach of this research is multi-disciplinary, combining methodological and theoretical elements from South Asian Studies, Ethnography, Religious Studies, and Communication and Media Studies.

Traditionally in India, the transmission of heritage – whether religious or artistic heritage such as music and dance – has taken place through the so called *guru-śiṣya-paramparā* (teacher-disciple-tradition), a personal and intimate relationship between the teacher and his (nowadays also her) disciple. The earliest mentions to the religious *gurus* are in the classical Sanskrit literature from the early 1st millennium BCE. The master-disciple tradition has remained relatively unchanged until recently, but the time period from the early 20th century onwards has seen radical changes in the transmission of the art of Indian classical dance, including *kathak*, first with the establishment of Western style dance schools and more recently with the introduction and expanding use of the new media, through which dance videos are spreading rapidly, and globally (for the historical

development of *kathak*, see for example Chakravorty (2008), Walker (2014)). This research aims to find out how and why the perception of the *guru* changed from the classical literature to the contemporary *guru-śiṣya-paramparā* of *kathak* dance; what are the continuities and the changes in the authority of the *guru* in the 20th–21st century *kathak* practice, in reference to the early textual sources as well as later texts; what role does the (new) media play in these continuities and changes in the authority of the *guru*; and how are these continuities and changes in the authority of the *guru* and the art of *kathak* dance connected to those in the wider Indian society, in the context of secularization, globalization, and mediatization?

Theoretical considerations: authority and mediatization

Authority is one of the key theoretical concepts of this research, as related to the arts and religion, and mediatization. According to Max Weber's (1958) classification, authority can be divided into three categories: rational-legal, traditional and charismatic authority. Based on this classification, *kathak gurus'* authority is of the traditional and/or charismatic kind – the role of the *guru* may be inherited but also earned through personal charisma, talent and knowledge. Traditionally, *kathak* dance heritage has been handed down from father to son in families of musicians and dancers. In this case, the authority of a *kathak guru* falls in the category of traditional authority. However, from the early to mid-20th century onwards with the revival of Indian classical dances, *kathak* began to be taught to large numbers of upper and middle class women, some of whom later turned into famous female *gurus*. Kumudini Lakhia is perhaps one of the most famous living female g*urus* whose authority is of the charismatic kind. If a g*uru* comes from a family of hereditary dancers and is also particularly talented, skilled, and perhaps innovative, he may have both traditional and charismatic authority - the legendary Birju Maharaj being an example of this.

Campbell (2007) emphasises the importance of recognizing the different layers of authority: hierarchy, structure, ideology and text. Even though her research focuses on authority in the internet context, recognising the various layers or aspects of authority is useful in other contexts as well. For example, with

the establishment of dance institutes in India in the mid-20th century, the structures of authority have changed: The previously independent dance *gurus*, who used to teach a few disciples at a time in their own homes, are nowadays teaching large numbers of students in classrooms and buildings dedicated to *kathak*. The *gurus* are now subject to the Directors of dance institutes, and as one *guru* from a hereditary *kathak* family, who works at a major *kathak* institute, put it: "*Gurus* have no freedom, the syllabus has become a *guru*." He explained that previously it was the *gurus* who decided what to teach and when to each student. Nowadays the *gurus* at the *kathak* institutes of are supposed to follow a syllabus which defines how much and what kind of choreographic material should be taught to each year group. Undoubtedly, the *gurus* still have some freedom to decide over what kind of material they choose to teach, but it was clear that the syllabus caused great frustration to this particular *guru* and made him feel that the syllabus had taken away some of the authority he felt he was entitled to.

Guru is still a central figure in India, but changes in the society, such as increased level of education, secularisation and globalization, have played a role in that people, including *kathak* students, have started to question the *guru*'s previously unquestioned authority. For example, few *kathak* students are nowadays willing to dedicate their entire life to serving only one *guru* and serving him without questioning – many students nowadays go to learn from another *guru* or learn from several *gurus* if they are not happy with their first *guru*. However, open confrontation with the *guru* is still rare.

Another key theoretical concept of this research is mediatization. Nowadays, the media are an inseparable part of everyday life – even in traditional art forms of India – and therefore the influence of the media cannot be overlooked. In this research the social-constructivist mediatization approach is applied, as defined e.g. by Couldry and Hepp (2013, 196), and according to which the term mediatization is

> "designed to capture both how the communicative construction of reality is manifested within certain media processes and how, in turn, specific features of certain media have a contextualized "consequence" for the overall process whereby sociocultural reality is constructed in and through communication".

This approach is used for studying the mediatized authority of the dance *gurus* – the processes by which the *guru*'s authority is constructed through the various media genres, including texts, films, the Internet and the social media. As an example of a recent phenomenon posing new challenges to the authority of the *guru*: Traditional dance compositions and choreographies, which were previously learned directly from a *guru* through a personal relationship, might nowadays be freely available on YouTube and widely shared through the social media such as Facebook, thus undermining the *guru*'s authority as a sole source of traditional knowledge. On the other hand, the social media also provides a channel for strengthening the *guru*'s authority, for example by *kathak* students sharing their *guru*'s photos and videos, or praising their skill and knowledge in the social media.

Methodology

The methodological approach is Ethno-Indological, which means comparing the historical and contemporary perspectives by analysing the respective references in textual sources from classical up to contemporary Indian literature, and complementing these findings with ethnographical material collected through anthropological fieldwork methods (see Michaels 2005; Zeiler 2013). Zeiler (2013) has broadened the interdisciplinarity of Ethno-Indology to include media-analytical approaches and methods – research material including film (Bollywood and beyond) and the Internet – to better address the current cultural context of religious practices in India. As the new media is strongly present in the contemporary *kathak* practice as well, this latter broader approach will be adopted in this research. The Ethno-Indological approach was selected over others as it is developed for researching transformations in culture and society over a long period of time, acknowledging all major historical periods and source formats contributing to these changes (text, film, new media, and embodied practice). Accordingly, this research makes use of methodological tools and approaches of three disciplinary backgrounds: Indology, Media and Communication Studies and Ethnology.

Firstly, in the indological part of the research, descriptions of and references to the *guru* in the Upanishads and other classical texts are translated from the Sanskrit and analysed, and a picture drawn of *guru*s as presented in these textual sources. The earliest texts which mention the *guru*, his role and qualities are the Upanishads from the early 1st millennium BCE onwards (for example the Chandogya and the Mundaka Upanishads). *Guru* is there equated with God or placed even above God – he is a figure of unquestioned authority. Originally, the term *guru* referred to a religious teacher, but later came to mean other kinds of teachers as well, including dance and music masters. Even today, many *kathak gurus* believe that it is their responsibility not only to teach the art of dance to their students, but to also teach them how to be "good human beings", in the words of a *kathak guru*. Therefore the idea of the *guru* as a religious authority is still there to some extent, even in dance practice. This part of the research, studying the textual backgrounds, also includes translations from and analysis of Hindi literature with respective references to *gurus*.

Secondly, media-analysis methods will be employed to find out how the authority of the *guru* is (re)negotiated for example in the social media such as Facebook. The new and social media may be used for both challenging and strengthening the authority of the *guru*s: On one hand, they can be seen as challenging the *gurus'* authority, for example by making it nearly impossible to control who has access to the dance compositions and material which were traditionally transmitted only through the lineage of *guru*s to their disciples. Because of this, some of the older and more traditional *gurus* are reluctant to share their performances online or sometimes even to perform certain compositions in case someone secretly records them, trying to guard their authority in this way. Also, the younger generations are often more familiar with the new technology and the ways to use it, and regularly post their own dance photos and videos in the social media. Those dancers who have a stronger presence in the social media may have a wider audience and therefore more power and authority not only in India, but also abroad. This may weaken the authority of the older generation of *gurus*. *On* the other hand, the social media may also be used to strengthen the authority of the *guru*. Instead of sharing their own photos and videos, some

students share their *guru*'s photos or videos in the social media, or advertise his/her workshops and seek his/her blessings online. In this way, they have transformed the ways in which *sevā* or service is done to the *guru* – nowadays it can be done both offline and online. The social media is therefore used not only as a way to promote the authority of a particular *guru*, but also the g*uru* tradition itself and the related beliefs and practices.

Thirdly, the ethnological part of the research aims to draw a picture of the *kathak* dance *guru* of the contemporary India, through anthropological fieldwork methods including participant and non-participant observation in India, as well as semi-structured interviews of *kathak* dancers in India. The aim of the interviews is to find out what the *kathak* dancers themselves think about the current state of the *guru-śiṣya-paramparā*: How is it changing and how has it already changed in their lifetime? What are the challenges in fulfilling the traditional role of an ideal *guru*, as described in the classical texts, in the contemporary Indian society? What are the *gurus'* attitudes towards the new media - how do they feel the new media challenges and/or supports their authority? As mentioned earlier, dance compositions and choreographies used to be taught personally from father to son as family heritage, or later from *guru* to student in dance schools. Nowadays some of these compositions are freely available on YouTube. For example, one *guru* from a hereditary family of dancers mentioned that he has seen a dancer unknown to him performing his family heritage compositions, even though this dancer had never been his or his father's student, presumably having learnt the composition from YouTube or perhaps after video recording it during a live performance. Recently there have even been jokes about a new "YouTube *gharānā*" (school of dance), and some *kathak* dancers claim to be self-taught through the medium of YouTube. So what do *kathak* dancers and *gurus* think about YouTube as a *guru*? Based on the preliminary interviews, it seems that the *kathak* dancers' approach is rather pragmatic – if this is what the world is like these days, it may be better to embrace the new media rather than to avoid it. While some g*urus* may feel upset about people stealing their intellectual property, others feel very confident that learning from YouTube can never replace learning from a real *guru*.

Preliminary findings from the field: authority and heritage

In winter 2015–2016 I spent a month in Delhi and Ahmedabad, interviewing 17 *kathak* dancers or g*urus* from different backgrounds and generations (aged c. 30-80 years) about the changing *guru*-disciple-tradition. The interviews were semi-structured and lasted between c. 15–60 minutes. Prior to the interviews, I had expected there to be a difference between the generations, but based on these interviews, it seems that although there is some difference between the generations, there is more of a divide between the dancers from a hereditary and non-hereditary background. Below are quotes of two interviewees, both of whom are middle-aged, but one from a hereditary family of dancers with a devout Hindu background, and another one with an urban middle-class background, who described herself as spiritual rather than religious. I asked them about what they think about the touching of the feet of the *guru*, which could be described as a ritualistic gesture of acknowledging the g*uru*'s authority and asking for his/her blessing. The first quote is from a dancer from a family of hereditary dancers and musicians:

> "This is all the *guru-śiṣya-paramparā*. Touching the feet is not only just *ki*, it is a one kind of a formality what you have to do. That you have… keep in your heart and your mind, because you're touching the feet, and you're taking a blessing. And blessing is a one of the most important part of the… in Indian, India, Indian history. -- But I don't know, what... when I go to meet him [the guru] and touch the feet, there is some kind of… sensation in my body." (*Guru* 9)

He seemed to find it very important that the gesture is not only a formality and it was clear from the way he explained the gesture that it was deeply meaningful to him, and that he physically felt something when he received a blessing from his g*uru* and father. However, in clear contrast, another interviewee admitted openly that the gesture of touching the feet is only habit which she has to do – it seems partly because of social pressure. She explained that she went through a phase when she refused to do it to anyone, but is nowadays doing it out of habit. She also felt it was somehow a greedy gesture, where you are demanding blessings from a *guru*:

> "To me -- all rituals are maybe a peg that just connect you to a cultural upbringing. Not religious. Touching of the feet, NOW is something I do, all my dancers do it to me, and I'm still not comfortable. -- Now touching of the feet. [HM: Do you feel something when you

do that?] No, it's just a habit. Nothing whatsoever. -- When you're doing it to the *gurus*, it's a selfish gesture, because you're saying, "Please give me the energy to perform well."" (*Guru* 12)

The preliminary findings based on the 17 interviews are firstly, that there is to some extent a difference between the ways in which dancers from hereditary and non-hereditary background relate to the g*uru* tradition. Secondly, this may be partly because of the difference in the dancers' religious upbringing: Some of the hereditary dance g*urus* come from families of for example devout Krishna *bhaktas*, whereas many dancers from the urban middle class background described themselves as spiritual rather than religious, and who did not necessarily "believe in rituals". These religious or spiritual beliefs may partly affect the way in which the dancers perceive their dance *gurus* and their authority, which in turn may be reflected in what they think about the ritualistic gestures such as the touching of the feet of the *guru*.

The diverse and changing social and cultural landscape of India is linked to globalization and mediatization which are spreading new thoughts and trends between the populations across the globe. In this publication, Tenhunen's paper focuses the use of smartphones in rural India as part of local hierarchies, whereas my research explores the role of the new media in the changing perceptions of the authority of the *guru* – in both cases the younger generations with their knowledge and ability to use new technology and media formats may cause changes in the traditional authority and/or hierarchies. While several papers in this publication approach the developments in authority, society and culture from different angles, there are common themes of major transformations taking place, and new technology and media formats playing an integral part in them. I am looking forward to hearing and reading more about the ongoing research in Finland, and beyond.

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My Field Studies and Museum Work
Marjatta Parpola

My first contact with India was in 1954-55 when I participated in *Shankar's Weekly* magazine's international art competition for children and won a prize. As a consequence, Mr K. N. Menon, the Delhi correspondent for the Finnish daily *Helsingin Sanomat,* wished to start exchanging letters with little me. In 1958, he sent me the German version of a book he had written, *Das Nehrubuch für die Jugend.* At the same time, the Ambassador of India in Finland presented me a booklet entitled *Nehru in Scandinavia*; its value for me rose when Indira Gandhi added her autograph to the title page the tenth of June 1983.

So, I learnt a lot about India and talked a lot about India to the extent that when we finished school my classmates depicted me in an imaginative yogic posture. However, when I met my husband Asko Parpola in 1959, I still had no idea what Sanskrit is. Asko taught me one single word, *vrkah*, and when my professor in Latin asked the class if anyone knew what 'wolf' is in Sanskrit, I put up my hand and waved frantically in the hope of getting points and appreciation. The professor did not even look at the audience and said: "Of course nobody knows, it is *vrkah.*" Lifelong frustration for me!

I came into direct contact with the Indian subcontinent in 1971, when I and our two tiny daughters followed Asko on his first field trip, which lasted five months. That trip changed a lot in my life. In my book *Ukki, minä olen nähnyt Himalajan* (Grandpa, I have seen the Himalayas) (2015), I describe our experiences both through the eyes of the scholar and his wife and children.

Thousands of interesting human encounters, buildings, household work, agricultural methods, means of conveyance, and the wonderful world of arts and crafts made me thirst to know more about Indian culture. I had taken my master´s degree in modern languages and literature. When we, after several years abroad, returned to Finland in 1972, I did not choose post-graduate education in that field, but started from the rudiments of archaeology and cultural anthropology and completed the licentiate examination in the latter field.

Since 1974 I was employed as a researcher by the National Board of Antiquities in Finland, working with the foreign ethnographical collections of our National Museum. Among my side jobs was lecturing at the Art school and Helsinki university on the society, customs and material culture of the Indian subcontinent. I also wrote about these topics in the basic presentation of Indian culture for the Finnish public, the book *Intian kulttuuri* (2005) edited by Asko Parpola.

The first chance for me to put up an exhibition on things Indian was in 1983, when Indira Gandhi paid a state visit to our country. She personally opened my small exhibition on Indian metal, stone and textile artifacts.

On the basis of ancient Indian texts, studied in English translations and, with Asko's assistance, also their Sanskrit originals, I presented a paper *On the language of dress and personal appearance in Indian domestic rituals* at a Nordic workshop on "South Asian Religion and Society" held in Sipoo, Finland, in summer 1981; it was published in the proceedings of the workshop in 1986.

My field-work started in Kerala in 1983 and 1985, when I assisted in my husband's project "Domestic rituals of the Jaiminīya Sāmaveda" in the village of Panjal near Trichur. The Nambudiri Brahmins of Kerala form a special group that has preserved its ancient Vedic traditions amasingly well. Their culture started to occupy my mind more and more as our field-work continued in 1990, 1992 and 1995–96. My special interest was to see how they were coping with the rapid social change that was taking place in Kerala.

The Nambudiris are famous for following the so-called Shankara's Laws, which describe the "irregular customs" of Kerala Brahmins. It is probable that the author of these laws is a Nambudiri who lived in the 14th century. I keenly observed whether the Brahmins that we met actually still followed these laws. I discussed this in an article "Kerala Brahmins and Shankara's laws" published by the Istituto Universitario Orientale in Naples (1998).

The results of my fieldwork as a whole came out in 2000 in my book *Kerala Brahmins in Transition: A Study of a Namputiri Family*. I had presented an earlier version of this study as my licentiate's dissertation some years earlier (1993).

There is a long tradition in Finland of combining social and cultural research in distant countries with collecting ethnographical artifacts for the National Museum of Finland. A number of large collections date from the beginning of the 20th century (M. Parpola 2003; Kotilainen & al., eds., 2006). The result of my collecting work in the Indian subcontinent is a more recent example.

Already in an exhibition called "Hastakarma, handworks from the Indian subcontinent" in Hämeenlinna (1985–86), I included some material collected in Kerala. To advertise the exhibition I published an article with the same title in the Goldsmiths' journal (M. Parpola 1986). A large exhibition in the National Museum (1995–97), called *A village in India*, more systematically illustrated the daily and ritual life of the Kerala Nambudiris. A booklet with the same title was also published in this connection. This exhibition led to my participation in the state visit of President and Mrs. Ahtisaari to India in 1996.

I prepared a small exhibition called *Metalwork from the Indian Subcontinent* for the North Carelian Museum in Joensuu in 1989. The international "South Asian Archaeology" conference held in Helsinki in 1993 gave occasion for putting up, in collaboration with Oppi Untracht and my husband, a more extensive exhibition called *Metal Marvels: South Asian Handworks* in Porvoo Museum, which the conference participants visited on an excursion. A catalogue carrying the same title was also published. The next year, 1994, the exhibition traveled to the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities (Östasiatiska museet) in Stockholm.

In an exhibition held in the Museum of Cultures in 2006–07, I approached the question of exchange of products and influences between the Indian subcontinent and the rest of the world. A catalogue was published with the same title as the exhibition had. The multireferential title in Finnish, *Jäljet johtavat Intiaan*, is more apt than the English title *A Passage to India*.

Thus, material culture, seen from many different angles, has been in the focus of my lecturing, exhibition and publishing work. One lecture in a university course, for instance, was about the mythological principles that guided the building and use of Nambudiri houses. Also questions like what can be called genuineness of antiquities and ethnic artifacts were dealt with, and further, are

there any "purely Indian" features in shapes and ornamention. In an article *Aitoa euro-intialaista* (Genuine Euro-Indian 2004), I have approached these questions with reference to the case of an Euro-Indian set of silver things.

All in alI I believe that beside creativity, borrowing of ideas and styles have widely taken place everywhere since prehistoric times. This exchage goes on to enrich cultures even in the most recent times.

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"Western" Lifestyle Migrants in India: Neither Tourists, nor Residents

Mari Korpela

International tourists travel abroad for a fixed period after which they return to their everyday lives in their countries of origin. Labour migrants and expatriates generally move abroad in order to earn more or to advance their careers. Some people, however, move abroad in order to find a more relaxed and more meaningful lifestyle. They can be defined as lifestyle migrants, and this paper discusses lifestyle migration to the city of Varanasi and the state of Goa in India.

Lifestyle migrants repeatedly spend several months in India. Many have led this lifestyle for years, even decades. Since they repeatedly return to India, there must be something there that attracts them. This paper discusses the discourses they use to describe the India they love. I show that lifestyle migrants in Varanasi and Goa have two very different discourses about India. I conclude by arguing that the currently officially invisible phenomenon of lifestyle migration to India is increasingly popular, and that it should not be considered insignificant as it can have far-reaching consequences not only for the lifestyle migrants themselves but also for local populations and communities in India.

What is Lifestyle Migration?

Michaela Benson and Karen O'Reilly's working definition of lifestyle migration has become widely used:

> Lifestyle migrants are relatively affluent individuals of all ages, moving either part-time or full-time to places that, for various reasons, signify, for the migrant, a better quality of life (Benson and O'Reilly 2009, 609).

Retirees form a significant group of lifestyle migrants, yet they are by no means the only people who migrate for lifestyle reasons. People of working age as well as families with children also move abroad, in order to find a more relaxed lifestyle. Lifestyle migrants say that they are escaping hectic lifestyles, high living costs, consumerism and insecure living conditions in their native countries. At the same time, the destinations are attractive to them because of the lower living

costs, pleasant climate and what the migrants perceive as a slow pace of life. (Benson and O'Reilly 2009, 609-610) Without doubt, it is a privileged lifestyle that relies on global inequalities, yet it is noteworthy that lifestyle migrants are not from the upper-class elite but are of middle and working-class origin.

India as a Lifestyle Migration Destination

In the colonial era, India was already a popular travel destination for "Westerners" (see e.g. Ghose 1998a, b), and in the late 1960s and early 1970s it became a popular backpacking destination among hippies (see e. g. Hall 1968, Wiles 1972, Odzer 1995). Today, thousands of backpackers continue to tour India (see e. g. Enoch and Grossman 2010, Hottola 1999) and thousands of charter tourists spend their holidays in the country every year. After their trip – whether it lasts for a week or several months – tourists return home. Some people, however, like India so much that they go back again and again. They are not tourists searching for a temporary break from everyday routines; they spend several months in India every year and can therefore be defined as lifestyle migrants. Typically, they come from Europe, Israel, North America, Australia and, more recently, Russia and certain affluent Asian countries, for example Japan and South Korea.

Most lifestyle migrants sojourn in India on tourist visas, and some obtain other types of visa, for example student visas. India is, in fact, particular in that it issues relatively long tourist visas – depending on one's nationality one can obtain a tourist visa for three or six months, or even for five or ten years. Yet, such a visa is not a residence permit: it allows one to stay in the country for long periods, but not permanently. Therefore, lifestyle migrants are not really tourists, but neither are they residents. Indian visa policies thus both enable lifestyle migration and set the limits for it; most lifestyle migrants need to leave India regularly to renew their visas and many of them get stressed about the fact that they cannot know how long their next visa will be for. Because of a lack of a separate visa category for lifestyle migrants, the phenomenon is invisible in official terms[1]. Both lifestyle migrants themselves and local people in the popular destinations are very aware of the phenomenon, yet lifestyle migration is not visible in statistics or political

[1]Some countries, for example Thailand, have special retirement visas for elderly lifestyle migrants.

discourses; lifestyle migrants are simply equated with tourists, even though their situation is rather different.

Research Methods: Two Ethnographic Research Projects Among Lifestyle Migrants in India

The empirical material in this paper comes from two ethnographic studies in India. The first (Korpela 2009) focuses on the community of lifestyle migrants in Varanasi, and the fieldwork, which lasted for 13 months, was conducted in two parts in 2002 and 2003. The material consists of interviews with lifestyle migrants sojourning in Varanasi and with locals working with them, as well as a detailed field diary of my participant observation. The second study (Korpela 2014, 2016) focuses on lifestyle migrant families in Goa, and 4 to 12-year-old children in particular. The material consists of interviews with children, young people, parents and people working with lifestyle migrant children in Goa, as well as drawing projects conducted with children and a detailed field diary of my participant observation. The fieldwork in Goa lasted for 10 months and was conducted in three parts in 2011, 2012 and 2013.

In both Varanasi and Goa, the popular season for lifestyle migrants starts in November and ends in April. Very few lifestyle migrants stay there during the extreme heat or the monsoon rains. The lifestyle migrants who sojourn in Varanasi typically work in their native countries in the summers, living in India for the rest of the year on their savings. Many lifestyle migrants in Goa, however, earn their living there, often working in the formal or informal tourism industry, for example as yoga teachers, homeopaths, massage therapists and selling Goa fashion in the tourist markets. It is impossible to know the exact number of lifestyle migrants in Varanasi or Goa as most of them do not register officially, but there are definitely hundreds of them.

Varanasi: Classical Music in an Authentic City

Varanasi is considered one of the holiest cities of Hinduism. It is situated on the banks of the river Ganges in northern India and is one of the oldest cities in the world, with a population of about 1.5 million. For many foreigners, Varanasi is the

epitome of "Eastern" otherness (see Eck 1983, 9). For the lifestyle migrants there, the city represents, above all, authenticity and a return to the past.

> I like Varanasi because it's something like the heart of India. So much going on also about Indian culture… […] Varanasi is real India, still happening, and the religion that they practice here, religion is big part of daily life of the people living here, the local people, and it's a very old city, it's oldest actually existing city in the world. [Ivan, 45[2]]

> Superficially, there are a few changes but it really hasn't changed much and certainly for local people, it's still the same sort of thing, for centuries. [Paul, 47]

Authenticity is a concept that has been widely discussed in tourism literature (see e. g. MacCannell 1973, Pearce and Moscardo 1986, Harkin 1995, Wang 1999). MacCannell's (1973) original claim was that tourism is a quest for authenticity: tourists feel alienated by their home societies and thus search for authenticity elsewhere. In this process, authenticity comes to be seen as something genuine, true and original, and it is usually seen in romantic terms, often as referring to an "unspoilt" past in people's imagination. For the lifestyle migrants in Varanasi, the city represents the "true," "authentic" India. The authenticity materialises above all in spirituality and in classical Indian music, as most lifestyle migrants in Varanasi learn to play Indian instruments. Typically, they take private lessons from local musicians. In addition, they frequently attend concerts.

Goa: Fun on the Beach

The state of Goa on the western coast of India is a popular lifestyle migration destination. Goa was one of the most popular hippie destinations in the 1960s and 1970s. In the 1980s, the hippie scene turned into the trance music[3] scene. The 1990s were the golden years of Goa trance; huge parties lasted for days. Nowadays, Goa is an increasingly common destination for lifestyle migrant families: dozens of families with young children repeatedly spend the winter months there.

Lifestyle migrants are attracted to Goa by the beaches, the sunny climate and the parties, above all. Parents of young children in particular highlight the beautiful natural surroundings in which children can play freely.

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[2]After each interview extract, there is a pseudonym for the interviewee and his/her actual age at the time of the interview.
[3]A genre of electronic music.

> There is nature, there is jungle, there is beach. So the children are much more connected to the elements than being in a city somewhere in the West […] So for the children, it is beautiful, and it's warm. […] My son is now ten years old and I am sure that eight of these ten years he has been walking barefoot. I think this is an advantage. Because it is really connected to the earth. There's no cement under his feet. [Nina, 39]

Another significant factor in the lifestyle migrants' lives in Goa is the fact that labour is cheap there. Consequently, most lifestyle migrants hire domestic servants and can therefore afford a higher standard of living than they would have in their native countries. Goa has also become a global countercultural centre (D'Andrea 2007); it attracts not only those interested in trance music but also those active in various kinds of New Age practices[4].

Where Have All the Locals Gone?

> Q: Do you feel different from Indian people?
> A: We [Westerners] want to make friendship and they [Indians] want money. Maybe it's the main difference. [Sara 32]

It is noteworthy that although the lifestyle migrants want to spend long periods in India and claim to love many aspects of the country, their social contact with Indian people is very limited. The lifestyle migrants' relationships with local residents in Varanasi and Goa are usually instrumental; their Indian acquaintances are landlords, shopkeepers, cleaning ladies and music teachers. In other words, there is a service connection. Many of the lifestyle migrants I knew in India mentioned that the "Indian" concept of friendship is very different from the "Western" one. They were thus suggesting that cross-cultural friendships are a contradiction in terms. It is, however, also important to note that local residents are not necessarily interested in becoming friends with the lifestyle migrants either; the wish to keep a distance might be mutual.

All in all, it seems that the lifestyle migrants want to live in India but not with Indians. The fact that there are already many lifestyle migrants in Varanasi and Goa, is an important factor in why the locations are so popular. Socialising intensively with like-minded people and forming alternative communities with them are important aspects of the lifestyle (Korpela 2013).

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[4]A movement of alternative spirituality, which emphasizes mysticism, holism, and environmentalism.

For the local populations, the presence of lifestyle migrants provides income opportunities; the lifestyle migrants buy food and other goods and services, they rent apartments and scooters, they use taxis, and so on. At the same time, this creates an economic dependence; those local people who earn their living from the lifestyle migrants are in a vulnerable position because the lifestyle migrants may suddenly stop coming to India, for personal reasons or because of problems with visas. In addition, the presence of lifestyle migrants is a strain on natural and public resources; for example, there is an increasing need for water, electricity and waste management – a challenge in many locations in India even without the presence of hundreds of foreigners. In addition, property prices and rents rise, forcing many local inhabitants to move away from the areas that are popular among lifestyle migrants. There are also clashes with social and cultural practices.

Conclusion: India as a Lifestyle Migration Destination; Why Should We Care?

In this paper I have shown that India means very different things to lifestyle migrants in Varanasi and in Goa. There are also many other popular lifestyle migration destinations in India and it is likely that the discourses about India of the foreigners in those places are different from the ones described in this article. At first sight, lifestyle migration may seem like a marginal phenomenon of a few privileged people and, therefore, of no interest to the academic community or government officials and politicians. I argue, however, that we should not ignore the phenomenon. First of all, lifestyle migration has significant effects on both lifestyle migrants and the local communities in which they reside. Moreover, when lifestyle migrants run into trouble, for example if they fall ill or have financial problems, they are in an extremely vulnerable position and can end up in very difficult situations. As foreigners, their support networks tend to be weak, or even non-existent. Ignoring the phenomenon because it is invisible in statistics does not help in cases of crisis. Moreover, the long-term effects on the receiving communities, for example on people's income strategies and on the environment, will not fade away by ignoring them. In my view, it is important to acknowledge

that the phenomenon exists because only then can any potential challenges be addressed. After all, lifestyle migration is an increasingly popular phenomenon and India benefits financially from being a popular destination.

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Intersectionalities and Smartphone Use in Rural India
Sirpa Tenhunen

When I arrived in the village of Janta[1] in West Bengal, where I have been carrying out long-term fieldwork, in 2012 one of the first things I was told was that the lowest caste group, the Bagdis, had acquired fancy phones. The news surprised me, since Bagdis had been among the last people in the village to acquire phones. The fancy phones turned out to be Chinese-made phones with smartphone facilities: a music player, camera, internet, video camera and player, radio, double-sim facility, and a memory chip. These multiple-facility Chinese phones were offered at much cheaper prices—the cheapest cost Rs 700—than even the simplest branded phones. Samsung and Nokia were now the only companies which offered one phone model meant only for receiving and making calls—all the other phone models in the market included extra applications and gadgets. Later, I discovered that most of the villagers were now acquiring smartphones, although many of them were not even aware that their phones could be used to browse the internet or listen to the radio. As phones only meant for making and receiving calls had become scarce in the market, users were simply compelled to buy multi-function phones once their old phones stopped working. However, the Bagdis' had made their decisions to buy phones with many functions consciously as a smartphone was often the first electronic gadget they had purchased. The Bagdi neighborhood was the last one in the village to receive electricity; therefore, unlike the upper castes and classes in the village, they had not previously owned televisions. Consequently, smartphones had allowed the Bagdi neighborhood to leapfrog a whole range of gadgets —cameras, music players, and televisions—, which most of the world has acquired one after another as separate gadgets over many decades.

In this article I explore how smartphone use mediates social hierarchies: How are smartphones used as part of local hierarchies and how do people use

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[1]   Janta is a multi-caste village with 2,328 inhabitants (author's own census 2004) in the eastern state of West Bengal in India. The dominant caste, both numerically and in terms of land ownership, is the Tilis (50%). Other major caste groups are the Bagdis (15%) and Casas (16%). Most Tilis and Casas own land, while most Bagdis, who are classified as a scheduled caste, earn their livelihood by means of daily labor—agricultural work or work in the brick factories.

smartphones' possibilities to construct new social contexts and refashion the preexisting contexts? Jeffrey and Doron (2012) argue that mobile telephony has a great potential to disrupt the inequalities in India. But one could also draw on a more pessimistic prognosis that local hierarchies hinder transformations; after all, most ethnographic studies on mobile telephony (Horst and Miller 2006, Barendregt 2008, Archambault 2010, Doron 2012, Jouhki 2013) show that the use of technologies tends to reinforce pre-existing cultural and social patterns. In a similar vein, de Sardan (2005) contends that the introduction of any innovation is likely to serve the interests of some people while damaging the interests of others.

Ideas about the empowering capacities of mobile telephony echo media and communication scholars' debate on the digital divide. The digital divide concept emerged in the 1990s to refer to the unequal access and usage of digital technologies. The idea is well summarized by Castells' (2001, 269) argument that being disconnected to the internet is tantamount to marginalization in the global, networked system. Early debates on digital divides tended to assume that ICTs are inherently good and progressive, that the nonuse is solely caused by a lack of access, and that providing ICT resources for socially disempowered groups is a means to empower them (Green and Haddon 2009). As digital technology has become ubiquitous, the discussion on the divides has moved from issues of access to contextualizing the usage of technology (Tsatsou 2011, 319). In order for access to matter, people must find the use of ICTs socially and culturally meaningful; people's needs, desires, skills, and capacities matter in how and whether they access technologies (Mansell and Steinmueller 2000, 37; Loader 1998).

I use the concept of intersectionality to analyze differences in phone use as part of local hierarchies. The term intersectionality, coined by legal scholar Kimberle Crenshaw (1989, 139), refers to how mutually reinforcing vectors of race, gender, class, and sexuality constitute subjectivity. The concept has helped to highlight how focusing on one aspect of identity such as gender or class as apart does not do justice to social complexity. The notion of intersectionality has enabled women's movements to acknowledge that women's interests and aspirations vary according to their social position.

Phone Use Barriers

The ability to own a smartphone is experienced as emancipatory, especially among the lower castes. Nevertheless, mere smartphone ownership does not mean that everybody is able to use a smartphone in the same way, or is interested in doing so. I next examine the diversity of phone use in the village by paying addition to phone use barriers and affordances. The biggest barrier to men's and women's phone use is the cost of calling. Low-income families share an understanding that phones need to be used sparingly, thus reflecting their financial means, whereas the upper classes can spend generously on phone calls. Wealthier people can make and receive tens of calls a day, whereas low income families only receive and make few calls weekly. The villagers' monthly phone expenses varied between Rs 30 and Rs 1000.

The importance of education for phone use was highlighted when I observed a 12-year-old girl effortlessly learning to browse English language information from the internet by means of a smartphone while the older, less educated generation in the same family needed help just to type in a number. In Janta, 74 per cent of the men and 58 per cent of the women were literate[2] (Census of India 2011a). Yet, most literate people are not used to reading regularly. Also, being literate does not guarantee the ability to use a phone. Most people can answer a phone, but typing in a number requires the knowledge of English script, which the older generation knows poorly even if they attended the primary school because they did not have much opportunity to study English at school. The state's former ruling Marxist government banned the study of English at school before Class 5 in 1981, and English was only re-introduced from Class 2 in 1999. Initially, people had bought branded phones with Bengali or Hindi script, but these phones were no longer available in 2012 when most people had switched to using Chinese phones, which do not include the Bengali or Hindi alphabet.

Entertainment from Memory Chips

Considering the difficulties many villagers face making calls even from basic phones, it was puzzling to discover that most households owned a smartphone in

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[2]   The literacy rates for entire India are 65 per cent for women and 82 per cent for men (Census of India 2011b).

2012. As most people in the village are not able to read the English alphabets, they find the possibility to use phones for leisure activities, such as listening to music, taking and storing photos, and watching movies, a more interesting feature of the phones than browsing the textual content of the internet. Since most phone owners are unable to browse the internet independently, they use the internet indirectly on their phones. They buy music, videos and pictures, which are downloaded on the phone's memory chip in shops selling chips and downloaded content from the internet. Although this practice differs crucially from the autonomous use of smartphones to browse the internet in western countries, it offers an easy access to internet contents.

The usual package sold in the downloading shop in Janta includes popular Hindi and Bengali songs, Hindi films, devotional Baul music, pictures of scenery, women, film stars, gods, and goddesses. Chips can be exchanged and borrowed; the content can be erased, and new content downloaded. Phones can be connected to loudspeakers or a television so that content can be listened at a higher volume, or movies can be watched on a television.

Browsing the internet directly on a mobile phone costs Rs 98 per month for a limited amount of gigabytes, which low income people find too expensive. Service providers have introduced inexpensive data plans (starting from Rs 12) allowing the internet to be browsed for a limited period and amount of data, which may mean just one night. Consequently, people tend to only sporadically access the internet by means of their phones. Moreover, browsing the internet on a mobile phone is not easy, as most low-end phones are not particularly user-friendly. For instance, I failed to teach a young woman who had studied up to class 10 to access the internet and use e-mail on her mobile phone. I, too, found it difficult to operate the low-end phone model to access the internet. But it must have been even harder for someone who had never browsed the internet with the help of a computer to even grasp the idea of the internet when accessed on a small phone screen. As Donner (2015) points out, access to the internet by means of smartphones does not provide the same affordances as a broadband connection by means of a computer. In addition to the difficulties of reading on a small screen, it is hard to use smartphones to author internet contents, which is one of the key

internet affordances compared to printed text. Moreover, the same properties responsible for mobile telephony's rapid growth in developing countries, such as usage-based pricing, present significant constraints to effective internet use. When every click on the internet costs money, users are likely to conserve airtime and their data bundles' balance carefully. Instead of surfing and browsing the internet, the hundreds of millions of new internet users are, in Donner's (2015, 124–125) words, likely to dip and sip the internet. He (ibid. 153) concludes that practitioners, theoreticians, and policymakers should be wary of proclaiming that the digital divide has been bridged thanks to smartphones.

Memory chips offer a practical solution to these problems as shop owners can download visual and audio content from the internet on behalf of their customers, and accessing this content does not require knowledge of English script or English. The amount of downloaded material depends on the size of the memory chip but the usual downloaded package contains hundreds of songs, dozens of pictures and a few films. Each download costs Rs 10–30 and the memory chips around Rs 150–350. Villagers find these costs more affordable than buying a monthly or daily internet package. The downloading shop keeper uses a personal computer to connect to the internet with the help of a mobile connection. He downloads the content on the memory chips of phones using a chip reader installed in the computer. The presence of a large desktop computer, one of the first three computers[3] that village now has, gives his business credibility, and the shop has become the IT hub of the village. The shop owner has taken a short course in phone repair allowing him to fix phones as well. He also sells phone accessories and phones for which he takes orders and then fetches these from the market so that he needs not invest in storing phones in his shop.

A typical downloaded package therefore includes action movies and pictures of young women, both of which hardly are of much interest for female customers. Playing content from memory chips is, indeed, more popular with men than women, although women do also listen to music and watch movies on their phones. Women, however, find television soap operas more interesting than the

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[3]   I found three computers in the village in 2013: in addition to the computer used for downloading content on memory chips, one belonged to a photography shop and was used to edit photos and design marriage invitations card and the other one was privately used by a student to practice accounting.

memory chip contents since soap operas are more tailor-made according to women watchers' interests. Typical soap operas delve on family relationships and present strong female characters whereas popular Bollywood and Bengali cinema available in rural Bankura tends to be action oriented and revolve around male characters.

The use of smartphones for entertainment challenges ideas about phone users as rational individuals in search of useful information with the help of ICTs although entertainment is not completely devoid of information. Rangaswamy and Cutrell (2012), who have observed that low-income youths in urban India use phones for recreation just as the villagers of Janta do, suggest that these entertainment practices have a potential to lead to new skills and abilities being discovered by offering a space to experiment with technology. They also argue that the use of smartphones to access entertainment can have a valuable social effect of binding people and creating an informal technology hub.

However, many smartphone users make a distinction between phone use for entertainment and as a practical benefit. A young male college student, for instance, argued that the internet could be useful, but that it is not possible to obtain these benefits by means of a phone. He pointed out that it is difficult to read exam questions, which are available on the internet, on a phone screen. Another man drew attention to how students are distracted from their studies, due to their addiction to the recreation that their phones provide: "They are fascinated by the internet. Getting one item from the internet takes a long time. They are all the time copying cinema and music from the internet. It is a big problem."

However, the idea of ICTs as tools to access useful information hardly helps one understand the popularity of listening to music on phones. In rural Bankura, it is a common sight to see men cycling while listening to loud music from their mobile phone's speaker. Unlike in Western countries, in rural Bankura people do not use headphones when listening music from their phones; instead, they allow others to listen to their personal choice of music. I never saw women listening to music on their phone in public places like men do; consequently, listening to music on phones through the phone's loudspeaker is used to ascertain the meaning of the public sphere as a masculine space where men can spend their

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leisure time. Even before the advent of mobile phones, one could see and hear young men travelling to picnics with music blasting from large loudspeakers. Men listening to music in public spaces on their phone speakers build on this earlier male-dominated practice. When people play their selection of music for others to hear, they share their moods as reflected by their choice of music and demarcate space as shared, whereas listening music from the headphones highlights social boundaries between people and the social spaces they inhabit.

Both accessing and sharing music and films directly from the internet are fluid activities because one has a great freedom to choose when to watch and listen and with whom to share the content. Phone memory chips also enable some of this fluidity. A scheduled caste man explains his smartphone usage while doing agricultural work in a field:

> It is possible to watch a film. I can download films on the memory chip. I can take a break from my work and watch a film for a while. Then I can turn it off and continue to work and later maybe listen to some music and again continue working. Nowadays people use phones mostly for listening to music.

Internet Browsing Through Personal Phones

Most of the phones in the village are now internet ready, but only a small minority of villagers is even aware of the possibility to browse the internet directly with the help of the mobile phone. As mentioned before, using the smartphone to browse the internet is considered expensive and difficult as the screens of low-cost smartphones are small. Even people who are able to use search engines to browse the internet with their phones often prefer to use internet shops to, for example, access exam questions and results.

The few people who have used their personal phones to browse the internet in the village all have a college education, and therefore belong to a minority. In 2012–13, I found 33 villagers (1,3 per cent of the population of the village) who either had a college degree or were studying in college[4]. Accessing the textual content of the internet requires an even higher level of literacy than operating the phone for calling, as well as the ability to write the English alphabet since the English alphabet is usually used to write even Bengali when

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[4] 7 percent of India's 18 to 24 year olds enter higher education (Higher Education News 2007).

communicating through the internet—cheap smartphones do not offer easy solutions for using the Bengali alphabet.

The few who had tried the internet had found many uses for it. All who had browsed the internet mentioned having used the Google search engine to access sites. A young man explained the internet: "Through this, many kinds of things can be accessed fast" and another even claimed that he found the internet the biggest benefit of having a smartphone. A female teacher became convinced of the benefits of the internet when a student at her school had hurt her arm. The teachers studied the nature of the injury on the internet and realized that the student needed to be taken to the hospital and operated. She had also used the internet to search for information on mobile phone brands before buying her phone.

Two sisters who were both college students had used a service provider's free trial period to browse the internet with their phone, but had not continued after this period. Two young men, both of whom had service jobs, occasionally used search engines to search the internet after the free trial period. A few other men used the internet for chatting, to download music and movies, to find out about prices, products, jobs and exam results, as well as to send e-mail, and access study sources such as literature and dictionaries. One villager had also tried Google maps to navigate and internet banking to send money.

A few young men in the village access Facebook through their mobile phones, and I have followed their Facebook use through my account. Whereas the calling function of mobile phones was regarded as useful for obtaining news, a young man emphasized that Facebook is not for news, it is for pictures. This comment illustrates that people are not interested in using Facebook to indiscriminately provide their contacts with news; instead, they use the call function to deliver news—calling gives them better control of whom to tell what. As in a South Indian city that Venkatraman studied (Miller et. al. 2016), Facebook is used in Janta to build cosmopolitan identities. Many of the young men are actively increasing the number of their Facebook friends through connecting with people whom they do not know except from seeing them listed as other people's contacts. For example, a young man found new contacts from my friend list and

became connected with my niece who lived in Moscow. When I told the villagers about this connection, their reaction exemplified how Facebook socializing challenges the norms of village life: they were so appalled and upset that a young man had dared to make contact with my niece that they had meeting to discuss the issue. Facebook users are indeed effectively building a circle of friends outside the realm of kinship and village sociality, while Facebook is especially used to construct a community which shares leisure activities. Whereas many of my Facebook friends from Europe and Northern America regularly report on their family life through Facebook, villagers mainly post pictures showing themselves at outings, at places they find scenic and exotic such as shopping malls. They use English phrases such as "good night" (which no one ever wishes to each other in the village) and posting romantic pictures with English texts to create a cosmopolitan image.

Conclusions

Although phones are far more accessible than computers, the availability of internet-ready phones in Janta has not—regardless of class and education—caused people to become internet users. Grasping the textual content of the internet—most of which is in English script— requires more than the average level of education in the village. With smartphones increasingly replacing simple phones meant for making and receiving calls, education and wealth will benefit people more as phone users than as caste and gender; consequently, the way smartphones are used accentuates class and educational differences. As digital technologies become ubiquitous, digital divides are bridged in terms of the ability to use digital media, but what people are able to and choose to access through new media highlights the marginalizing impact of the educational divide.

Phones also offer opportunities and technical affordances which challenge hierarchies. Contrary to their hierarchical position, well-educated young wives and children may become the phone use experts in their families. Low castes are able to make identity statements by simply possessing smartphones. Yet, if the benefits of phones are assessed on the basis of their educational impact and life altering aspects, they do not appear particularly transforming. Mobile

phones have mainly offered the wealthier and well-educated section of the village significant life-altering choices by offering new business opportunities and useful information. Low-income people find smartphones more useful for listening to music and watching movies than for daily calls, due to the high cost of calling.

However, if one considers the cultural value of smartphones and content sharing, the impact of phones appears more prominent. The use of smartphones for entertainment challenges ICTs for development discourses' ideas of rational individuals in search of useful information with the help of ICTs. Listening to music makes it possible to connect with and work in the affective dimension of everyday life, which can be shared with others through the loudspeaker. Listening to music or watching movies on a phone's memory chip also allows people to select the time and the company with whom they wish to share the content, thereby allowing a creative reshaping of the line between work and leisure. Their new ability to consume entertainment downloaded from the internet introduces people to the idea of the internet exposing them to various contents and influences which were previously only available to the upper classes through other media.

Smartphones have helped people connect to the internet, but cheap smartphones hardly offer the same affordances as computers and broadband connections. People's access to the internet via smartphones remains limited and sporadic. Nevertheless, owing to the memory chip economy, rural Indians are far more connected to the internet than statistics reflect. The ability to access the internet and use smartphones enables agency and relates to social change, but in far more diverse ways than those that the ICTs for development discourses, or the discourse on the digital divide envisioned.

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Indian Video Games and Cultural Heritage

Xenia Zeiler

Introduction

In times of the so-called "deep mediatization" (Hepp 2016), the media are inseparable from all aspects of social life, and actors obtain their information and ideas from many sources (Coudry & Hepp 2016). This information can come from various media, among which video games rank increasingly high. Even though video games are one of the most influential media genres today, especially for those in the younger generation, and are an important factor in social and cultural education, their importance has often been overlooked.

Yet video games actively contribute to construct perceptions of norms, values, identities, and in society in general. They are woven into our everyday lives and influence patterns of social interaction, communication and shared meanings. Games are increasingly complex, interactive virtual worlds in which, among other things, cultural heritage is constructed by game designers. It is thus obvious that game narratives affect meaning making and society building. In fact, games are so influential and distinctive that some academics have begun to consider games as part of cultural heritage itself (Barwick, Dearnley and Muir 2011).

Game development and production is often a complex and highly reflected process. It is grounded, among other things such as example business interests, in the understanding of game developers and influential actors in society that game narratives may mould and transform society. On a global scale, we find two divergent trends in recent game development. On the one hand, most blockbuster games, that is mainstream games, are being developed in a few countries (primarily the United States, some European countries, as well as in Japan and Korea) for global audiences (Zeiler 2015). On the other hand, arguably smaller, so-called "indie" or "independent" gaming companies world-wide are developing games for international and regional audiences; these games are often based on regional cultural heritage (Zeiler 2016).

Given this situation, it seems highly relevant to study how cultural heritage is implemented in video game narratives, aesthetics, rule systems, and so on, both world-wide and in India. How is cultural heritage implemented, interpreted, and constructed? And how are specific aspects such as history, art, and architecture depicted?

Video Games Made in India

India is not a country with a long or intense history of game development. Less than a decade ago, whenever notice was taken of games made in India by the international gaming community and/or the news media at all, they were criticized for their low quality. The most prominent example might be the first video game, developed entirely in India based on Hindu mythology, *Hanuman: Boy Warrior* (Aurona Technologies Hyderabad for Sony Computer Entertainment Europe, 2009), a console game produced by Sony for PlayStation 2 in 2009. While the game triggered a media debate on aspects of its content, namely, the appropriateness of including Hindu deities in video game environments, a move opposed by some groups (Zeiler 2014), what was arguably more striking was the widespread criticism of the game's quality overall which was consistently voiced on both international and Indian levels. In an exemplary way, the reviewer Desai (2009) stated:

> "I've tried really hard to look for something positive in this game, but it just isn't there. …
> This is, without a doubt, the worst console game I've ever played, and I'm pretty sure the worst game ever to be published by Sony Computer Entertainment. … It just makes you wonder if they have different quality standards for India and the West. …studios need to realize that Indians will not settle for garbage just because they're new to gaming."

But video games made in India have come a long way since then. Around 2012, market studies predicted intensive growth rates of over 30 percent for the Indian gaming industry for the years 2012 to 2014, and were expected to reach 560 million US dollars in 2014 (exchange4media News Service 2012). It was about this time that large gaming conventions and gaming conferences began to take place in India. Not surprisingly, even as early as 2012, this development was clearly visible in the sheer number of game development studios: "There used to be 15 studios in India, probably three or three-and-a-half years back. Today there

are now more than 500 studios." (Rajat Ojha from Version 2 Games, quoted in Handrahan 2012). And certainly, this has not been the end of the story. On the contrary, the game development scene in India has continued to change intensively, especially in the past five years or so. As NODWIN Gaming 2017 puts it:

> "For a long time, our country's games have been associated with terrible Bollywood adaptations and whatever the hell Agni was. However, in recent times, game development in India has become so much more. Though the mobile space still has a strong amount of Bollywood and Cricket games, there have been a few new, fun concepts gaining steam thanks to the hard work of Indian developers. These range from puzzle shooting games like Lovely Planet to in-depth RPGs like Unrest, where decisions can impact the entirety of your journey. It has not been an easy road for many of these creators but the results are steadily highlighting India as a strong well for quality games."

Today, video games produced in India reach millions of players. By far, most of these are for mobile telephones. When it comes to content, card and casino games are the most popular. Examples are the very successful *Teen Patti* games, such as *Teen Patti Gold* (since 2014), produced at the Bengaluru studio Moonfrog Labs. Since the whole concept of such card games has proved highly successful, it is not surprising that other studios have tried to emulate the model, and today, numerous versions of *Teen Patti* games are flooding the market. Another highly popular genre of mobile games (and in this case, also of PC games) in India is sports-related, with soccer and cricket games dominating the genre.

Currently, what is probably one of the country's most rapidly changing mobile game genres is film related. More and more often, every time there is a new large film production, a game is produced and released simultaneously. This development began slowly around 2005, when "Indian companies which have acquired the franchisee rights of international stars like Pat Cash and Charlie Chaplin for their mobile games and are now turning towards Bollywood for the rights of screen icons like Amitabh Bachchan and Shahrukh Khan" (Bose 2006, 112). While Bollywood is still the dominant force in this trend, regional cinemas, such as Tamil or Bengali cinema, are starting to catch up. Today, it is more or less standard procedure that when a film intended to be a blockbuster is released, a game is released along with it. An example is *Sultan: The Game* (2016). Attempts to syndicate Bollywood blockbusters and non-mobile games, that is, console and/or PC games, have so far failed. One of the earliest attempts was *Ra.One: The*

Game (2011), which was released as a console game for PlayStation 2 and 3 and flopped.

Indian Video Games and Cultural Heritage

Since approximately 2015, a highly interesting development in the larger video game boom in India is a wave of new games that make extensive use of South Asian cultural settings. I refer to these cultural settings as heritage, although currently there is no clear definition of what precisely constitutes cultural heritage in academic research. The Indian games I am referring to here include cultural heritage components, such as historical and religious references, and artistic features in a broader sense, including music, dance, architecture, dress styles, and more. But how exactly is Indian cultural heritage represented and constructed in Indian video games, and how is it used to craft narratives of India's past and present?

Not surprisingly, the richness of Hindu mythology figures prominently in some of the games produced in India. In fact, some of the earliest are directly based on Hindu mythology from which their storylines and aesthetics evolve (especially in the case of mythological textual narratives from the Epics and Puranas). A case in point is the above-mentioned *Hanuman: Boy Warrior* (2009). Other games have been released since then which base their narrative on simple versions of Hindu mythology, but all of these remained simple in their execution and did not attract large audiences. At other times, games have revolved around the names of mythological figures without necessarily making direct references to mythology in the storyline, as for example in more recent games related to the very popular *Chhota Bheem* TV animation serial and movie franchise. There are also games that allude to Indian cultural heritage in a less dominant and/or less explicit way. Such games make use of terminology such as the names of classical texts, figures, or art styles, or they draw on elements inspired by, but not directly based on, existing heritage – all without making such elements the major theme of the game. For example, the name *Sky Sutra* (forthcoming) clearly refers to a classical ancient Indian genre of text. Moreover, the optics this game implements are inspired by Indian architectural aesthetics.

Raji: An Ancient Epic

Of course, there are also games based on both Hindu mythology in their details and on Indian cultural heritage in general. A recent, complex example (the game has not even been released yet) which in both its narrative and its aesthetics invoke these themes is *Raji: An Ancient Epic* (forthcoming):

> "Raji: An Ancient Epic is a video game set in ancient India. Chaos unfolds as demons invade to conquer the human realm with ambitions to overthrow the mighty gods themselves. Amidst this chaos, a girl is chosen, her destiny to face the demon lord Mahabalasura. The demon lord plans to sacrifice Raji's very own younger brother, which will complete a ritual granting him relentless powers. Blessed by the gods, Raji set's on her journey to rescue her younger brother, and to face the treacherous Mahabalasura. An adventure awaits." (Raji: An Ancient Epic 2017)

Apart from storylines that draw heavily on Hindu mythology, game trailers may reveal, even at first glance, that many artistic elements of cultural heritage have been incorporated, for example, Raji: An Ancient Epic - Game Teaser 2017. The music of this game uses tablas and other instruments characteristic of classical Indian music styles. The main character's ankle bells jingle as she walks, and she is clearly dressed in a way that evokes Indian dress styles. The colors and architectural optics are visibly based on Indian cultural heritage. All of these aspects are consciously meant to rather accurately depict Indian cultural heritage, as the game developers state:

> "We are an Indie game development company situated in Pune, India. We are working on the game we always wanted to make, a game which reflects lore, myths and stories from our motherland." (NoddingHeadsGames 2017).

Antariksha Sanchar

There are also very creative examples that highlight other aspects of cultural heritage. For example, *Antariksha Sanchar* (forthcoming) is described as "a speculative adventure inspired by the vibrant cultures of South India"; a more detail description reads, "A point and click adventure inspired by the dream theorems of prodigious mathematician Srinivasa Ramanujan, and originating from an opera by the classical dancer Jayalakshmi Eshwar" (antariksha 2017). The game blends the historically verifiable life story of the South Indian

mathematician Srinivasa Ramanujan with elements of science fiction and Steampunk to create a story of a South Indian heritage tale.

On many levels, this game is based on Indian culture heritage, and these are implemented in many ways. It makes reference to classical South Indian music and dance styles, to South Indian cinema traditions, to South Indian architectural heritage, and more. One of the things highlighted is Carnatic music, which plays an important role as background music in the game. "The game features a memorable Indian classical soundtrack of Carnatic musicians and instrumentalists, including samples from the dance repertoire of Bharatanatyam dancer Jayalakshmi Eshwar, and contributions from electronic musicians from India" (antariksha 2017). Along with these elements, Bharatanatyam dance is integrated into the game; in fact, a Bharatanatyam performance was the starting point for the idea of the game, as the developer Avinash Kumar explains (cited in anonym 2016):

> "The starting point of the project was a dance production of the same name by my mother and Bharatanatyam dancer Jayalakshmi Eshwar. In this spectacle, she traces the idea of flight from small plants to insects to birds and finally to mythological concepts like Hanuman, the Pushpaka Vimana and the Vaimanika Shastra, an early 20th century Sanskrit text on aerospace technology."

With adequate technical equipment, such as the so-called motion sensor technique, which makes it possible to transfer an actor's, or as in this case, a dancer's movement into the game, very life-like gameplay becomes possible.

Asura (2017)

References to mythology and Indian heritage may also take forms that move beyond direct approaches. Increasingly, game developers are reflecting on their own Indian cultural backgrounds in refined ways. For instance, the celebrated, newly released *Asura* (2017) "… is an indie, top-down, Hack 'n' Slash game set in a fantasy world inspired by the richness of Indian mythology. It features heavy rogue-like elements and a unique procedural skill tree which changes on every play-through." (asurathegame 2017). It is one of the games that take a more complex approach to mythology and Indian heritage, as its creator and the founder

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of the producing Ogre Head Studio Zainuddin Fahad (quoted in NODWIN Gaming 2017) explains:

> "The problem in our opinion is that Indian mythology has been adopted in a not-so-appealing fashion in the past. You cannot literally take mythology from a history book and shove it into a piece of art or entertainment. Instead, what we did - or what we do - is use it as an inspiration to create our own epic world of Rakshasa, Deva and other amazing races."

A unique aspect of *Asura* is that it is the first large game from India which implies specifics of Indian mythology not only in the narrative and aesthetics. The developers have thoroughly reflected on Indian mythology and its specific application to video games in a multifaceted way. In other words, mythological elements are not limited to having an influence only on the game's narrative and/or aesthetics, but also affect its rule system:

> "Rogue-likes have permadeath so every time you die, you will start with a new skill tree. We then came up with the idea to make the protagonist a demon. Because, when demons die they don't stay dead, they reincarnate. Hence, Asura was born."

Future games are sure to continue this trend.

Overall, the video game development scene in India is currently undergoing profound transformation. And it is the indie game developers who arguably are showing the greatest potential in creativity, reflexivity, and enthusiasm. Many of them feel that the game industry in India still needs to clear many hurdles and that, even with its ongoing progress, the industry remains in its infancy. For example, Zainuddin Fahad (quoted in NODWIN Gaming 2017) notes:

> "The game industry over here is riddled with sub-par cricket and Bollywood games. It seems that no one cares about design except for the business side of things. We as an industry need to take more risks, be bold and let our passion lead the way. We need to have original IPs in order to truly bring a change in the industry and that is exactly what we are trying to do. We need to be artists and designers instead of just being a slave and providing services to the western countries."

Despite these challenges, video games made in India have come a long way. Today, there are high-quality games on numerous themes. Some of them deal with educational subjects, actively contributing to shaping our understanding of society: "Now more than ever, game developers have realized that they can use the gaming environment to shine light on important real world issues" (Missing 2017). An example is the prize-winning game *Missing* (2016), winner of Nasscom

Indie Game of the Year award in 2016. The players take the role of a missing girl who is the victim of human trafficking and try to find their way to freedom.

I want to emphasize yet again that video games are becoming one of today's most important media genres. Games, including so-called educational games, but also all other game genres as well, will be a major source of information in the future. Globally, game developers are continuously experimenting with this potential. India has charted a highly interesting and, in some ways, distinctive path in this experimentation. One of the exceptional developments is grounded in the highly creative and conscious reflection and implementing of Indias own cultural heritage, which has resulted in some unique games. In this sense, India is an exemplary case for the international study of video games. Video games made in India are likely to hit the global gaming market in the near future for many reasons. As one game developer (antariksha 2017) put it:

> "Indian culture is a dynamic, free flowing, encompassing expression of the Universe and its unsolvable magic. Our project connects these ancient expressions to our imminent digital culture, retaining them for future generations in an innocent and inspirational form."

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Some observations on the relation between Sanskrit grammatical texts and their sources

Sharon Ben-Dor

This paper discusses ancient Sanskrit grammatical texts. Nowadays, there are numerous ongoing projects which digitize Sanskrit texts. This enables scholars to utilize new research methods. Moreover, by using digital tools, one can find and mark similarities and differences between various texts. In my current research project, I make use of the available digital versions of particular texts and I conduct a thorough study comparing the texts with the help of a text analysis software. This method highlights the relations of the texts to each other and it helps to discover the sources of some specific grammatical texts. In this paper, I briefly present some observations regarding the relations between the texts. These observations are based on the data which I have gathered in my research so far. Before presenting them, I start with a general introduction about the Sanskrit grammatical tradition and the views regarding the sources of the texts and their relations to each other.

The Sanskrit grammatical tradition ('Vyākaraṇa' - grammatical analysis) is well known for its ingenuity. It is a long tradition of many grammatical texts and commentaries, starting from the early Prātiśākhyas (texts which mainly deal with phonetics). Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī (5th century BC), the oldest comprehensive systematic generative grammar, occupies a major place in this field of the Sanskrit grammatical tradition. Due to its uniqueness and antiquity, the Aṣṭādhyāyī has attracted many scholars in the fields of philology and linguistics since the 19th century. The text contains approximately 4000 grammatical rules which describe the Sanskrit language. The Aṣṭādhyāyī is followed by a well-established and ongoing tradition of commentaries starting with Kātyāyana's vārttikas 'notes' (3rd century BC) and Patañjali's commentary, the Mahābhāṣya ('great commentary'- 2nd century BC).

After Pāṇini, the original oral explanation of the Aṣṭādhyāyī was lost as a result of a gap in the tradition before the time of Kātyāyana. This necessitated the commentators after Pāṇini to explain inconstancy and ambiguity found in the

Aṣṭādhyāyī and a major part of their texts concerns such difficulties. This is one of the main tasks taken by Kātyāyana and Patañjali. They discuss such issues and provide solutions and corrections to Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī. Moreover, it appears that in the time of Patañjali and especially in the following centuries after Patañjali, there was a growing trend among the Sanskrit grammarians which aimed to correct and improve the Aṣṭādhyāyī. It also led some ancient grammarians to compose their own new grammar manuals which were supposed to be improved versions to Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī. An example of such a grammar is the grammar of Candra (4th-5th centuries CE), 'Cāndravyākaraṇa'. This trend continued to flourish for many centuries after Patañjali.

On the other hand, Vāmana and Jayāditya, the authors of the Kāśikāvṛtti (7th century CE), seem to have taken an opposite position and tried to defend Pāṇini's grammar. The Kāśikāvṛtti is the earliest available running commentary on the Aṣṭādhyāyī. The text provides an explanation to every part in the Aṣṭādhyāyī and aims to show how Pāṇini's grammar describes the Sanskrit language correctly. This starts a new era in the commentarial tradition on Pāṇini's grammar and there are later commentaries after the Kāśikāvṛtti which follow the same position. Thus, the Kāśikā has a unique position in the history of the commentarial tradition of Pāṇini's system.

One of the major questions concerning the Kāśikāvṛtti in the recent years concerns the sources which were used by the authors while composing the Kāśikāvṛtti. Moreover, although it appears that Kāśikāvṛtti follows the arguments of Patañjali's Mahābhāṣya, some modern scholars on Pāṇini argue that the Kāśikāvṛtti follows an ancient lost commentary which may be an authentic commentary that originally was attached to Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī. According to these scholars, the commentary was unknown to Kātyāyana and Patañjali and therefore its views are not presented in Patañjali's Mahābhāṣya.

A major contribution about the position of the Kāśikāvṛtti and its relation to earlier texts is Johannes Bronkhorst's article from 1983. Bronkhorst (1983, 382) says that the period in which grammarians felt free to make changes in the Aṣṭādhyāyī and its appendices had come to a definite close in the time of the Kāśikāvṛtti. Yet, he argues (1983, 383) that the Kāśikāvṛtti has preserved traces

from the earlier period in which Patañjali was not always considered authoritative and scholars felt free to improve upon Pāṇini's grammar by making changes in it. Bronkhorst (1983, 380) also adds that Candra and the authors of the Kāśikāvṛtti had their knowledge of the sūtras of the Aṣṭādhyāyī from a common source. He argues that it does not seem adventurous to assume that this common source consisted of the sūtras of the Aṣṭādhyāyī plus one or more commentaries on them. According to Bronkhorst (1983, 380), both Candra and the Kāśikāvṛtti show points of similarity even with respect to features which are not found in the Mahābhāṣya.

The notion that there was before the Kāśikāvṛtti an earlier vṛtti ('commentary') on Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī is supported also by the authors' own opening verses to the Kāśikāvṛtti where they say that their text is based, among others, on a vṛtti.[1] However, they do not mention any specific vṛtti. Such an earlier vṛtti is unknown[2] and there is no information about the nature of such a text, whether it was based on the Mahābhāṣya's tradition or on another unknown tradition. From a brief reading of the Kāśikāvṛtti and Patañjali's Mahābhāṣya, one gets the impression that the authors of the Kāśikāvṛtti follow the arguments found in the Bhāṣya and that their comments of Pāṇini's sūtras echo the Bhāṣya's notes on the sūtras. This impression is strengthened by the fact that the version of Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī, as it appears in the Kāśikāvṛtti, includes some of Kātyāyana's suggestions and additional statements. Yet, Joshi and Roodbergen have proposed a novel view on the subject. They argue (1991-92, 131) that the Kāśikāvṛtti contains traces from sources which were unknown to Patañjali and Kātyāyana. According to them such sources may belong to an earlier period and may originate from the original vṛtti on the Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī. However, we do not have much information or evidence that would support this view.

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[1]   KV I.1-4: वृत्तौ भाष्ये तथा धातुनामपारायणादिषु। विप्रकीर्णस्य तन्त्रस्य क्रियते सारसङ्ग्रहः॥ इष्ट्युपसङ्ख्यानवती शुद्धगणा विवृतगूढसूत्रार्था। व्युत्पन्नरूपसिद्धिर्वृत्तिरियं काशिका नाम॥ व्याकरणस्य शरीरं परिनिष्ठितशास्त्रकार्यमेतावत्। शिष्टः परिकरबन्धः क्रियते ऽस्य ग्रन्थकारेण॥

[2]   In their commentary on the Kāśikāvṛtti's introductory verse, the Nyāsa and the Padamañjarī refer to particular authors (Culli, Bhaṭṭi, Nallūra and kuṇi) of vṛttis. Nyāsa I.2 (on the KV's introductory verse): तत्र च वृत्तिः पणिनिप्रणीतानां सूत्राणां विवरणं चूल्लिभट्टिनल्लूरादिविरचितम्॥ PM I.2 (on the KV's introductory verse): तत्र सूत्रार्थप्रधानो ग्रन्थो वृत्तिः। सा चेह पाणिनिप्रणितानां सूत्राणां कुणिप्रभृतिभिराचार्यैर्विरचितं विवरणम्॥

In a recent article (Ben-Dor 2016), I discuss and present instances where there is dissimilarity or similarity between the view of Kātyāyana or Patañjali and that of Kāśikāvṛtti. These instances represent one of the authors' approaches seen throughout the text. Moreover, I show that there are explanations why the authors of the Kāśikāvṛtti chose a different view from the views of Kātyāyana and Patañjali. In cases where there is divergence between the views of the Kāśikāvṛtti and those of the Mahābhāṣya, one should look for reasons why the authors of the Kāśikāvṛtti take a different stand than the Mahābhāṣya, before concluding that such an instance came from an authority which was independent of or unknown to Kātyāyana or Patañjali.

There are several instances[3] in the Kāśikāvṛtti where the authors ignore a notion, presented in Mahābhāṣya, although they accept it elsewhere in their text. Such instances may seem to come from a source which did not follow the tradition of the Kātyāyana and Patañjali. However, one can find a reason why in these instances the authors of the Kāśikāvṛtti choose to differ from the opinion of Kātyāyana and Patañjali. They always try to mention a purpose for a term in the sūtra or for a sūtra as a whole and nowhere do they argue that it would be useless.[4] It appears that one of the aims of the authors of the Kāśikāvṛtti is to provide a purpose to every part of Pāṇini's sūtras. They make use of Kātyāyana and Patañjali's views, but in all the cases where Kātyāyana or Patañjali argue that a term or a sūtra may be dismissed because it can be understood by other means, the authors do not present the view or they alter the Bhāṣya's argument so that the term is not left without a purpose. In some cases, where a notion may render a sūtra or part of sūtra redundant, they simply ignore the notion although they evidently accept it when they use it elsewhere. In other cases, they say that the term is used for indicating that the notion should not be applied.[5] In addition, there are instances where the authors of the Kāśikāvṛtti simply say that the term or the

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3   In the appendix of my article (Ben-Dor 2016, 87-94), I give a list of some parallel passages from the Bhāṣya, the Kāśikāvṛtti and Cāndravyākaraṇavṛtti. They represent different ways which the authors of the Kāśikāvṛtti employ in respect to such instances.

4   There are three exceptions to this: in the Kāśikāvṛtti on A 4.3.39 (प्रायभवः) A 5.3.19 (तदो दा च) A 5.4.1 (पादशतस्य संख्यादेर्वीप्सायां वुन्लोपश्च), the authors quote Kātyāyana's vārttikas which argue that the sūtra or part of the sūtra is redundant.

5   This is based on the argument, given by later commentators, that the principle in question is anitya, that is, it does not apply always.

sūtra is given for the sake of clarity (*vispaṣṭārtha*).[6] Thus, in such a case, they mention Kātyāyana's and Patañjali's argument that the term in questioned in redundant but they mention it in a more moderate way so that it will still provide a purpose for the term in question.

In addition, their comments on the sūtra A 1.1.36 (अन्तरम्बहिर्योगोपसंव्यानयोः) highlight the degree in which the authors of the Kāśikāvṛtti follow the Mahābhāṣya. In their commentary on A 1.1.36, they mention the statement *apurīti vaktavyam*.[7] This statement is given in Mahābhāṣya on the same sūtra.[8] However, the authors admit that this statement is not relevant to A 1.1.36 but to another sūtra (i.e. A 1.1.27: सर्वादीनि सर्वनामानि).[9] Thus, although they could have presented the issue in question in its relevant place, they mention it under the same sūtra as in the Mahābhāṣya.[10]

Moreover, from my research until now, I can see that both the Cāndravyākaraṇavṛtti[11] and Kāśikāvṛtti followed and used the Mahābhāṣya. They even present the issues in the same order as they are given in the Mahābhāṣya. This may be the reason why there is a resemblance between these commentaries and it is reasonable to assume that the earlier lost vṛttis, to which the authors of the Kāśikāvṛtti refer, followed the Mahābhāṣya as well and it is unlikely that it was from another school within the Pāṇinian system or was unknown to Kātyāyana and Patañjali.

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[6] This last option is presented mainly in cases where the knowledge can be provided elsewhere by another term or sūtra mentioned in the Aṣṭādhyāyī. Such cases do not involve a notion which can be ignored.

[7] KV I.129 (on A 1.1.36): अपुरीति वक्तव्यम्। अन्तरायां पुरि वसति॥

[8] Bh I.93.18 (on A 1.1.36): अपुरीति वक्तव्यम्। इह मा भूदन्तरायां पुरि वसतीति॥

[9] KV I.129 (on A 1.1.36): गणसूत्रस्य चेदं प्रत्युदाहरणम्॥

[10] My study of these texts shows also that usually the arguments in the Kāśikāvṛtti are presented in the same order as they are given in the Mahābhāṣya.

[11] Candra's auto-commentary on his grammar.

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Abbreviations

A   *Aṣṭādhyāyī.*

Bh   *Mahābhāṣya*. See Abhyankar, K. V.

KV   *Kāśikāvṛtti*. See Tripathi, Jaya Shankar Lal and Sudhakar Malaviya.

Nyāsa   *Kāśikāvivaraṇapañjikā*. See Tripathi, Jaya Shankar Lal and Sudhakar Malaviya.

PM   *Padamañjarī*. See Tripathi, Jaya Shankar Lal and Sudhakar Malaviya.

Increasing Information Access with Interactive Technology Solutions in India

Markku Turunen, Jaakko Hakulinen, Mikko Ruohonen, Sumita Sharma, Pekka Kallioniemi and Juhani Linna

Introduction

Emerging technologies like mobile devices, affordable 4G and broadband internet, and interactive interfaces employing gestures or speech, are revolutionizing the ways we access information, learn new skills and interact with the world around us. However, developing world communities – who stand to benefit from such technologies – were, until recently, largely neglected. Interactive technologies provide a means to address learning challenges such as functional illiteracy and information access barriers, and can improve learning and education, health and wellbeing, and agricultural practices. When introduced in public spaces, like schools, or community health centers, technology not only provides individual learning solutions and access to information but also encourages and enhances social collaboration and group learning. This potentially brings an overall improvement in people's quality of life, especially to the most vulnerable of these communities, such as rural women, children with special needs, and underprivileged children. Understanding these important user groups and designing for their needs requires a multidisciplinary and multicultural approach towards technology; an approach taken by the HCI4D (Human Computer Interaction for Development) community at the University of Tampere.

The University of Tampere (UTA) is a multi-discipline university known internationally for its research perspectives into the various phenomena of society, health and welfare. The research center TAUCHI (Tampere Unit for Human-Computer Interaction) at UTA carries out a wide range of research into technology-mediated novel solutions of multimodal interaction with devices, environments, and people. Our expertise covers new technologies such as smart objects and environments, gestural interfaces, gaze tracking, haptics, mixed reality, computer vision, speech-, context- or emotion-based interaction, virtual avatars, user experience and usability, and beyond. We have extensive

collaboration with multiple partners across India, from both the industry and academia, for designing, developing, deploying and evaluating novel interaction techniques for education, healthcare, and agriculture. Projects in education include **CityCompass**, an embodied navigational game for learning English as a foreign language for underprivileged children, who have limited access to technology, and **GiDAC**, interactive gesture-based learning applications for children with Autism. Projects in healthcare and agriculture include **Gill**, an interactive gesture-based health information system for rural Assamese women, and **RuralVoice**, a voice-based agricultural information system for Karnatakan farmers operated through mobile phones. Both projects were collaborative efforts with IBM Research Labs Delhi and local universities – Indian Institute of Technology in Guwahati, Assam and University of Agricultural Sciences in Dharwad, Karnataka. Each of these projects – CityCompass, GiDAC, Gill and RuralVoice – strove to create meaningful user experiences and increase social impact, in addition to increasing technology access and utilization. In this article, we present the key findings from our HCI4D projects in India, which focused on improving information access in education, healthcare and agriculture. We begin with a brief overview of our research methodology, and end the article with a list of publication for further reading.

Research Methodology

Our work in India follows a collaborative ethnographic approach, where we, with our research partners, spend considerable time with the different stakeholders in the actual environment for each project. We start with a design phase in which one or two researchers interview different stakeholders, for example, teachers, therapists, parents, and students in schools, to understand the challenges towards information access and learning. Together, we define our problem statement and research hypothesis, and identify potential design solutions with regards to the type of technology available (mobile phones, laptops, or computers), and most suitable mode of interaction (full body gestures, speech, or traditional mouse). We next develop one or more working prototypes or applications, which are also iteratively improved throughout the development process, based on frequent

stakeholder testing and discussions. The application is then tested in the real use environment and by actual users, during the user study phase. The final phase includes an analysis of the results, and publication of findings to guide future work. Following a collaborative approach reduces the barrier towards technology acceptance in an otherwise sometimes technophobic environment.

When conducting user studies, we at times face a cultural barrier to communication. This is especially visible when working with school children, where rigid social norms dictate a hierarchical power structure. For instance, teachers usually initiate and guide learning experiences and conversations, and researchers are considered as teachers. However, for our work, we require equal participation towards collaborative problem solving. The Bollywood Method (Chavan 2005) enables users to communicate freely, from expressing issues in using a specific product or website, to online collaborative problem solving. The method is described below:

The Bollywood Method: While conducting usability studies with Asian participants, Chavan found that users would not share negative feedback out of politeness, and were also hesitant in admitting the problems they faced. To overcome these barriers to social communication, she devised the Bollywood Method. Bollywood, where users are presented with a dramatized scenario, akin to Bollywood *masala* movies, that requires them to take on the role of a character with a specific goal. For example, for testing an airlines ticket booking application, users were asked to imagine that their niece is unknowingly getting married to an underground hit man, who is actually already married. The users have to book tickets to Bangalore with the incriminating evidence in their sole possession to stop the wedding!

We employed the Bollywood Method in one of our projects, CityCompass, and found that it reduced the challenges arising from computer and gaming inexperience and the known cultural barriers to communication. This facilitated meaningful learning experiences for the participants. This result easily extends to other learning goals, domains and environments, and to other cultures and regions in overcoming cultural barriers to communication.

Information Access in Education

In education, we have developed multiple application with interactive content for classroom learning for children in New Delhi. This work consists of two projects, CityCompass, that used a 4G internet connection and a laptop, and GiDAC, which used the Microsoft Kinect sensor for gesture based interaction and a laptop. In the CityCompass project, we explored the design of culturally adaptive interactions for online collaborative language learning to engage Finnish and Indian School students. In India, we worked with Deepalaya, a non-government organization focused on imparting education to marginalized children from the slums in Delhi. In GiDAC, we collaborated with IBM Research Labs and the Tamana School of Hope (Tamana.org), to design, develop and evaluate gesture-based applications for children with Autism Spectrum Disorders (ASD) in Delhi. Employing gesture interaction for children with autism has gained favor in recent years with many researchers working towards developing innovative applications to motivate and encourage children to learn and interact socially. However, much of this research is focused on children from developed countries and is highly individual, as most of the applications are not collaborative in nature. Our work is the first of its kind by employing gesture-interaction for collaboration for children with autism in India, and we promote interactive classroom technologies for children with special needs. The CityCompass and GiDAC project work is described in more details next.

CityCompass: an embodied navigational game for learning English as a foreign language
(See figures 1–3.)
Research has shown children greatly benefit from social interaction and collaboration for learning a new language, and that communication between participants during online gameplay also enables language learning. This suggests that an online setting with game like collaborative features would be beneficial for foreign language learning, while also serving as a platform for cross-cultural communication, which forms the basis of the CityCompass application. CityCompass supports conversational spoken language learning by means of way

finding tasks. In CityCompass, two remotely located users, a tourist and a guide, collaboratively navigate in 360 degree panoramic views of a city, to reach a preassigned destination. The application supports multiple interaction paradigms differing in their level of immersion, from a traditional mouse and keyboard interaction, to gesture based interaction employing full body gestures using Microsoft Kinect sensor.

Over one hundred and fifty students from schools in Germany, Finland and India have used the application for foreign language learning within their classroom activities. In India, we added the Bollywood Method, where students were provided a dramatic story, of being lost on a school trip in a foreign city, with a sense of urgency, before interacting with the application. This created engaging and immersive learning experiences, and improved cross cultural communication. Our results can be extended to online learning systems aimed at cross-cultural collaborations for language learning to other domains and cultures, allowing children from different cultures and backgrounds to experience the globalized world we live in.

GiDAC: Gesture-based interaction for Differently Abled Children
(See figure 4.)
Autism is a neurodevelopmental disorder characterized by a lack of motivation for social interactions and difficulty in learning. Interactive technology offers several advantages for children with autism, including controllable input stimulus, multisensory learning environments, and opportunities to customize for individualized learning goals, structured, predicable, safe, and consistent learning environments. Applications can also simulate real world scenarios in a safe and controlled environment, and the learning is potentially translatable from the virtual to real world, facilitating self-efficacy. Therefore, it is no surprise that various institutions around the world have incorporated technological interventions for children with autism.

However, in developing regions such as India, children with autism are largely under served. Moreover, there are several challenges towards adoption of novel technologies – from being expensive and catering to a limited group of

people, to being difficult to maintain and integrate into existing systems. Furthermore, individuals with developmental disabilities have limited access to these technologies, and therefore the digital divide – technical and economic barriers towards technology access – is more pronounced. In order to overcome these challenges, it is important to substantiate the potential of such technologies and build a stronger case for their adoption. We designed and developed several collaborative gesture-based applications, described below, together with IBM Research Labs Delhi and deployed them in the Tamana special schools in New Delhi:

Gesture-Painting: For the school's annual Diwali Mela, we developed applications to identify a gesture vocabulary for user – a free form hand painting where participants could use their hands as paint brushes and draw on a white projected canvas, red with the right hand and blue with the left. An image of a researcher using the application is shown in figure 4 (top left).

Kirana: The Kirana application was designed to teach the life skill of buying items from a local Indian grocery store by breaking down the tasks of social, mathematical and decision-making skills, into smaller subtask. It was evaluated with children who were previously unable to shop by themselves. An educator provides the task – a list of items to purchase. The application interface is shown in figure 4 (top right).

HOPE: HOPE application combines memory, spatial, motor and cognitive skills based on two broad learning paradigms: matching shapes, colors and objects, and the concept of numbers and alphabets. It provides a sustainable, consistent and flexible educational intervention with multiple interaction mechanisms for a larger group of individuals, and catering to a diverse technology ecosystem as it supports mouse, tablet/touch and gesture-based interaction mechanisms.

Our overall experiences with these applications suggest that involving different stakeholders, for instance, parents, therapists, special educators, in the designing process reduces the barriers towards technology acceptance and adoption. Furthermore, applications that can be customized for different individuals, and also diverse learning goals, cater to a larger user group, making

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efficient use of resources. Moreover, by taking into account the cultural implications of the environment, socially acceptable interactions can be designed. Our work with Tamana is the first of its kind that employs interactive technology solutions for educational interventions for children with special needs in India[1].

Information Access in Healthcare

In healthcare, we focused on providing maternal healthcare information for users with low level of literacy, employing gesture based input and audio-visual output using a Microsoft Kinect sensor, a laptop, and a TV display, eliminating the need to read or write text, as described next in the GILL project.

GILL: Gesture-based health Information system for Low Literate users
(See figure 5.)
India has an acute shortage of trained physicians, and a lack of culturally sensitive health information, social inhibitions, prohibitive gender-based roles, poor infrastructure and an overall low health consciousness, especially within rural populations, are all deterrents for opting for professional health care. Providing health information initiates open dialogs among community members that lead to better health practices and helps overcome the prevailing social taboos associated with various health conditions. In the Gill project, an interactive gesture-based health information system for rural Assamese women, was developed in collaboration with the Indian Institute of Technology – Guwahati, Assam and IBM Research Labs Delhi. The application aimed at overcoming participants' inexperience with technology and functional illiteracy, by incorporating gesture-based interaction, which did not require users to read or write. Two gesture-based solutions were implemented: *Touching* or using the body centric gestures to give input to the system, for example, touching one's head to input say a headache. *Pointing*, where users pointed at a menu item on the screen. After investigating these interaction techniques, a clear preference for gesture-based interaction employing local body-centric gestures was observed in the healthcare domain. Using the outcomes of Gill, interactive health information systems have been

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[1]   This work won the 2015 NASSCOM Social Impact award for Tamana.org (Digital Empowerment Foundation 2017).

successfully piloted in clinics across Assam, and IIT-Guwahati won the Young Gandhian Technical award for its work, Chetna+ (Embedded Interaction Lab n.d.) project.

Information Access in Agriculture

In agriculture, we primarily focused on the rural Indian farmer in the state of Karnataka, working with local partners to develop speech based mobile application that provided relevant information. Employing voice overcomes communication and interaction barriers due to functional illiteracy, as investigated in the RuralVoice project.

RuralVoice – Mobile Voice Service Deployment for Developing Countries
(See figure 6.)
Rural India relies heavily on spoken conversations as a primary mean of communication, because of literacy barriers. IBM Research Labs Delhi built the Spoken-web technology (similar to world wide web) to provide users with voice-sites (similar to websites) that reduced could overcome the literacy barriers to technology access. Content on the voice-sites could be recorded using a low end mobile phone and in the local dialect, in order to provide information to rural populations. This provided to be an effective way to overcome the current digital divide, especially regarding information access, and inspired several other projects.

In the RuralVoice (2012) project our aims was on developing viable mobile and multimodal services and business models for rural India to help the underprivileged – starting with agriculture. The application, Krishi Jnana Vani (Agricultural Knowledge Voice), provided agricultural information right from "seed to spoon" to local farmers to achieve sustainable agricultural practices. The information was in local Kannada language, which is spoken by 45 million people in Karnataka, and therefore the local farmers could interact in their own language. The voice-site had information collected from already installed kiosks at University of Agricultural Sciences of Dharwad. These kiosks offered farmers agricultural information in textual format, so that content was recorded into audio

format at Krishi Community radio station in Dharwad. Krishi Jnana Vani offered information about twenty different crops, like sorgum, wheat and maize, and information on crop improvement, production, post harvesting, and pesticides. Findings from RuralVoice substantiate the potential of utilizing voice-based services and innovative business models for users in developing areas, such as in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

Conclusions and Future Work

As technology become more affordable and pervasive in classrooms, community centers, and through mobile phones, interactive services provide a possibility to improve information accessibility in various areas and to overcome the functional illiteracy barriers associated with the low literate rural men and women. Further, these technologies can provide more innovative and more effective learning environments for children. From embodied interactive application for children with special needs, to language learning through cross-cultural collaboration, to interactive health information systems, and mobile applications promoting sustainable agricultural practices; We are actively involved in HCI4D by designing interactive technology and services that overcome literacy and accessibility barriers.

Our future work in India focuses mainly on education and healthcare. Work in education consists of developing an immersive virtual reality CityCompass application that supports 360-degree video panoramas on a mobile phone placed inside virtual reality glasses, like the Samsung gear. For children with autism, we are investigating the potential of wearable emerging technologies, such as the Fitbit activity trackers to encourage physical exercise. We are also creating an international consortium of experts focused towards improving technology interventions and learning experiences for children with special needs. For higher education, we are working on creating digitalized cross cultural learning experiences, in collaboration with universities in Finland and India. In healthcare, we are scaling the GILL project to include information and learning access to healthcare workers, and their trainers. Overall, our HCI4D initiatives in India pave the way for designing applications for currently under served Indian

women and children, across schools and health centers in different cities, in order to reduce the digital information access divide.

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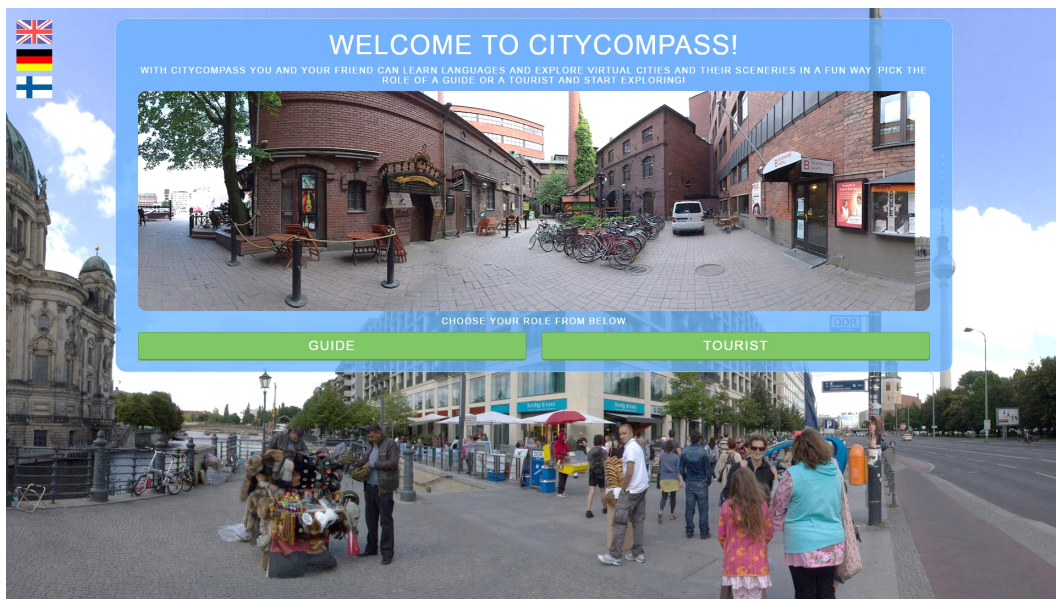
Figure 1, CityCompass.sis.uta.fi, welcome page of the application
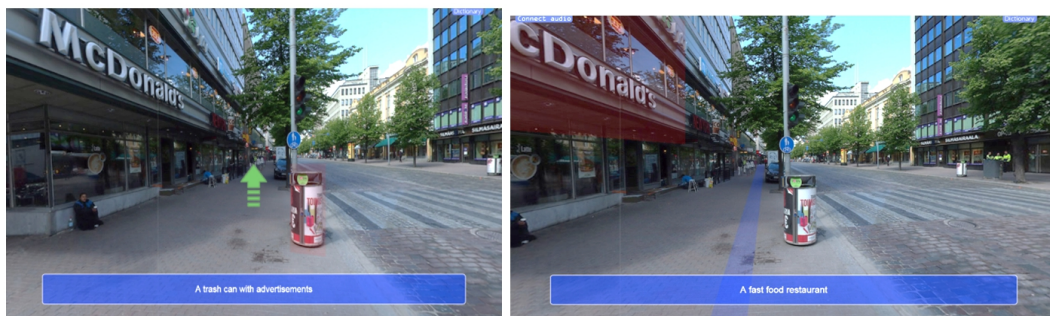
Figure 2. CityCompass (left) tourist version, and (right) guide version of the application

Figure 3. (left) Deepalaya Learning Center Sanjay Colony, and (right)a Deepalaya student using the application

Figure 4. (top left) free form hand painting, (top right) Kirana store application, and (bottom row) participants try the applications at the school's Dilwai Mela

Figure 5. (top left) the experimental setup at IIT-G, observation room (top right), (bottom left)interviewing participants post usage, and(bottom right) a user interacting with the application.

Figure 6. Karnatakan villagers interacting with services developed at RuralVoice

Democracy in the Slums: Meanings of Voting Among the Poor of Chennai

Jukka Jouhki

India is the largest democratic country in the world. In the previous general election in 2014 there were 930 000 polling stations, over 8000 candidates in 464 parties, and an electorate of over 800 million of which over a half a billion people voted making it the largest-ever election in the world (see e.g. Diwakar 2016, 4). Globally, India is a rather peculiar democracy also because its poor people are statistically the most eager voters. The socio-economically significant turnout statistics have to do with the Indian patronage politics that is effective in organizing voters behind communal benefits. (e.g. Ahuja and Chibber 2012, Sahoo 2014, 10–11, Kasara and Suryanarayan 2015, 614)

In 2014, I had a chance to visit an NGO working in the slums of Chennai, Tamil Nadu. The NGO concentrated on educating the women of Chennai's increasing slum population, which adds up to about 30 % of the city's population. Before my visit, I had conducted research only in the rural and semi-urban areas of the state (see e.g. Jouhki 2006, 2013), so I was excited to join the NGO's development workers in their daily rounds in the urban slums. As an anthropologist, I was eager to experience the grassroots-level, and learn what the everyday life in the slums was like: how people lived, what kind of things they talked about, what they hoped for in their lives, what they believed in, and so on. I was a bit surprised when almost everyone I talked to was eager to talk about politics and the elections. The *Lokh Sabha* election was just a few months away, and people seemed to relate to voting as a very serious business – almost as a sacred duty.

After my visit to the NGO and the slums, I decided to learn more about "democracy in the slums", so I returned to Chennai the next year for two more weeks to interview people solely about the meaning of voting.[1] In my ongoing

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research project, I am interested to know how the poor people of in the slums of Chennai relate to voting. How do they decide on whom to vote? What do they think about politics and politicians? How does democracy function in their case and in their views? This paper explores the preliminary observations on these issues based on interviews conducted in Chennai's major slums in 2015.[2]

The Good-for-nothing Politicians?

One of the questions I asked my interviewees was *"What kind of people become politicians?"* I quickly found that corruption and selfishness were often connected to politicians, something that is rather common in India (e.g. Banerjee 2011, 81), if not all over the world. Most people even seemed to think morality was not an attribute to affiliate with politicians as misuse of public funds was seen almost natural to them. A man in his late fifties used a Tamil proverb to buttress his view: 'Every politician is corrupted. […] There is a saying: "A man who goes to the mountain to take honey from a honeycomb will not stop from licking the back of his hand."'

The proverb means that the ones who are dealing with public money is bound to have some of it for themselves as well. A young fisherman told me he realizes that "politicians get a lot of money and power", and even though it is "our money," he continued modestly, "we would be satisfied if they use 75 % of it for their own benefits, and ensured that the remaining 25 % reached us common people." Moreover, politics, for many of my interviewees, was not really about working towards common ideological goals for greater good. At least not in practice. As an interviewee told me, "if you want to do good things for people, you don't become a politician. You join an NGO."

When I asked people what a good politician was like, many were amused or baffled by the question. I felt I was asking them what a good thief is like. They would answer that "politicians are just selfish and they are there for benefits. They do not care about the public" or that only "rowdies and illiterate people become

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[2]   I interviewed over thirty people, men and women, aged from 18 to 65 years. The participants were chosen randomly. My research assistant and I would go to a slum often with a contact from an NGO, and basically just interview anyone who we came across and who was willing to be interviewed. An interview lasted anything from 20 minutes to 1.5 hours. For most interviews, my research assistant acted as a translator. Some of the interviews were conducted in English, and interpretation was not needed.

politicians." When I insisted that they try to think of some positive qualities a politician should have, they would say that a good politician "knows the needs of his people" and is "available" to the voters. There was much to be done in the slums in terms of infrastructure, health, employment and education, and people were eager to ask for politicians for improvements. "Corruption" in the case of politicians in Chennai – and perhaps in India in general (e.g. Piliavsky 2014, 169) – actually meant for my interviewees that the politicians were not doing enough for their people and were not available for their requests.

If there were any good politicians at all, they were the leaders of the parties, and especially the past leaders, some of which were rather nostalgically revered for their charisma and benevolence. Some of them had had careers in the film industry, and one of the most famous actors-turned-politicans was called M. G. R. (Marudur Gopalan Ramachandran, 1917–1987), a former chief minister of the state. He was most commonly named when my interviewees gave me an example of a good politician. Many told me that it was because of his films that they liked M. G. R. as a politician too. (More on M. G. R., see e.g. Swaminathan 2002, Kannan 2017)

The leaders of the parties might have been good politicians too, or in a way *beyond* good and bad, because they were treated as superstars. Regular politicians were seen as selfish, and seemed to help people only in exchange for bribes whereas the leaders of the parties came up with schemes that might improve the living standards in the slums.

Election Time: Carnival of Promises

Even though politicians were often seen as immoral people, when one came to visit a slum during the election time, not many people missed the chance to see him or her. Even babies were named after politicians albeit in those cases the parents were most often members of the politician's party. Democracy seemed to materialize during the election time, which is very festive and filled with public meetings also in the slums, all over India (see e.g. Piliavsky 2014, 161-168). Candidates would visit different slums in huge processions and ask for votes. Or, more like *beg* for votes. This was something particularly joyous to my poor

informants as it the powerful and wealthy people would humble themselves before the slum-dwellers, not the other way around. As a middle-aged housewife told me:

> In my area candidates will come in a car to every street. Along with them 10 or more supporters will come [to my house]. They will say "amma, thaaye"[3] and ask for votes, […] and promise improvements in the area, like laying new roads, water facility and so on.

However, many lamented the fact that most promises the candidates made during the festive election time never materialized. As a man in his fifties told me:

> [The slum] will be crowded with politicians. Very festive. They say *"vanakkam"* [respectful greeting]. They will say they will have a road repaired, they will replace your huts. Some people from the party will always be around the area, asking for votes, bowing to us with lots of promises. Most of them won't keep their promises. They won't even care about the issues we are facing once we go to them after having elected them. They keep saying *"come tomorrow"* every time we ask for something. [Before the elections] [t]hey say *amma podu ayya podu* [mother and father vote for me]. Then they will let every promise fly in the air.

Another frustrated interviewee, a housewife in his 50s, became irritated even for me asking about promises the candidates make. She thought it was pointless for her to list them.

> Sometimes they fall on our feet begging for votes. They will say *"I will do this, I will do that"*. […] But why do you want us to list the things? Does it matter? They will tell but not do any of it. […] They promise good roads, lights, free food items under rations scheme. They just never keep their promises. Why waste time on talking about it?

I was intrigued by the lady's passionate response, and I asked if she or other people ever challenged the candidates when they came to beg for votes if they knew their promises would not come true. She replied:

> They usually come in groups and are influential. How would we talk back? They are all men! […] If we question we might get into trouble or be individually targeted by the party. They would listen and go away quietly and cause trouble for us later on.

Another middle-aged woman continued on the same lines:

> Many people will come saying *"vote for this and vote for that"*. Every party comes with a big band, singing, dancing with loud speakers three weeks before election. They say "*I will do this and that"* but they won't. They suck our souls after winning, that's what they do. After the elections nobody cares about what happens to us.

Some of the promises made by the candidates seemed very unrealistic indeed: a government job would be granted for every household in the slum, a university seat for the eldest child of every household, and petty kiosks would be turned into

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3   Two different words for mother in Tamil, something beggars say when asking for handouts.

supermarkets if the candidate were elected. It seemed like the promises made by the contesting candidates were sometimes like a hyperbolic verbal ritual that both sides knew meant little more than just that, promises.

However, there were also realistic and valuable promises about subsidized electricity, meals and salt, improved water distribution, free health care, and so on that had come true but were rarely mentioned by my interviewees. Perhaps because they were seen as basic amenities, and there was still much to be done in the slums.

The election time was still something looked forward to in the slums not only because of the festivities arranged on behalf of the political parties and individual candidates but also because there were plenty of employment opportunities for the slum-dwellers. Many of my interviewees were employed by the party organizations to help them in campaigning. As a young man told me:

> The people who take us to such event will mostly be my relatives. Through them the party gives 500 money per day, food and alcohol in the evening. We paste posters, we'll hold flags & make a lot of noise, we create publicity and have fun. Some walls have *"Don't stick bills here,"* but we have to put up posters even there, during the elections. This is our important work. We have to make sure publicity is created.

As the general attitude in the slums was that most politicians were good for nothing it was the parties, however, that were seen as very useful organizations that individual poor people could benefit from in many ways were he/she connected even remotely to one. Hence, actually, individual politicians became valuable too regardless of them being "worthless" in a general rhetorical sense.

So Why Vote?

In the beginning of their article, Ahuja and Chibber (2012, 390) describe how a rickshaw driver tells them how important voting is. He says, "If I don't vote, I am dead to the state." Ahuja and Chibber suggest that the poor related to voting as a *right* whereas the rich related to it as a way to *benefits*. There are other studies as well where it is suggested that the poor voters of India give special symbolic meaning to voting. Voting is one of the rare acts of citizenship they have equal

agency with the rest of the society. (See e.g. Banerjee 2011, 82) This was evident in my interviews as well. One citizen has one vote, and that is something special for the poor in the otherwise hierarchical society. "Everybody has to stand and wait in the same line to vote," as one of my interviewees said. I heard plenty of similar statements during my interviews: *"I vote because it's my duty,"* "It's our right and duty to vote," "Our presence should be asserted," and "It's the only way I should to mark my presence in this country."

These statements sound symbolic and idealistic, and they surely are significant to many, but there is also another, a more concrete and perhaps disillusioning meaning to them. Many of my interviewees actually thought they *had* to vote or else their names would be erased from the government's records and they would not be entitled to social security anymore. Many thought they would lose their right for housing and even their citizenship. Moreover, many of the people I interviewed thought they would not receive anything from the ration shops if they did not vote. I remained unclear if these ideas were brought to the people by the political candidates. My interviewees told me, for example, the following:

> "If I don't vote, how will I get ration card or *Aadhaar* [identification] card? They [the election officials] are looking at the voter's list. So, I never skip [voting]." [A middle-aged housewife]
> "Politicians tell us that only by voting we can get the benefits of the government schemes. So we have to make sure out vote is there." [A woman in her 60s]
> "How else will there be proof that I am born here? If I don't vote how will my name come in the ration card?" [A young male student]

These statements bring different light to the more symbolic interpretations emphasizing ideas of equality. Actually, some of my interviewees even felt voting and elections in general were a nuisance, not so much a symbolic ritual of equality. For example, a welder in his fifties began his answer to why he voted by saying it is the people's "right to select the ruler." Then he was quiet for a while and seemed to hesitate. He was a bit afraid of the consequences of talking to me, a stranger. My research assistant assured him it was OK to speak freely to me as I was from a faraway country. He seemed to relax and continued: "Too many campaigns makes me feel pressurized to vote and that is what is disturbing, free will is not an option. […] Families want us to vote."

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One reason for my interviewees to vote was indeed family-related. Most of my interviewees were closely or remotely connected to party politics, through family. The political parties are extensive organizations, and most people also did some part-time, full-time or miscellaneous work for a party organization or at least had a family member or a relative doing so. Many had relatives in relatively high positions in a party. Thus, it was in their interest to vote for that particular party, or at least their relatives tried to motivate or pressure them to vote. If the party won, the benefits – some more unofficial than others – would spread around the network to the voters. A politician would try to make sure that his vote-bank and kinsmen-cum-supporters would be rewarded for his/her success in cash, kind, bureaucratic favors or development projects. Even a relative working in a low position in the party organization would enjoy the benefits of a prosperous party and would use his/her position in the party to help out his/her relatives by arranging jobs for them or helping them with bureaucratic complexities that require unofficial leverage.

Hence, many people voted for a particular party because of very pragmatic reasons. For example, one a young man told me he detested politics and thought politicians were criminals (and he was actually not exaggerating much, according to Michelutti 2012, 61) but when it came to his own future, he would join a party:

> "I want to become a politician and get the benefits. They only have the power. There are the ones who rules. In a few years, I will take a stand and join a party."

Another interviewee told me many people vote for a candidate they even hated, and who belonged to a party the ideology of which they despised. The vote would be given for a very practical reason – the chance to get a loan, a gift, a job or other support through the relatives belonging to the candidate's party. As my interviewees told me:

> Even if somebody who doesn't do anything much for us is the candidate, the people coming [to the slums to campaign] with the candidates would be people from our families, our own relatives. It would be his *mama* [maternal uncle] or my *mama*. So, we would have to vote for candidates whom our relatives support and not opponents. **[**A fisherman in his 20s]
> Some people need favors – school or college admission seat, land problems – from the party. They make a guess as to who might have a better chance at winning and stick around that person to show their loyalty. The general assumption is that the winner would then

> reflect the loyalty and help the party member in dealing with problems that require muscle, blackmail or use of authority. [A middle-aged construction-worker, male]

Yet another concrete motivation to vote was also prevalent, that of preventing an election fraud. Many of my interviewees told me that during the election day the voters' list is unofficially available to the ruling party, so if someone skipped voting, the party affiliates could easily have someone else vote in their name. It was difficult to say how realistic this danger was but the people I interviewed did not like the idea of giving their vote away like that, especially if the vote might go to a candidate from a wrong party, so they voted.

Indifference and Manifold Meanings

Besides for the practical potential rewards through kinship networks, most of my interviewees were generally disillusioned by the political system in Tamil Nadu. A woman I talked to was married to a member of the ruling party. When she started to talk about politics, she seemed to laud it as an ideologically valuable thing, and she wanted to assure me how important it was to vote. However, when we were finishing the interview, she ended up venting her frustration:

> What does it matter to us? Whoever wins the election, it is not going to be a big difference for us. […] My husband is a fanatic but I am not. So I insist we shouldn't fight about it. Even in cricket, we argue. But does it really matter who wins?

Another interviewee, a taxi driver in his thirties said:

> The poor hope that somebody could change their life completely, and that is what makes them vote. Every five years they get disappointed. But, they are looking for a change. Also, they try to make money during the elections. Rich people don't care, they already have money.

In a way, he was right in that rich people do not care. Indeed, the more well-off people are not interested in the promises of the politicians. The more wealthy Indians go to private schools, have their own cooks, cars, and health insurances, so they do not need to be concerned about getting a seat at a public school, a free meal or what the price of the bus ticket is or how to get medical attention. They relate to politics mostly as a social welfare system for the poor.

Despite the cynicism and views that are far away from what could be described as democratic ideals, there were people who thought voting had real value, not only practical but democratic value:

> We are the ones who are going to decide who will rule us. And voting is the only way to do it. It is no use blaming the ruler when we don't vote at all. Our fate is in their hands. From the hair oil we use to the slipper on my feet is politics, everything will be decided by them, we should spend time deciding who that person it. **[A man in his 20s]**

The poor of India also vote to show loyalty to the local community or their caste/kinship networks than based on calculations of strictly individual's benefits. The manifold motivations to vote crystallize well in this quote:

> I vote according to my parents wish. Some vote for money, some are forced to vote by being taken in autos. I vote because it is my right. Whoever wins, nothing will change, so it doesn't matter. [A rickshaw driver in his 20s]

It was repeated to the point of saturation that the poor should be flexible, follow the hegemonic actors of their networks and vote accordingly – albeit the final decision was made at the voting poll. Nevertheless, criticizing the politicians was never the option:

> [We must remain neutral so as not get in trouble. Like a *naanal* [swan's neck in Tamil] we should bend accordingly. […] I think it's important. Even if I am sick I'll vote. The party people will bring vehicles to take us. So, I have voted always. [A male pensioner]

Exaggeration is evident in my interviewees' narratives of politicians and the political system, and much of the negative views reflect more on how challenging their everyday lives are for them. It seems like they feel the political society has neglected them, and that their voices are not heard. When they see well-off politicians making lucrative careers, particularly after making fantastic promises during the election-time, they are quick to judge them corrupt and good for nothing even if they work to improve the livelihoods in the slums, some more than others.

For example, most of my interviewees failed to mention how the government had provided the poor people with all kinds of schemes ranging from practically free health-care and daily meals to free household appliances. Moreover, every household in the slums of Chennai was guaranteed a monthly amount of free rice and free electricity. Moreover, the Tamil Nadu Civil Supplies

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Corporation distributes food grains, kerosene, sugar and other goods free or for a subsidized price for the poor. Although there seemed to be some irregularities and negligence in distributing these benefits to all people in the slums, they rarely came up in the interviews as something the government had done for the poor. Perhaps they felt the system could do a lot better.

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Socio-economic Perspectives on the Livelihood Security in a Changing Himachal Pradesh, India

Tikli Loivaranta, Reija Hietala and Rebecca Frilund

Abstract

The co-research project on 'Livelihood security in a changing socio-economic environment in Himachal Pradesh, India' gathered together around 30-35 researchers during 2009, and 2011-2015 from the University of Delhi, the University of Shimla, the Government Post-Graduate College, Chamba and the University of Turku. Our co-project was funded by the Academy of Finland. Among international articles and graduates (two Doctoral, three Licenciate thesis and five Master thesis) we presented the main findings in the project book involved 23 researchers (Singh, R.B. & Hietala, R. eds, 2014. Springer). Our results addressed the special reference to agricultural diversification, improving the land productivity, and to the wider scrutinizing of knowledge sharing, and community participation in the local carbon forestry initiatives. Also, the non-farm and tourism sector were to be tapped to ensure healthy ways of living, and the Indian NGOs were acknowledged in health and social sector. After this co-project, two Finnish doctoral studies are continuing concentrating on livelihood issues of migrating human groups which is a current phenomenon at the global level.

Introduction

In this co-project, the primary aspects of livelihoods that were addressed were the use of land cover among other natural resources, food, income as well as community participation in study areas in Himachal Pradesh, India. The project focused on three research tasks: 1. The roles of changing agricultural production, 2. Impacts of tree plantation activities and 3. The roles of tourism and the non-governmental organisations (NGOs) on the livelihood security of the involved communities. The study approach in most studies of this project was exploratory, with a broader aim to understand the relationships between land use patterns and livelihood within the local communities and as perceived by different groups and

organizations. The methodologies deployed cover a broad range from literature-based surveys to different types of field research.

Towards changing agricultural production in the obtaining for livelihood security

In mountainous Himachal Pradesh (Fig. 1), the land availability has been scattered and the small size of land holdings often leading to leave fallow. This is the challenging situation for livelihood security when at the same time there was seen in the larger farms the trend of the shifting from the cultivation of traditional crops to other crops like cash crops, vegetables, horticulture, floriculture and sericulture. During our co-project it was studied how the changing land use patterns of communities have impacts on the livelihood security in the study districts of Himachal Pradesh.

Food grain crops still dominate the cropping pattern of Himachal Pradesh, but cultivated area was slightly being diverted towards highly remunerative crops, such as fruits, off-season vegetables, and exotic vegetables during the 35-year study period (Thakur et al. 2014). These results were based on secondary data obtained from Directorate of Land Records, Horticulture and Agriculture: the percent share of total food grains in gross cropped area decreased from 91 % in 1972–1975 to 85 % in 2003–2006, and at the same time, the area under non-food grain crops has increased from 8 % to about 15 %. The similar trend of the cropping pattern change was also verified by Slariya (2014) in the districts of Kangra and Chamba in Himachal Pradesh based on the interviews of 200 respondents during 2012–2013. Slariya discovered that the farmers who have more than 2 ha of farming land are the ones changing their land use patterns; marginal farmers, having less land for agricultural activities, are not in a position to change their land use patterns. Marginal farmers still need to fulfil the needs of their families by cultivating food grains, especially wheat and maize.

However, the extent of crop diversification is a visible sign of agricultural development in Himachal Pradesh. It indicates growing commercialization and diversification, but the food grains dominate; features of subsistence economy still remain (Thakur et al., 2014). In addition, Singh and Jha

(2014) found that about one third of population practices subsistence farming because of unavailability of any other livelihood option in the region, and 37 % believe it to be a profitable means to utilize the land both for food production and livestock.

The results of the co-project showed that the shifting in traditional cropping pattern should be further monitored so that if there is a problem with food security, it can be solved. The government must act according to the needs and aspirations of the farmers at local level; and the policies should be framed after visiting farms in local areas. The plans should be locally adjusted, because every area has its specific geomorphological characteristics and the same plan cannot be implemented everywhere.

For better agricultural performance and improved land productivity in Himachal Pradesh, a cropping pattern suited for local agro-ecological conditions should be practiced. Irrigational facilities need to be strengthened to accelerate the process of crop diversification. Besides irrigation problems, the monkey menace is posing a threat for agricultural production. The governmental and agri-environmental roles are considerable in tackling these problems. Due to mountainous region and uneven terrain, there has been scattered land availability. Small size of land holdings and scarcity of land is often leading to leave small land holdings fallow, later transforming them into wasteland. An overall programme for supporting the farmers of small land holdings is needed. The government could offer e.g. timely seeds at subsidized rates as well as locally and ecologically sensitive farming support in order to maintain the most scattered land holdings profitable.

About the role of tree plantation activities for livelihood security

Despite the recent shift of emphasis from exploitation towards conservation, forest degradation continues to be the major trend that alters the landscape in the vicinity of the populated areas and towns. Although the forest cover has slightly increased in Himachal Pradesh during the recent years, the total carbon stock in the forest biomass has been decreasing (Ma et al., 2014). The forestry Clean Development Mechanism (CDM) projects are intended to mitigate climate change through

afforestation and reforestation (A/R) measures, thus sequestering carbon from the atmosphere and promoting sustainable development in the areas and communities where the carbon sink projects are implemented.

As the studied Clean Development Mechanism forestry project in Himachal Pradesh is one of the first pilot projects of this kind in India and in Asia, it was important to study whether the challenges have been met and how, and what can be learned from these experiences. According to the interviews of 120 people in 32 panchayats reported by Haapanen (2014), the project was generally welcomed and it had provided employment and other livelihood benefits for the villagers. However, as the findings also indicate, the project has largely failed to meet its goals for afforestation/reforestation; vast numbers of seedlings have either not been planted or they have not survived, certain conflicting interests over the dedicated land areas have not been solved, and the level of participation and knowledge sharing has been low. In most cases, the villagers have lacked financial and other incentives, or have not been aware of these, for becoming committed to the project implementation. In particular, most villagers were not aware of their possibilities to earn carbon revenues (CERs) from the plantations. Despite the currently low rates of the CERs, these could well have functioned as a stimulus for the User Groups and private land owners to effectively guard and maintain the plantations. As similar challenges have been found in other CDM projects, it is suggested that the wider scrutinizing of knowledge sharing and participation in the planning, implementation, and monitoring procedures of the carbon forestry initiatives are therefore called for (Loivaranta 2014). It is suggested that subsequent CDM and A/R projects emphasize institutional strengthening, especially in the arena of communications and interaction between different scalar levels. Fair and open sharing of information and responsiveness to feedback from local communities ought to be taken into account throughout the project to ensure successful implementation.

Tourism, ethnic groups, on-migration and NGO interventions in the context of livelihood security

Himachal Pradesh, especially the town of Dharamsala in Kangra region, is a preferred destination for both domestic and international tourists due to both the mountainous landscape and its part of Tibetan based culture in the upper part of Dharamsala, Mc Leod Ganj (Fig. 2.; also called 'Little Lhasa'). The tourist inflow in Dharamsala over the 5-year period of 2006-2011 increased especially by domestic tourists from 92,000 in 2006 to 148,000 domestic tourists in 2011 (Anand and Singh, 2014). The amount of foreign tourists increased slightly from 23,400 to 26,700 foreign tourists in 2011. The annual numbers of the tourists exceed approximately eightfold the number of the permanent population living in Dharamsala. Thus, Dharamsala belongs to the most touristic places in India (Hampton 2013).

In India, hill tourism composes a significant part of tourism development which requires the construction of hotels, apartments and associated infrastructure. With an increase in the population density in the district, limited land resources accentuated with lack of rainfall, increase in percentage of wasteland, urbanization, and migration, there is a tendency of diversification especially in non-farm and tourism sector. However, the need of proper management of solid waste has been felt by the local residents as well as tourists (Anand and Singh 2014). Without an effective and proper solid waste management programme and policies, the waste generated from various human activities can result in health hazards and have negative impacts on the environment, leading to a decline in tourism industry. Integrated solid waste management strategy focusing on Reduce, Reuse and Recycle should be promoted.

Tourism and farm economy are also seasonal livelihoods among Gaddis - an Indian indigenous tribe—in Bharmour and Dharamsala, which is why livelihood outcomes, strategies, and opportunities vary during a year (Hänninen 2014). Gaddis have developed their own culture of work through transhumant herding. Nowadays Gaddis have settled down on permanent houses mainly in Bharmour, Kangra region and other nearby areas and started to cultivate land.

Despite relatively low annual income, for example, the horticulturalists of Bharmour town area are satisfied with seasonal work and the received income, and seemed not to have an urgent need to change anything. Female labour workers of the study were willing to self-employ themselves in a small-scale business, although they lack not only land for subsistence agriculture, as well as financial and social capital, but also education and skills to run a business.

The case of the Tibetan newcomers, mainly living in the upper part of Dharamsala called Mc Leod Ganj (Fig. 3), supports the analytical relevance of on-migration, a term close to what has been called transit migration particularly in the fringes of Europe (Düvell 2012). The Tibetans arrive to India because they want to get a better education from the Tibetan premises and meet their religious leader, the 14th Dalai Lama. However, the Tibetan newcomers, who have relatively recently migrated from Tibet to India, often face socioeconomic and livelihood related difficulties in Dharamsala and in India in general, a country that struggles with its own poor. The newcomers are in a marginal position also within the Tibetan diaspora community because they are not familiar with all customs and habits of the Indian born Tibetans and seldom speak Hindi or English when they arrive, for example. As their level of education is also often lower in comparison with the Tibetans who have gone through the Indian schooling system, they often end in low paid jobs in tourism sector if they get work at all.

In the current globalized world, on-migration activities can be found far from the final destination; in addition, the final destination is often chosen after examining the opportunities that are available in situ, not determined beforehand. In the case of the Tibetan newcomers, the most desired destination is usually what they commonly call 'the west'. This is not unexpected in Dharamsala where the tourists, travelers and expatriates belong to the global wealthy who have access to mobility. Hence, unequal distribution of global wealth and uneven access to travel is very visible in Dharamsala. However, on-migration is not easy for the Tibetan newcomers as they hold an unofficial refugee status in India and the only passport that they can get is an Identity Certificate (IC), so called 'refugee passport'. The process of getting it can be slow, it is not accepted by all countries as a legal travel

document and visa can be easily denied because of the lack of internationally approved passport.

There are several NGOs in Dharamsala that concentrate specifically on the Tibetan newcomers or include them in their agenda. These NGOs provide schooling in computing and foreign languages, for example, and several NGO officials emphasize that they teach foreign languages for the newcomers because of their willingness to migrate further, among other motives (Frilund 2015). This support is important for the newcomers who face difficulties if trying to on-migrate, like difficulties to obtain passports and visas as unofficial refugees of India.

In Dharamasala, there is a division between the NGOs that get money from the state and the ones who do not, and also between the Indian and Tibetan NGOs and their ethnic communities. The NGOs' role is considerable in empowering women in that they provide training for skill development. Moreover, it is interesting to point out the collaborative functioning of Indian and Tibetan non-governmental organizations (NGOs) in Dharamsala area. The role of the NGOs is especially acknowledged due to their operations in health and social sector, and the fact that they concentrate on the very poorest and most marginalized people (Salmela 2014).

The managers of the projects must ensure accessibility to most poor women of the society, rather than to few women belonging to higher income and influential families. Government should play a firm role towards implementing its declared policies and take appropriate measures to handle the bottlenecks prevailing in the local self-government, and through an important tool of Community Need Assessment target the real need of the community. Potential of non-farm and tourism sector must be tapped to ensure better, sustainable, and healthy ways of living. On the basis of Composite Capital Index Score (CCIS), the low score holder tehsils need more policy thrust on capital assets to improve upon the livelihoods of the people (Singh and Nitu 2014). Although the performance of the programmes, e.g., MGNREGA is moderately satisfactory, they require adequate management and planning at the local panchayat level.

As summarizing, the qualitative improvement in the educational system with more emphasis on female technical and vocational education for self-employment generation is strongly suggested. Education as human capital and employment as livelihood outcome are synonyms for well-being of the people.

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Illustrations

Figure 1: The main study area located in the Himalayan foot hills, Dharamsala, India. Photo: Reija Hietala

Figure 2. Street view in Mc Leod Ganj in 2009, the upper part of Dharamsala, India. Photo: Reija Hietala

Figure 3. The upper part of Dharamsala town, Mc Leod Ganj in 2009. Photo: Reija Hietala

Mining Related Social Work Needs and Possible Ways Forward in Sundergarh District, Odisha

Satu Ranta-Tyrkkö

Modern life relies on the availability and extensive use of minerals, which are normally crystalline elements or chemical compounds formed as a result of geological processes (Nickel 1995). Metals and minerals are a central component of many of the artefacts and devices we daily use from kitchen tools, vehicles, mobile phones and medicines to the whole array of the complex material infrastructures necessary for the functioning of contemporary societies. Historically, minerals have been a key to political and economic power (Lynch 2002; Theis and Tomkin 2012, 212-213, 226), and continue to be crucial, for example, to the energy and arms industries (e.g. Padel and Das 2010). However, mineral extraction and consumption, as also the extraction of other (from the human perspective) non-renewable resources such as oil and gas, is infested with a number of problems.

Metals and minerals being a finite resource, their current (over) extraction takes neither into account the future needs of nor the long-term impacts for humans and other life forms on the Earth. (Padel and Das 2010.) Rather, their extraction causes spatial, temporal and ecological debts, which are rarely repaid to the communities where they accrue (and may, in fact, be impossible to fully compensate). The core problem is that the pros and cons of mineral extraction divide unevenly in space, which as such reflects and reproduces the long-term wielding of economic and political power both within and between societies. (Nixon 2011, Leadbeater 2014.) Spatially, the bulk of mineral extraction – mining industry – takes commonly place in politically and economically marginalized hinterlands, whereas the mineral consumption concentrates in affluent population groups and into metropolitan and other centres (ibid). Ecologically and temporally, the challenge is that mining industry always is somewhat polluting, and at times heavily and long-lastingly so, being thus harmful for people and other life forms close to the sites of extraction. When the processes of smelting and

refining are energy intensive, also the climate heating impact of the industry is significant (Padel and Das 2010).

This article takes a closer look on iron mining and its complex contextual factors and consequences in northern Odisha (until 2011 officially spelled as Orissa) in Eastern India, discussing these from a social work and specifically ecosocial perspective. Social work is an umbrella term that covers 1) the academic discipline, 2) the profession and 3) the broader social and political movement for inclusive welfare and greater social justice. However, the boundaries of social work being typically unclear (Doel 2012, 5), these subfields are not necessarily always called social work, but overlap, for example, with community and human rights work, involve people with different professional qualifications or even without any, and their actual proportions vary depending on the society and the issue in question. Whatever the situation, the position of social work is often ambiguous and requires balancing with conflicting interests in an operational environment defined by a number of actors, including the state.

Ecosocial work (alternatively ecological, environmental or green social work; the approach has many names) is an emerging social work research discussion, which emphasizes the dependency of human welfare on life sustaining ecosystemic processes. These processes are increasingly disturbed and damaged to the extent that the human kind is currently witnessing a planetary state shift, or systemic transformation, that may endanger the very survival of the humanity. Among other things, the on-going and intertwined ecological crises, such as the climate change, acidification of oceans, collapse of biodiversity and the increasing toxicity of environments increase social vulnerability, inequality and suffering by deteriorating the livelihood and economic bases of societies, increasing the frequency and severity of environmental calamities, food insecurity and violent conflicts, and forcing people to migrate. As such a world is not kind to the vulnerable and marginalized, the ecosocial standpoint is that social work has to do its own part to alter this vicious course of development, starting from bringing the natural environment (back[1]) in the social work scholarship and practice.

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[1]   The idea is that initially the natural environment actually had a role even in the western social work practice, but was then forgotten, whereas outside the globally hegemonic western social work discourse the importance of the natural environment for the welfare as well as hardships of communities has been always recognised.

Ultimately, the goal is nothing less than a broad based, interdisciplinary and sectors crossing ecosocial sustainability transition of societies into a post-growth world. Obviously, such a world has to be very different from the current mainstream one, and can only be achieved through fundamental practical and philosophical changes in values, lifestyles and resource use, accompanied with infrastructural and technological changes. (Matthies and Närhi 2014, 2017)

The article draws form the author's postdoctoral research[2] funded by the Academy of Finland (2014-2017), which explored the nexus of the ecological, social and economic consequences of the mining industry for local minority and low-income groups and individuals, and the implications of these consequences to social work. The research was particularly keen to produce social work specific knowledge on the connection between social and environmental disadvantage related to the mining industry. Moreover, it aimed to reflect the know-how, commitments and ethical responsibilities of social work in situations in which various stakeholders view and experience the environmental, social and economic impacts of the extractive industry differently, and to further elaborate these concerns against different temporal and spatial perspectives.

Empirically, the research focuses on two locations, one mining region in northern Finland and another one in northern Odisha. In the latter, the research was conducted in collaboration with the Tata Institute of Social Sciences. The data collection in India consisted of two relatively shorts sets of fieldwork (interviews and participant observation) in Sundergarh District in January-February and October-November 2015. The context and findings are discussed in more detail in Ranta-Tyrkkö and Jojo (2017 and forthcoming), this article summarizing the main points of the former. The views presented are the author's own. In what follows, this article provides a brief overview of the mining industry and its socio economic context in Odisha, thereafter discussing the situation in the iron-mining region in southeast Sundergarh district, ending with elaborations on the scopes and ways forward for ecosocially oriented social work in the region.

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[2] This article is based on the author's postdoctoral research project "The Consequences of the Mining Industry for Disadvantaged Groups in Northern Finland and Northern Odisha" funded by Academy of Finland 2014-2017.

The Mining Industry and Its Socioeconomic Context in Odisha

While India is a globally significant producer and consumer of metals and minerals, Odisha, together with the neighbouring states of Jharkhand and Chattisgarh, belongs to the most mineral rich states of India. Yet, despite the plentiful natural resources base, which also includes forests, hydropower and rich biodiversity on certain spots, Odisha has long been known as one of the poorest and most underdeveloped states of India. The situation is explained by the state's underdeveloped, subsistence oriented agrarian base, which nevertheless is the main source of livelihood of the majority (65 per cent) of Odisha's still predominantly (over 80 per cent) rural population (Behera 2016, 34). At the same time, the state is known for its proneness to draught, floods and cyclones. (Kanungo 2004, 99, Adducci 2013, 181.) In the all-Indian context, Odisha has been a supplier of cheap labour and raw materials to the national market (ibid).

More than a fifth (22,1 per cent) of the 42 million Odishans (2011 Census) belong to the Adivasi communities, Scheduled Areas covering 44,7 per cent of the state and 7 of the state's 30 districts, including the Sundergarh district, have an Adivasi majority. While an increasingly heterogeneous group, in general Adivasis suffer from multifaceted and long lasted marginalization (e.g. Singh et al 2015, Behera 2016), and are often alienated both from their earlier sources of land and forest based livelihoods and systematically discriminated against in the labour market (Kjosavik 2011, 121, Rout 2016). Until today, the economic development in Odisha has largely excluded the Adivasis and other poor communities; according to Behera (2016, 31-32, 63) more than 90 per cent of Odisha's Adivasi families live below the official poverty line. The vulnerable position of Adivasis is acknowledged, for example, with quotas securing access to higher education and government jobs, and with legislation that protects the distinctiveness of Adivasi cultures and customary rights to land especially in the Scheduled Areas. However, the legislation is not always respected, for doing so is rarely sanctioned.

Mining industry is notorious for its connections to class and security interests, privileged political and economic networks and patterns of unequal power and exchange, and Odisha is no exception. While mining has taken place in Odisha since British times and some large-scale mines have been an integral part

of the economic development of independent India, the neoliberal reforms from early 1990s onwards reformed also the Odishan mining. Especially since the turn of the millennium, the economic policy of Odisha has been to seek economic growth by creating a welcoming business environment for investment from India and abroad to harness the natural resources of the state, to industry and infrastructure projects (World Bank 2008; Mohanty 2014, 39). To achieve this, the state has created industrial zones and developed the infrastructures for transport, water and energy supply, aiming to make the state the leading mining and manufacturing hub of India (IBEF 2015).

Odisha's pro-mining and pro-industrial policy has enabled significant increase especially in iron ore-steel and bauxite-aluminium production, and the growth of the mining sector overall. By 2013-2014 there were 595 mining leases in Odisha, although not all of them were in operation (e.g. due to seizures caused by the then on-going Shah Commission investigations concerning operations with outdate or inadequate leases). Within the 11 year period from 2001-2 to 2011-12, the contribution of the mining sector to the Gross Domestic Product (GSDP) more than doubled (from 5.35 to 10.80 per cent) (Panda 2014, 42), which for many vindicates the economic reforms made. For critics, such as Mohanty (2014, 39) or Padel and Das (2010) such figures posit Odisha as a prime example of the capacity of global capital to take hold of resource rich areas.

The problem of Odisha's resource and export led industrial development has been that although it has brought wealth and economic development to certain sections and regions in the state, it has not fared well in equality and sustainability (Adducci 2013; Behera 2016, 63). On the contrary, Odisha has become a well-known case of the expected trickle-down effect of the economic growth not taking place; rather the disparities between different regions and social groups have aggravated (Panda 2008, Adducci 2013, Mohanty 2014). Moreover, prioritizing industrialization and mining has led to conflicts over land and forest, accelerating the systematic encroachment of Adivasi lands (Padel and Das 2008, 2010, Mohanty 2014, Behera 2016) and consequent displacement and all what follows from that. At the same time, the liberalization has failed to significantly diversify

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or strengthen the industrial base of the state and to generate more jobs (Adducci 2013, 186).

The above-described development owes at least partly to Odisha's peculiar pattern of caste-class domination. Since independence, the political and economic power in the state has remained with a narrow section of upper-caste groups, which have then been able to control the administrative and developmental networks of the state. Well placed to mediate the access to Odisha's mineral resources in the broader context of the developmental state, these groups have consolidated a role as a neo-rentier class central to organizing the intensification of mining (Adducci 2013, 182-183). In so doing, the same groups have also largely administered the distribution of welfare, public goods and services under various government schemes (Mohanty 2014, 40-41; of similar processes in Jarkhand see Shah 2011).

Overall, Odisha's development has been socially and regionally uneven benefitting mainly the educated middle classes, cities and the wealthier coastal area while intensifying marginalization and poverty in other areas. Noting the size of Odisha's rural, Adivasi, Dalit and OBC population, for Mohanty (2014, 41-42) the situation, unchallenged by political parties due to their own patriarchal, caste and class base, represents nothing but a crisis of democracy. Many see it thus as not entirely surprising that more than two thirds of Odisha is at least to some extent affected by the so-called Naxalite movement (ibid.), while Naxalism has also become a much-abused term to brand anyone demanding for social and economic justice as a potential enemy of the state (Singh 2006). At any rate, the conflict has brought the central security forces and the state armed police into the mining regions and made the common people fear intimidation and violence, which are a concern also for the few anti-mining activists in the state.

Mining and Social Work in Southeast Sundergarh District

Many of the above-described features can also be recognized in the southeast Sundergarh district, where first mines started operating already during the British rule. One of the biggest mines in the region is the Barsua Iron Mine established in the beginning of 1960s, which functions as the captive mine of the Rourkela Steel

Plant. There are, however, dozens of other (mainly iron) mines big and small, some with shorter, some with longer history in the region.

Initially, the region was thickly forested and home to the Pauri Bhunia and Munda Adivasi communities. Many from these communities however withdrew from the region when the construction of the Barsua Iron Mine and its adjunct railway line started in late 1950s. In came Adivasi labourers from nearby areas in Odisha and (contemporary) Jharkhand. Being already accustomed with being in contact with the non-Adivasi world, many settled permanently in the region. Today, a number of their descendants continue to live in the so-called hutments, equal to slums in urban areas, near the railway line, or in the small villages close by. Providing flexible outsourced labour for the mines, especially men work either as drivers of the ore trucks that move between the mines and the dumping grounds by the railway line, or as loaders of the ore to the railway carriages, in which also women are involved. (Ranta-Tyrkkö and Jojo 2017, 111.)

The small section of the better off Adivasis in the region are usually descendants of those work-based migrants, who understood the value of education and took care to educate their children. Many run small businesses of their own, such as transportation companies having a few trucks, some have a job in the mines, in addition to which some have engaged themselves with the local politics and governance. Educated professionals, owners of small private mines, shopkeepers and other entrepreneurs come mainly from elsewhere in Odisha or India. Only a few of them have brought their families along, the main reason being the poor educational and medical facilities available added with the generally harsh conditions, which include particularly vicious forms of malaria, heavy traffic on constantly damaged roads, and the everywhere present iron dust. Many claim to have come only to make money, explaining that the circumstances are not appealing to the kind of professionals needed to improve the general standard of services and living in the region. (Ranta-Tyrkkö and Jojo 2017, 111-112.)

The presence of outsiders in the still Adivasi dominated region has nevertheless had an impact on the local caste and class relations. In view of the Adivasi informants, those from outside tend to think of themselves as higher and

the Adivasis as lower and less deserving, and have their means to orchestrate the society so that its fits to this perception. Interestingly, many of the Adivasi informants also pointed that neither the locally present political parties not the trade unions were on their side, but run by outsiders merely generated divisions between the local people, as if the aim would be keeping them politically inactive and disunited. Overall, the only ones praising the trade unions were the mining company representatives. (Ranta-Tyrkkö and Jojo 2017, 112.)

Mining determines the conditions of life of everyone, whether or not one's livelihood is directly connected to it. The earlier feasible land or forest based livelihood opportunities, such as collecting and selling non-timber forest products, cultivation or animal husbandry are either no longer an option or have become very difficult to pursue. Water sources are largely polluted, the fertility of the soil is compromised, and domestic animals fall often ill. In places where mineral rich mud keeps flooding from the mines during the rainy season the soil has turned sticky and unsuitable for cultivation. Forests are rapidly decreasing, and hungry wild elephants are common and dangerous nuisance in the remaining fields and gardens, eating and spoiling the produce. (Ranta-Tyrkkö and Jojo 2017.)

For many of the Adivasis in the regions, shifting fully to wage economy has not been only a blessing. Although earlier there was even less money, the forest and the fields fulfilled many daily needs. Women used to be economically independent, earning money from the non-timber forest products. The available jobs being nowadays primarily mining related and for men, women, children and elderly are dependent on the income the males of the family earn. The trouble is that people who have fairly recently shifted into monetary economy are not always well versed with money and especially its planned use. What is earned is quickly gone, and the needs of the family members are often neglected. Further, many low-skilled labourers expect their children to end up with similar jobs and see little value in investing their education. (Ranta-Tyrkkö and Jojo 2017, 111-112.)

Nearly everyone from company representatives to shopkeepers and majority of the labourers is rather pessimistic about the future of region. With

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mining, alcoholism has become a major problem, for alcohol is believed to bring solace and even to protect from the harmful health impacts of the work. At the same time, the common vision is that iron will be mined until the deposits are finished, which may well take another hundred years. In the end, the environment will be totally spoiled so that when mining ceases, people cannot but move away. Meanwhile, the benefit of mining is that at least some children will get education and can leave elsewhere. (Ranta-Tyrkkö and Jojo 2017, 112.)

From a social work perspective, the peculiar feature of the region is that social work is virtually absent. While some consider voluntary work in organizing festivities or temple building as social work most of the local people have no clue what does social work possibly stand for. Unlike in most other places (even in rural) India, not a single social or rural development NGO seems to be active in the region, not to mention systematic and concentrated efforts to empower the people and improve their welfare. Notwithstanding some basic government run welfare schemes, such as the integrated child development scheme, old age pensions (INR 300 per month at the time of the interviews), or distribution of subsidized rice (which seem to cover some villages better than others), the infrastructural development in the region is minimal (main roads) and serves mainly the needs of the industry. It is obvious that the mineral wealth of the region has not brought much welfare to the region itself. (Ranta-Tyrkkö and Jojo 2017, 113.)

Instead of having much faith in the government or the voluntary sector, people put their hopes in the corporate social responsibility (CSR) practices of the mining companies. These include, for example, providing community halls and drinking water posts, and sponsoring cultural or sports events and the salaries of some teachers in the under-resourced local schools. However, as much as the CSR activities are needed, they tend to promote charity-based approach to welfare, are not very coordinated between companies, and generally favour locations where the companies would like to expand their actual business. For the time being, neither the government schemes nor the CSR succeed to provide the local poor means to get permanently out of poverty. (Ranta-Tyrkkö and Jojo 2017, 113-114.) Changing the situation would require structural changes being attentive to the

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analysis and aspirations of the disadvantaged people, but the existing approaches remain largely paternalistic and curative, continuing to establish the Adivasis as backward and in need of civilizing.

Concluding Notes: Ways forward?

While there is a lot to do, from a social work perspective the situation depicted above is in many ways complex and challenging. Although the ecosocial goal would be to significantly downsize the mining industry while pawing the way for more sustainable livelihood options, in the iron-mining region in the Sundergarh district this is unlikely to be the case anytime soon. Rather, mining will continue, presumably in ever more cost-effective forms, which means that it hardly generates more jobs. Even when employment is an important justification for mining in the Sheduled Area, the kind of low-skilled jobs that are commonly within the reach of the locals (mainly in the transportation of the ore) have a future only as long as they remain cheaper than further mechanising the process. Meanwhile, the mining economy eats the ground from other livelihoods.

To alter the situation, other potentials of the region and its people should be acknowledged and systematically developed, but this requires challenging both the resource utilization based model of development and the dehumanization of Adivasis past and present. Starting from the latter, in Indian social work, which was initially a colonial import and has since then engaged people mainly from higher caste backgrounds, developing Adivasi centred work (e.g. Bodhi 2016) is a relatively recent endeavour. (Ranta-Tyrkkö and Jojo 2017, 115.) Notwithstanding the currently limited amount of Adivasi social work practitioners and scholars, in an Adivasi dominated region like Sundergarh it is nevertheless difficult to imagine any other locally credible way forward. While best formulated by Adivasi practitioners together with the communities they engage with, such an approach has to be grounded in the recognition of the distinctness of Adivasi worldviews (without essentialising them) and be willing to deal with Adivasi experiences of colonialism, cultural knowledge and traditions. While requiring an egalitarian context to succeed, also needed is a structural orientation paying attention to ecological issues and the fragmentation of local communities and.

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At the same time, social work like everything else in the society needs both structures and resources. Noting the current absence of social work as well as the generally poor quality of educational and health services in the region, the political and administrative system should encourage and support the entry of good quality welfare and educational services to the region. Even so, the challenge is how to make these truly inclusive also for the poorer sections of the local Adivasis. In the minimum, the Adivasi worldviews and forms of social organization should be taken as a starting point and as resources to build on, not as something to be abolished or pitied. Naturally, an important step would be putting the existing pro-Adivasi legislation in practice to ensure the rights of the Adivasis and, in the spirit of the law, limit those of the outsiders in the region.

What takes place at the mining regions is connected to broader patterns of production and consumption, which makes also the ecosocial approach necessary. However, in a country like India where many lack the fulfilment of their basic material needs, the ecosocial goal to dematerialise economic development and welfare may easily sound mere humbug of privileged few well fed social work eccentrics. While I hope this need not to be the case, the challenge (applying the formulation of Padel et al 2013, xiv) is nothing less than to reclaim the fundamental concepts of modern societies, namely development, growth, democracy, and freedom. As these things mean different things from different perspectives, the process necessitates dealing with deeply conflicting values and worldviews that are further backed up with very uneven dozes of economic and political power. It is thus likely that reductions in mineral extraction will continue to be opposed by the extractive industries and finance. At the same time, in the midst of the ecological crisis it is clearer than ever that fundamental changes in the globalized resource extraction system limiting the power of corporations are acutely needed.

As the above makes clear, ecosocial work, like social work in general, is a deeply political endeavour, as is the neoliberal project socializing various actors to accept the rationality of the markets and depoliticising issues such as politics or distribution, cultural recognition of marginalised groups, and seeing people attached to the land as backward. While widely acknowledged as the best

guarantee of peaceful society, inclusive welfare systems everywhere, also in Finland, have only been achieved through political struggle. For the struggle to be empowering and in line with social work values, also the process and not only the outcome matter. On one hand, long silenced and culturally disempowered Adivasis are not necessarily instantly ready to challenge their situation, nor are the viewpoints of poor Adivasi labourers always similar to those of educated urban activists. On the other hand, one cannot underestimate the importance of political and collective mobilization and the capability to negotiate and network at multiple fronts. While this may mean both collaboration with the corporations and government and resisting when necessary, critical questions remain: How to ensure that the state, government and ruling elites are responsive to the needs of Adivasis and other marginalized local people dependant on the land? Presuming that everyone wants a viable planet also for their descendants, what does it take that different sections of the society can see that at the end of the day their interests need not to be that contradictory?

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Managing Across Cultures with Cultural Intelligence Quotient (CQ): Study of Finnish Business Leaders Experience in India

Narashima Boopathi Sivasubramanian

The globalised business world requires business leaders to possess cultural capabilities to function effectively across different cultures. To assess this cultural capability, various cultural theories and models have been proposed by a number of authors. One of the prominent cultural capability theory in the recent time is Cultural Intelligence (CQ). "Cultural Intelligence Quotient (CQ) refers to an individual's capability to function and manage effectively in culturally diverse settings" (Early and Ang 2003). CQ is the set of capabilities that enables an individual to function effectively in new cultural settings, that is different from their own (Early and Ang 2003; Ang and Inkpen 2008: 341). "CQ is a construct that assess multiple aspects of intercultural competence based on a theoretically grounded, comprehensive and coherent framework" (Ang, Dyne and Tan 2011). CQ capability allows individuals to understand a wide range of cultures and can facilitate leaders to adapt in various cultural settings (Early and Ang 2003; Thomas 2006; Ng and Early 2006; Ng, Dyne and Ang 2009:514). Individuals with high CQ, are more capable of recognizing discretionary contributions that would be viewed positively in a particular cultural context (Dyne, Ang and Nielson 2007). My doctoral thesis, *Managing across cultures with Cultural Intelligence Quotient (CQ) – Study of Finnish business leaders experience in India*, is based on these reflections. It was submitted to the Department of Management, University of Vaasa in 2016. This chapter provides a summary.

Cultural Intelligence Quotient (CQ) consist of four dimensions— Motivational CQ, Cognitive CQ, Metacognitive CQ and Behavioral CQ. According to Ng, Dyne and Ang (2009:101) "Motivational CQ refers to the capability to direct energy and attention toward learning about and functioning in situations characterized by cultural differences. Cognitive CQ refers to the knowledge of norms, practices and conventions in different cultures acquired from educational and personal experiences (Early and Ang 2003). Metacognitive CQ

refs to the awareness and control of cognitions used to acquire and understand information (Ng, Dyne and Ang 2009:101). Behavioral CQ refers to the capability to exhibit appropriate verbal and non-verbal actions when interacting with people from different cultures" (Ng, Dyne and Ang 2009:101).

The CQ theory claims that individuals with high level of CQ capabilities have higher level of intercultural interactions in any culturally diverse situation (Ng, Dyne & Ang 2009:245). Furthermore, according to Earley & Ang (2003), Thomas (2006); Ng & Earley (2006); Ng, Dyne & Ang (2009:514) CQ capability allows the individual to understand a wide range of cultures. In a sense, according to CQ theory individuals who score high on four capabilities (motivational, cognitive, metacognitive and behavioral) can perform better in any intercultural situation (Ng & Earley 2006; Ng, Dyne & Ang 2009). Moreover, CQ theory also positions itself as a culture free construct which can be applied in any cultural situation (Dyne, Ang & Nielsen 2007:345). In this context, this study is dedicated to investigate the rationale behind the claim that individuals with high CQ have better intercultural interaction. In a sense do the leaders with high CQ really perform better and in what ways they recognize the cultural differences intercultural situation? Likewise, does CQ capabilities are applicable in culturally pluralistic environment such as India. Besides, it is also equally important how the individuals with different CQ capabilities view the challenges and evaluate them between his or her own country with the foreign country. Moreover, there are few or no studies exist on the applicability of CQ theory by business leaders in single country environment. Therefore, this thesis is dedicated to find out how Finnish business leaders from individualistic culture like Finland apply CQ theory in a contrasting environment such as India which collectivistic and culturally pluralistic in nature. In this background the main objective of this study is to investigate "To what extent and in what ways CQ facilitates the Finnish leaders in leading people in Indian environment?". In order to investigate the main objective four sub questions were also set.

This study used qualitative method and data was collected using two sources of data i.e. a 20 item scale CQ questionnaire and 22 semi-structured interviews. This study has been focused on to find out how Finnish business with

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different CQ level identify differences, challenges and the skills require to work in Indian business environment. Therefore, first the researcher gave the 20 item CQ questionnaire which includes questions about demographic characteristics. After that the researcher conducted the semi-structured interview. During the analysis first the CQ scores of respondents and their demographic characteristics were analysed. Based on the CQ scores four levels or categories low, satisfactory, moderate and high CQ emerged. Therefore, the interview transcripts were placed according to the scores (low, satisfactory, moderate and high). However, in the low and satisfactory level there was no respondents. Out of twenty two ten interviewees came under moderate CQ level and 12 respondents came under high CQ level. After segregation of interview transcripts of moderate and high CQ respondents was analysed.

The quality of data is one of the important thing that lead to in depth findings of the study. This study interviewed in total 22 Finnish business leaders mostly from top management who represents diverse industries. The interviewees represented both the genders and also different generations who have wide range of study, work and travel experience. All of the interviewees are Finnish citizens who have worked and working with Indian business environment and deal with Indians on regular basis. Also all the interviews were conducted via face to face mode in order to get the real experience of the respondents who explain the phenomenon from their experience. All the above mentioned factors ensures the quality of data which lead to innovative findings.

It is apparent from the results, that the cultural distance between both the countries is wide and underlines the need of cultural ability in order for individuals to work in Indian business environment. By drawing on the empirical data, the thesis extends CQ theory and proposes two new dimensions: Experiential CQ and Network CQ in addition to four existing dimensions of CQ such as motivational CQ, cognitive CQ, metacognitive CQ and behavioural CQ. Key findings indicate that individuals cannot be successful in another culture without having the ability to experience cultural things and make sense of them (Experiential CQ) as well as being capable of building local relationships (Network CQ).

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The Experiential CQ is the capability to sense or make sense of the experience of cultural things, norms, practices etc. In terms of Experiential CQ the study propose one sub-dimension, which is `sensing´ the experience. Reading or knowing the cultural norms or practices does not automatically transform the individual to internalize it. Instead individuals, require extra capability to sense the experience from the cultures and make sense of it. The CQ capability such as Cognitive CQ certainly help to expand the knowledge about the cultural systems, cultural norms and values. However, having theoretical knowledge may only help the individuals to see the behaviors and practices of the culture at surface level, rather than looking at the core values of culture in a deeper manner. Certain core values of culture can only be understood by sensing or experiencing it. Moreover, not all the knowledge about a culture and its norms can be just learned through theoretical knowledge as there may be a lack of explanation for those things scientifically or theoretically. Therefore, individuals can make sense only through experience which requires sensing capabilities which result in the formation of experiential CQ capability.

Network CQ is the capability to develop relationship and gain trust in the cross-cultural environment. Network CQ, there are two sub-dimensions such as exposure to relationship and trust. Relationship and trust play a crucial part in people's life across the globe whose significance cannot be undervalued. Across the globe in several countries, it is highly important to have successful business relationship. Business relationships and personal relationships both require high level of capabilities to establish and build trust. Even though the existing four capabilities of CQ are distinctive in their own way, it does not address issues such as relationship and trust exclusively, as they are the pillar of any successful liaison. Having theoretical knowledge about cultures may not automatically enable the individuals to create trust and relationship. The trust and relationship goes hand-in-hand. Relationships are crucial to establish trust and trust is crucial in establishing relationship. As trust and relationship play a major role in the any culture the scale of its relevance to gain exposure cannot be underestimated. Trust and relationship is understood, practiced and exhibited in variety of different ways. Trust and relationship also have different interpretation in different

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countries. Therefore, network CQ and its sub-dimensions are crucial in order to make the theory more pertinent across different cross-cultural environments and countries.

This doctoral thesis offers a major and very important contribution to CQ theory by recommending two additional dimensions experiential CQ and network CQ in addition to four capabilities of CQ motivational CQ, cognitive CQ, meta-cognitive CQ and behavioural CQ. This is one of the few study that has been done using qualitative method at the same combining two sources of data A) 20 item CQ scale and B) semi-structured interview. Therefore, this study offers a significant methodological contribution. Likewise, this study also offers a significant contextual contribution by investigating the Finnish business leaders who are from individualistic culture and their experience in culturally pluralistic and collectivistic culture such as India.

This thesis has a number of practical implications for Finnish and western organizations who are dealing and will deal with Indian business environment. First, this study confirms CQ as an important capability for the individuals who work across globally. Therefore, organizations to pay attention to develop CQ capabilities among their managers who deal with other countries and in particular India. Second, this study identifies key differences and challenges between India and Finland which Finnish organizations should take seriously when dealing with India. Third, one of the important implications for Finnish business leaders, is to be aware of the cultural distance between Finland and India. The results of the study identify differences between India and Finland that are a bigger revelation for the business leaders to be calculate the cultural distance by understanding the nuances of the Indian cultural environment to a greater extent. Fourth, the key findings of this thesis emphasis relationship, trust and experience as crucial thing while dealing with Indians and Indian business environment which has to be taken seriously by the Finnish business leaders and organizations. Besides, this study also emphasize the significance of communication, open-mindedness and patience which are significant for the Finnish organizations dealing with India.

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Jukka Jouhki is a Docent of Ethnology, and holds a Ph.D. in Cultural Anthropology. Currently, he is working as a Senior Researcher at the Department of History and Ethnology in University of Jyväskylä. In addition to India, Jouhki has conducted ethnographic research in South Korea, China and The Gambia. Concerning India, his research has focused on various topics starting from his doctoral dissertation (2006) examining the relationship between European residents of Auroville, an intentional community in rural Tamil Nadu, and Tamil Indians in the neighboring villages. Jouhki has also conducted research on gender and mobile telephony in the coastal villages of Tamil Nadu. Currently, he is examining two separate topics on India: the meaning of voting in the slums of Chennai, and the experiences of Finnish executives working in India. In 2016 Jouhki produced a filmed documentary entitled Päivä Intiassa / A Day in India (published by Yle) which focused on the lives of two Finnish women living and working in India.

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Dr. Mari Korpela is senior lecturer at the University of Tampere. She has a Ph.D. is social anthropology and she has conducted extensive ethnographic research among Western lifestyle migrants in India. Her Ph.D. "More Vibes in India. Westerners in Search of a Better Life in Varanasi" (2009) focused on the lifestyle migrant community in Varanasi and in her postdoctoral study, she investigated the lives of lifestyle migrant children in Goa. She has also conducted interview research among highly skilled Indian expatriates in Finland. Her research interests include anthropology of childhood, 'third culture kids', lifestyle migration, transnational communities, countercultures, gender and travel, skilled migration and ethnographic research methods. She has been a visiting scholar at the Sussex Centre for Migration Research, UK, and the University of Goa, India. Dr. Korpela has published in both national and international journals and she has authored several book chapters for international edited volumes. She has also edited three books.

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