



## तकनीकी पत्रिका विषय-सूची

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**Vol.4 No.12, December, 2020**

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**CONSULTING EDITOR** Anumita Roychowdhury

**Vol 29, No 10; Total No of Pages: 60**

Editorial, subscriptions and advertisements:  
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New Delhi 110 062.

Phone: 91-11-40616000, 29955124,  
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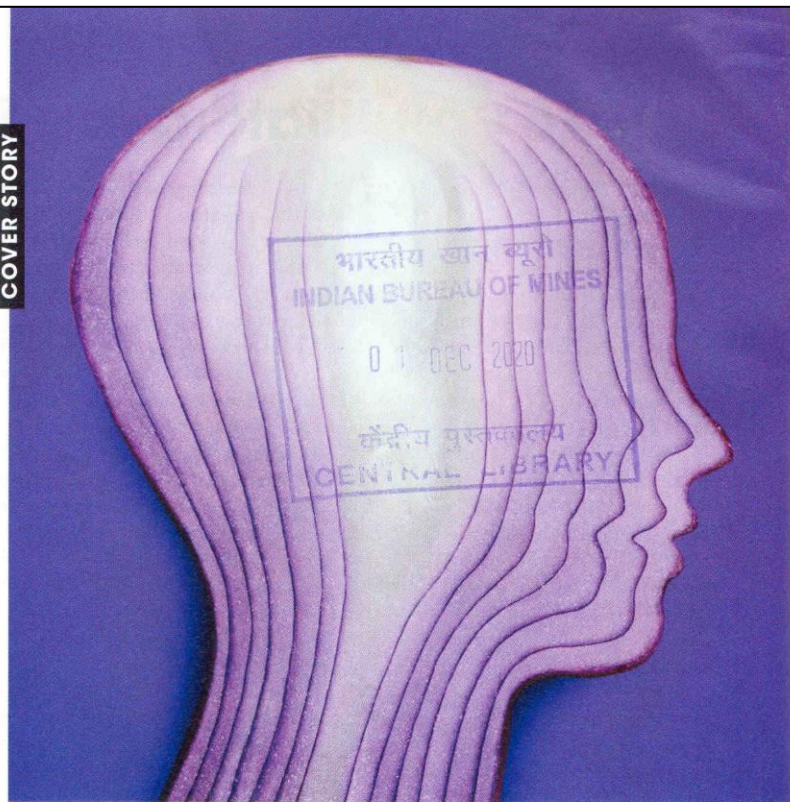
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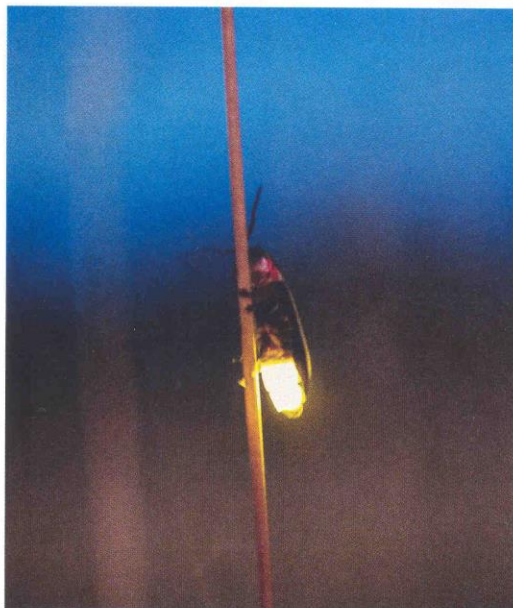
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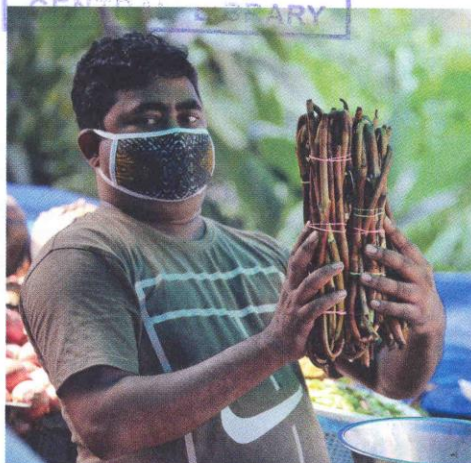
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**Vol 29, No 11; Total No of Pages: 60**

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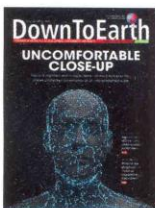
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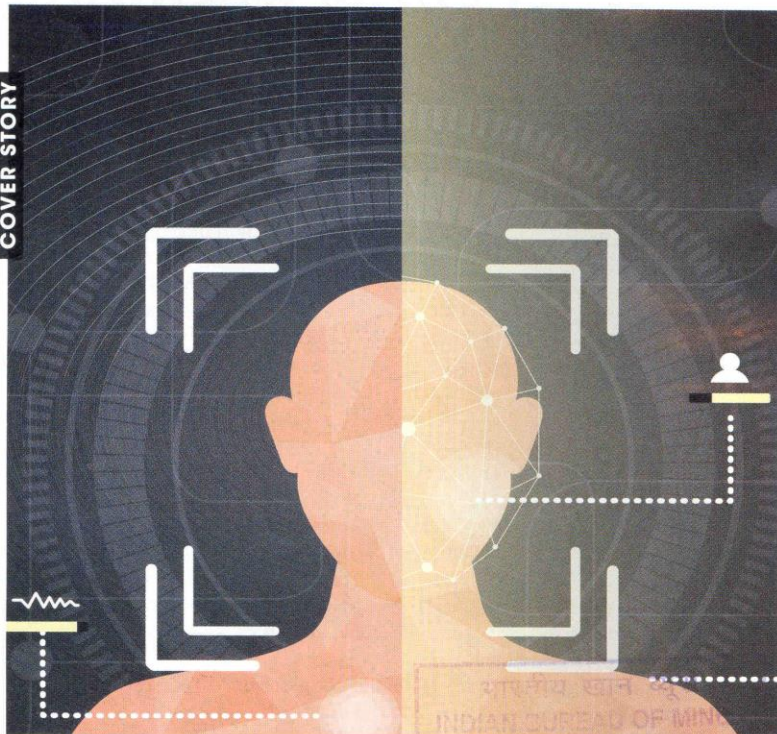
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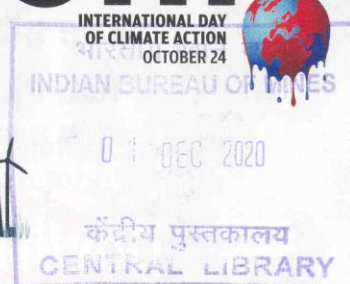
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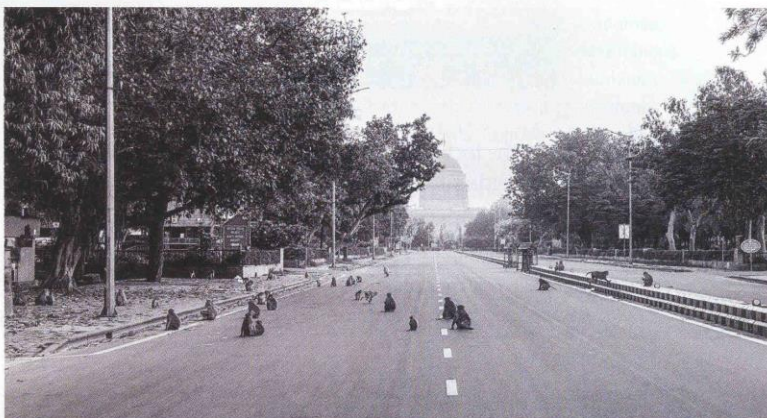


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Vol 29, No 12; Total No of Pages: 60

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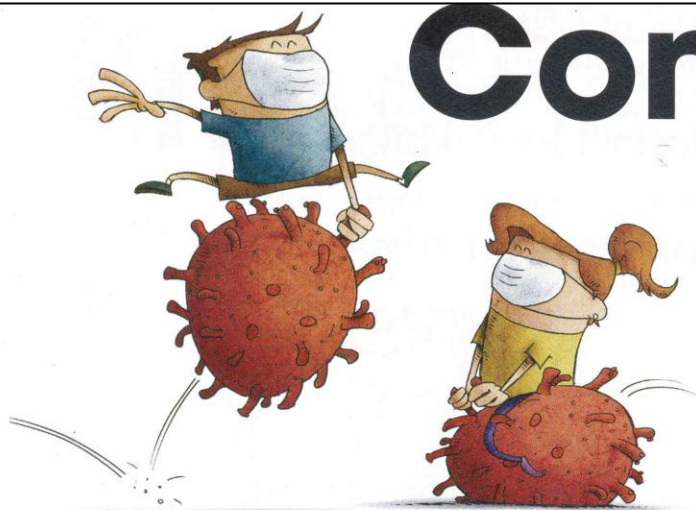
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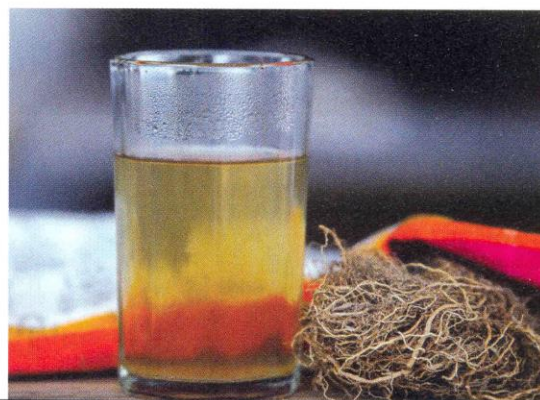
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Vol 29, No 15; Total No of Pages: 60

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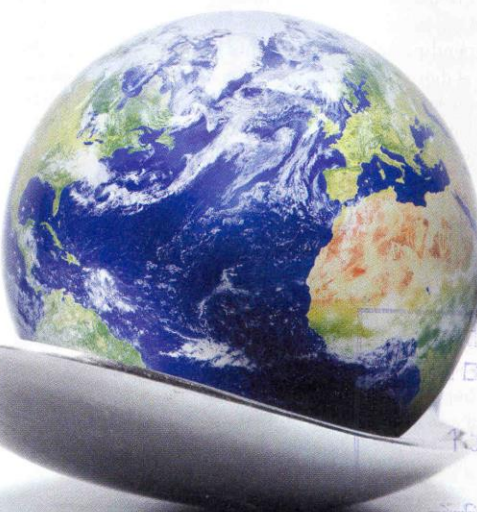
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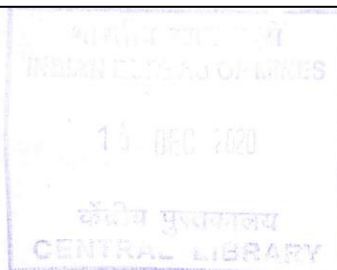
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## Review of Rural Affairs

Five papers discuss diverse themes relevant to agriculture and the rural economy, such as the impact of heatwaves and droughts on agricultural production in India over three and a half decades; the drivers and constraints determining the participation of small farmers in two types of marketing chains; the transition of agricultural labourers in Punjab over three decades using longitudinal surveys; the labour market implications of growth in the agricultural sector, specifically on the female labour force participation rate in rural Punjab; and the causes of stagnation in the agricultural sector in Maharashtra.

## Climate Change and Agriculture

Agricultural adaptation and resilience to extreme events over the last three and a half decades are analysed using secondary data. [page 5](#)

## Farmers and Organised Retail

The drivers and constraints determining small farmers' participation in two different types of marketing chains in Haryana are examined. [page 13](#)

## Agricultural Labourers in Transition

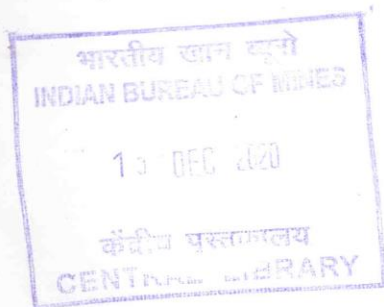
The transition in agricultural labour households in Punjab is presented by assessing the changes in the structure of rural employment over the periods 1987–88 and 2018–19. [page 21](#)

## Employment of Rural Women

To tackle the issue of low female labour force participation in rural Punjab, policies need to address the constraints imposed by gender norms. [page 29](#)

## Agriculture in Crisis

The agricultural sector in Maharashtra is reeling under acute distress due to long-term policy neglect and misplaced priorities. [page 36](#)



### Review of Rural Affairs

This edition of the *Review of Rural Affairs* brings together a set of five papers that traverse diverse themes related to agriculture and the rural economy in India. These papers present interesting insights, both from the analysis of secondary data as well as from longitudinal surveys and field-based studies, on the transitions underway in the agricultural sector and also provide suggestions for policymaking.

### Droughts, Heatwaves and Agricultural Adaptation: A Historical Account for India

- 5 There has been an escalation in the frequency and intensity of extreme events such as droughts and heatwaves that are attributed to climate change. The paper examines the impact of heatwaves and drought on agricultural production in India, over 1981–2015 on 10 crops, namely paddy, jowar, bajra, maize, tur, groundnut, soybean, wheat, mustard, and gram. It finds that the adaptation to climate variability has happened on account of advancements in technology, increased awareness, institutional learning, and other strategies to cope with droughts. However, it shows that there exists considerable variation across crops regarding the adaptability to climatic variability based on the sensitivity of the crop to water stress and heat, crop responsiveness to irrigation and cost of adaptation in relation to value of the crop. — *Ashutosh Kumar Tripathi, Sumita Sindhi*

### Small Farmers and Organised Retail Chains in India

- 13 To assess the drivers and constraints determining the participation in two types of marketing chains, the farmers selling vegetables to Mother Dairy, an organised retail chain, are compared with those selling to the local *mandi* in Haryana. The findings point to the significance of farm size in determining farmers' participation in organised retail chains. Using the Heckman selection-correction model, it is found that though the income of participating farmers increases, this depends on the farm size. The Ginni coefficient shows that the inequality in income distribution is more among the participating rather than the non-participating farmers. — *Jitender Singh*

### Punjab's Agricultural Labourers in Transition: A Longitudinal Study of Three Decades

- 21 The transition of agricultural labour households over three decades in the rural economy of Punjab is elucidated using longitudinal surveys conducted in 1978–88 and 2018–19. The extent and the magnitude of this transition are analysed, revealing that, with time, the income pattern of households has changed, which is mainly attributed to changes in the pattern of employment. Further, policy measures are suggested to improve the levels of living of this stratum of the rural society. — *Sukhpal Singh, Shruti Bhogal*

### Employment of Women in Rural Punjab: Deconstructing Agricultural Growth Policy

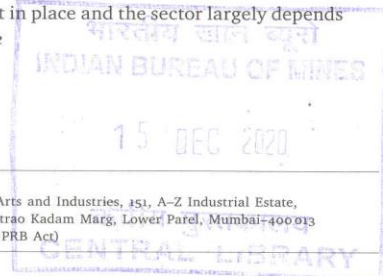
- 29 The labour market implications of growth in the agricultural sector, specifically on the female labour force participation rate in rural Punjab are assessed. Using both secondary and primary sources of data, it is argued that agricultural growth and crop diversification strategies are not enough to improve the labour force participation rate. Although the employment policies focusing on faster growth, that are based on growth models in economics assuming zero transaction costs, expected that growth itself would generate employment, the paper points out that these policies ignored the social, demographic, and economic constraints faced by women. — *Ashapurna Baruah, Indervir Singh*

### Development Challenges for Agriculture in Maharashtra

- 36 The agricultural sector has been under tremendous stress in Maharashtra. Arguing that the state policy has dished out a raw deal to the agricultural sector, the path of this retrogression and the reasons behind the trends are traced. It is found that the agricultural sector is losing cultivable land to other uses as stagnation has set in, which is also accompanied by a sharp increase in small and marginal holdings. The state has no agricultural policy document in place and the sector largely depends on sporadic firefighting approaches. — *Khalil Shaha, S Yogeshwari & R S Deshpande*

Economic & Political Weekly SUPPLEMENT

Printed and published by Gauraang Pradhan, for and on behalf of Sameeksha Trust and printed at Modern Arts and Industries, 151, A-Z Industrial Estate, Ganpatrao Kadam Marg, Lower Parel, Mumbai-400 013 and published at 320-322, A-Z Industrial Estate, Ganpatrao Kadam Marg, Lower Parel, Mumbai-400 013  
Editor: Gopal Guru (Editor responsible for selection of news under the PRB Act)



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28 DEC 2020

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- Sikh–Muslim Confrontation in Colonial Punjab

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## 'Our' Law and 'Their' Lives

An analysis of three focal concerns in the Supreme Court's ruling on the 100% reservation to local Scheduled Tribes for the posts of teachers in the Schedule V areas of Andhra Pradesh and Telangana. [page 36](#)

## Portrait of Girlhood

Data from different domains of girls' lives is examined to study their socialisation at home and at school on the one hand and intellectual development through education on the other. [page 41](#)

## Monitoring the Numbers

A realistic picture of the COVID-19 burden at the community level is presented, which informs about the level of preparedness required to deal effectively with it. [page 14](#)

## Elite Domination

Domicile reservations, favouring students who are from the state where national law universities have been set up, are one way of rectifying the trend of elitism and distance from the local communities in which they are located. [page 12](#)

## Outside Economic Dogma

Nobel laureate Oliver Williamson who died in May 2020 asked simple questions to explain complex realities and make economics far more accessible and tangible. [page 22](#)

# Economic & Political Weekly, Vol.55 No's 28 & 29, July 11-18, 2020

## Why Firms Have Zero Net Worth and Why It Matters

- 10 There exists a lacuna in economists' understanding of wealth accumulation, the wealth of nations, and the relationship between wealth and "real capital."  
— *Steve Roth, T Sabri Öncü*

## Domicile Reservations in National Law Universities

- 12 Domicile reservations are one way of rectifying the elite nature of national law universities that are distanced from the local communities they are located in. — *Alok Prasanna Kumar*

## Underestimation of the COVID-19 Burden

- 14 The estimated numbers for deaths due to COVID-19 are far in excess of reported numbers and indicate the systemic flaws in reporting deaths in India, augmenting the extent of underestimation. — *M S Seshadri, T Jacob John*

## India That Is Bharat: The Politics of a National Name

- 17 A recent writ petition on renaming India to Bharat, which got dismissed by the Supreme Court, is discussed. — *Kanika Gauba*

## Institutionalising Information Blindspots

- 20 The Draft EIA Notification circulated by the government has measures that go against some of the fundamental principles of environmental governance.  
— *Preeta Dhar*

## The Man Who Reduced the Transaction Cost of Economics

- 22 On 21 May 2020, one of the most cited economists of all time and a key contributor to organisational studies, Oliver E Williamson, passed away.  
— *Ranjan Ghosh, Yugank Goyal*

## A Never-ending Quest: Shadakshari Settar (1935–2020)

- 26 Shadakshari Settar's research covered various fields like history, archaeology, art history, Darshana Shastra, Jain way of life, epigraphy, and classical Kannada, among others. — *N S Gundur, Ravi Korisetar*

## Recreation of Disparities

- 36 The Supreme Court's decision in *Chebrolu Leela Prasad Rao and Others v State of Andhra Pradesh and Others* has failed to uphold the rights of the Adivasis.  
— *K Sudha, Ramanathan Anjana*

## The Making of Girlhood

- 41 A significant divergence characterises girls' socialisation at home and at school, on the one hand, and their intellectual development through education, on the other. — *Krishna Kumar, Latika Gupta*

## Court as a Theatre of Politics: Sikh–Muslim Confrontation in Colonial Punjab

- 47 A communal conflict between Sikhs and Muslims in a village of late colonial Punjab got transplanted into the courtroom, in which the courts acted as an extension of the public arena. — *Javed Iqbal Wani*

## Postscript

- 207 *Brian Lobo* on how the lockdown due to COVID-19 has further marginalised the precarious lives of the Adivasis of Dahanu, Maharashtra; a poem by *Prabhakar Singh*; *Sujit Kumar Mishra* and *Soumya Vinayan* on how the film *Thappad* questions gender roles; and Last Lines by *Ponnappa*.

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- Did Public Investment Crowd Out Private Investment in India?

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- *Jugaad Time: Ecologies of Everyday Hacking in India*

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- Relocation from Tiger Reserves under the NTCA Guidelines

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- Caste and Class in Higher Education Enrolments: Challenges in Conceptualising Social Inequality
- Adivasis and Land: The Story of Postcolonial Development in Kerala

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## Children in the Pandemic

In the post-lockdown period, how can we deal with the imminent risks of increased exposure and hardships for the already immiserated children from the marginalised communities? **page 10**

## Upping Electability

Bernie Sanders and Jeremy Corbyn's political projects should be lessons for the opposition in Indian politics on the relevance of mass politics with clear ideological moorings. **page 13**

## Industrial Demand Management

Reviving the industrial growth in the post-pandemic scenario in India, will require a coherent heavy lifting of the sector through demand injection and stimulation, instead of scattered short-run policies. **page 16**

## Relocation vs Displacement

Could the use of "relocation" for "displacement" from the protected areas improve the execution of the National Tiger Conservation Authority Guidelines 2011 and, thereby, the state of such shifting? **page 33**

## Social Inequality in Education

With caste differences being directly proportional to class hierarchy, caste and class must be conceptualised as generative processes and examined empirically to understand their actual roles in educational inequality. **page 40**

# Economic & Political Weekly, Vol.55 No.30, July 25, 2020

## Impacts of COVID-19 on Labour

- 7 The costs of the pandemic disproportionately fall on labour.

## Locked Out at the Margins

- 8 The pandemic and lockdown have been particularly hard on those at society's margins.

## Child Protection and Preparedness in COVID-19 Epoch

- 10 The COVID-19 pandemic and the ensuing lockdown have meant immense hardship, especially for children, and those from the marginalised communities. — *Priti Mahara*

## Lessons for Indian Opposition in Sanders–Corbyn Projects

- 13 The consolidation of support behind the political projects articulated by Bernie Sanders and Jeremy Corbyn underscores the relevance of mass politics with clear ideological moorings. — *Satyendra Ranjan*

## Reviving Industrial Growth

- 16 The Indian economy faces an uphill task of reviving industrial growth in the post-pandemic scenario as the early onset of domestic slowdown and global disruptions have affected the industrial sector. — *M Suresh Babu, P Jithin*

## Did Public Investment Crowd Out Private Investment in India?

- 21 The maximum entropy bootstrap method is applied to overcome the econometric constraints of using a short time series after the publication of a new macroeconomic series in India to confirm the positive role of public infrastructure investment. — *Honey Karun, Hrishikesh Vinod & Lekha S Chakraborty*

## Relocation from Tiger Reserves under the NTCA Guidelines

- 33 Relocation under the National Tiger Conservation Authority Guidelines for Voluntary Village Relocation in Notified Core/Critical Tiger Habitats of 2011 represents a paradigmatic shift from the previous history of displacement from protected areas. — *Ujjal Kumar Sarma, Indrani Barpujari*

## Caste and Class in Higher Education Enrolments

- 40 The National Sample Survey 2014 data is used to explore the character of class inequality in higher education, over and beyond that of caste. — *Amman Madan*

## Adivasis and Land: The Story of Postcolonial Development in Kerala

- 48 This paper attempts to frame an understanding of the land question of Adivasis to show the limitations of the dominant developmental historiography. — *Suresh M*

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- Migrant Workers and the Politics of Mental Health

## SPECIAL ARTICLES

- The Popular Aesthetics of Social Mobility
- Harvard's Trolley Problem

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## Mental Health and Migrant Workers

The mental health system's response to the COVID-19 pandemic is marked by the avoidance of the sociopolitical circumstances, and a rights-based language is essential to account for the trauma suffered by daily-wage migrant workers. [page 39](#)

## Sex Workers during the Lockdown

The stigma attached to the profession has intensified the vulnerabilities of sex workers during the pandemic, and their immediate distress has to be addressed from a human rights perspective, as well as by rethinking of social norms and practices. [page 21](#)

## The State of Front-line Workers

Essential workers are the backbone of the healthcare delivery system, but their condition is debilitating due to social hierarchies, lack of equipment, and institutional neglect. [page 13](#)

## Dignity and Judicial Reasoning

The absence of a rigorous constitutional doctrine of dignity could devalue the concept due to the lack of clarity over its constitutional status and practical scope. [page 33](#)

## Intellectuals, Truth and Truthfulness

The report concerning Jeffrey E Epstein's connections to Harvard University opens a window into the internal working of eminent knowledge institutions, the integrity of intellectuals, and the place of Truth in public life. [page 53](#)

## Trump's Desperation and Manufactured China Threat

- 10 The American conservative construction of an enemy in China is an attempt to create fear psychosis among voters to shore up the electoral prospects of a beleaguered Donald Trump. — *Atul Bhardwaj, Inderjeet Parmar*

## Our Essential Workers Need Essential Care

- 13 Through personal interviews of healthcare workers in India, the state of front-line workers in dealing with COVID-19 in the country is discussed. — *Nikhil Srivastav, Aditi Priya & Payal Hathi*

## COVID-19: Mental Healthcare without Social Justice?

- 16 It is critical that the government takes long-term economic and mental health policy measures to ensure employment, basic amenities and public health. — *Roli Pandey, Shilpi Kukreja & Kumar Ravi Priya*

## Social Distancing and Sex Workers in India

- 21 The deplorable condition of sex workers in India amidst the COVID-19 lockdown is discussed as social distancing and the lockdown have left sex workers across the country in poverty and hunger. — *Priyanka Tripathi, Chhandita Das*

## Intellectual Property as Collateral

- 24 The scope of using intellectual property as collateral is discussed, and through examples, it is shown that, owing to its volatile and dynamic nature, IP is not a reliable collateral. — *Abhishek Kumar*

## Risks of Dignity Inflation in Supreme Court's Reasoning

- 33 While the Supreme Court of India holds dignity to be a foundational constitutional value, judicial enthusiasm about dignity must be sensitive to the risk of devaluing it in the absence of close legal analysis. — *Pritam Baruah*

## Migrant Workers and the Politics of Mental Health

- 39 The roping in of tertiary-care mental health institutes by the government in providing individualised (tele)counselling services to migrant workers needs to be viewed with caution. — *Sudarshan R Kottai*

## The Popular Aesthetics of Social Mobility

- 46 This article argues that the film *Gully Boy's* (2019) quest is anchored within neo-liberal freedoms, albeit topped with a laudable linguistic experiment. — *Akshaya Kumar*

## Harvard's Trolley Problem

- 53 The case of Harvard's long association with the disgraced billionaire Jeffrey Epstein is discussed, and the analytical method advocated is the "trolley problem," which is used to highlight the difficulty of moral choices. — *Peter Ronald deSouza*

## Postscript

- 63 *Anjana Menon* on how Malayalam cinema continues to devalue the concept of consent; *Shreya Ramnath* asks whether the COVID-19 pandemic has opened up Carnatic music to the virtual world; *Isha Bhallamudi* on how "woke" politics must go beyond critiquing and cancelling popular culture in aggressive ways; and Last Lines by *Ponnappa*.

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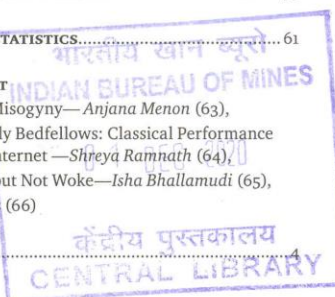
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## Urban Poor and Healthcare Access

An analysis of the extent of morbidity, healthcare utilisation patterns, out-of-pocket expenditures and financial risk protection, and their determinants specifically among the urban poor in India **page 49**

## Health Surveillance Systems

The COVID-19 pandemic has highlighted the lack of a standardised system of collecting, compiling and sharing information from patients across hospitals or communities. **page 16**

## Caste in Sri Lanka

An examination of the role of Buddhism and democracy, two supposedly egalitarian institutions, in encouraging the perpetuation of caste-based differentiation among the Sinhalese **page 64**

## What Ails Bihar?

The long-standing neglect of the state's health services sector has come into critical focus with the reverse migration due to the pandemic. **page 12**

## India's Energy Strategy

A limited supply-centric perspective has not served India well, and it requires the productive interaction and reinforcement of technical, institutional and political spheres. **page 38**

# **Crime Redefined: The State, Dissent and Democracy**

- 10 The historical underpinnings of what can be called a crime are discussed, with a reflection on the present times. — *G N Devy*

## **Why Bihar's Record in Handling COVID-19 Is Dismal**

- 12 Bihar faces the greatest challenge among the states, in terms of the reverse migration due to the lockdown following the COVID-19 pandemic. — *Umesh Kumar Ray*

## **Need for a Strong and Reliable Statistical System**

- 16 The Indian statistical system is reviewed, with particular emphasis on social sector statistics and some evident lacunae in data collection, synchronisation, and dissemination are discussed. — *Sumit Mazumdar*

## **Intrusions and Violation of LAC in India-China Border**

- 22 The lack of a clearly defined borderline and a mutually accepted actual line of control is the major reason for continuous tension and clashes between India and China. — *Sebastian N*

## **Reverse Migration of Labourers amidst COVID-19**

- 25 Migrant workers returning to native places were the hosts for urban to rural transmission, as the migrant-receiving states witnessed over a five-time increase in the number of districts significantly affected by COVID-19. — *S K Singh, Vibhuti Patel, Aditi Chaudhary & Nandlal Mishra*

## **Rethinking India's Energy Policy**

- 38 The state of play in energy supply and demand is examined, and the recovery of an older tradition of attention to energy demand patterns in addition to energy supply is argued for. — *Radhika Khosla, Navroz K Dubash*

## **Critiquing the Industrial Relations Code Bill, 2019**

- 45 A critical examination of the Industrial Relations Code suggests that it will fail to create a conducive and efficient industrial relations environment, neither promoting the ease of doing business nor serving workers' welfare. — *K R Shyam Sundar*

## **Out-of-pocket Expenditure on Healthcare among the Urban Poor**

- 49 This study finds high out-of-pocket healthcare expenditures and resultant catastrophic health expenditure rates among the urban poor, and also points to many socio-economic inequalities. — *Atul Sharma, Ajay K Singh, L M Singh, Saroj Kumar Rana, Sabiha Mehboob, Vineeta Sharma et al*

## **Attitudinal Barriers in Education**

- 56 A thematic analysis of 27 narratives of women with disabilities from Odisha identifies and distinguishes the familial and communal attitudes they face in their educational endeavours. — *Sankalpa Satapathy*

## **Caste-based Differentiation in Sinhalese Society**

- 64 This paper interrogates as to how caste-based differentiation exists among the Sinhalese in Sri Lanka, despite the near absence of the economic structures that initially underpinned the caste system. — *Pradeep Peiris, Hasini Lecamwasam*

## **Indian Society of 2047: What Hope Progress?**

- 72 This article assesses the central arguments made in "Envisioning the India of 2047" by Shyam Menon (EPW, 8 February 2020). — *Jyoti Raina*

## **Postscript**

- 74 *Onaiza Drabu* on how the communication void in Kashmir became a medium to reclaim history and memorialise suffering; a poem by *Charumati Supraja*; *Mubarak Zaveri* on the shrinking of safe spaces to dissent; and Last Lines by *Ponnappa*.

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## Governance at Banks

The Reserve Bank of India's discussion paper on governance in commercial banks recognises that there are governance issues at private banks, and not just at public sector banks. [page 10](#)

## Hindu Women and Property

The Supreme Court's reasoning in the Vineeta Sharma case is based on a conservative understanding of the Hindu joint family and coparcenary property, but leads to progressive outcomes for women. [page 12](#)

## Pandemic Perceptions

Across the world, the image of the COVID-19 pandemic was constructed by the political system through means of communication meant to mask reality and control the narrative through visibility and appearances. [page 28](#)

## Labour Supply and Absorption

Labour demand from non-agriculture sectors has lagged far behind potential labour supply from 2012 onwards and, in the case of women, has resulted in a sharp decline in workforce participation. [page 57](#)

## Rural Inequality sans Landlordism

Changing dynamics in the agrarian structure are seen in the field data collected from 13 villages in Bihar that reveals a high level of landlessness and agrarian inequality but without landlordism. [page 49](#)

## RBI Moves to Shake Up Governance at Banks

- 10 The RBI's discussion paper on Governance in Commercial Banks in India is refreshing in that it takes an approach to governance that is ownership-neutral.  
— T T Ram Mohan

## Clarifying the Rights of Daughters as Coparceners

- 12 The Supreme Court has secured for Hindu women the right to be coparceners with retrospective effect from 1956, but has based its decision on a conservative interpretation. — Alok Prasanna Kumar

## Long on Rhetoric and Short on Substance

- 14 The approval of the National Education Policy, 2020 raises concerns around the question of provisioning for good quality universal education, equitable access to education, and the increasing push towards privatisation.  
— Praveen Jha, Pooja Parvati

## A Donkey's Wisdom

- 17 Krishan Chander's 1964 novel *Ek Gadha Nefa Mein* (A Donkey in NEFA), based on the 1962 China-India border conflict, offers a way of denouncing the destruction of war without leaving unquestioned the inherently violent task of drawing and defending national borders. — Adhira Mangalagiri

## The 'Memory' of a Historian

- 20 A scholar extraordinaire in the fields of Russian and European history, Hari Shankar Vasudevan's untimely demise on account of COVID-19 has meant a great loss to the world of humanities and social sciences. — Animesh Gupta

## Spectacle as a Response: The COVID-19 Pandemic

- 28 The way the COVID-19 pandemic is being understood and addressed makes it a spectacle in the Debordian sense, in which all the social relations are mediated through images and appearances. — Farhana Latief, Reyazul Haque

## Extending Design Thinking to Public Policy

- 34 The study highlights both the potential applicability of the design-thinking approach to policymaking and specifies an application that can supplement the extant fiscal rule and potentially enhance fiscal management.  
— R K Pattnaik, Ranjan Banerjee

## Anthropological Archives: Dalit Religion Redux

- 42 This paper revisits earlier ethnographic writing and assumption as an "archive" in order to reconsider Dalit "religions." — Saurabh Dube

## Landlessness and Agrarian Inequality without Landlordism

- 49 An analysis of the agrarian structure in terms of caste and class, based on field data collected from 13 Bhojpuri-speaking villages in Bihar, reveals that villages exhibit a high level of landlessness and agrarian inequality but without landlordism. — Gaurang R Sahay

## Labour Market Changes in India, 2005-18

- 57 Unemployment among the young increased sharply as the gap between labour absorption and labour supply widened in India during 2012-18.  
— Jayan Jose Thomas

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## Gendered Experiences

A look at how women informal workers in domestic work, street vending, waste picking, and home-based and construction work coped in Delhi, during the lockdown along with their own housework. **page 17**

## Linking PAN with Aadhaar

An examination of the government's justification for removing the distinction between a permanent account number allotted based on the Aadhaar and one based on other identification documents. **page 54**

## Higher C-sections in Private Sector

Health survey data reveals a higher probability of unplanned caesarean sections in the private sector and calls for a critical assessment of their delivering optimal intensity of care during childbirth. **page 39**

## Farewell to the Doyens

Brief assessments of the life and work of pioneering psephologist Ramashray Roy (1927–2020) and teacher and activist Ilina Sen (1951–2020) **pages 26 and 27**

## The 'Bicycle Girl' of Bihar

By cycling 1,200 km with her injured father on the back seat, 15-year-old Jyoti Kumari rode her way out of the literal and figurative patriarchal lockdown. **page 73**

## Why India Did Not Go to War with China

- 10 The explanation for India's strategic reticence concerning the intrusions in Ladakh lies at the political level. — *Ali Ahmed*

## Higher Disease Burden in India's Elderly

- 13 The disease burden among the elderly population is significantly higher compared to the younger population, according to the data from the 75th round of the National Sample Survey, 2017-18, which increases their vulnerability during the COVID-19 pandemic. — *Alok Ranjan, Muraleedharan V R*

## COVID-19 and Women Informal Sector Workers in India

- 17 The precarious nature of employment of women informal workers is examined using data from the Periodic Labour Force Survey (2018-19), and their gendered experiences during the lockdown period are captured using data from rapid assessment studies. — *Shiney Chakraborty*

## Atmanirbhar Bharat Abhiyan and Agriculture

- 21 In this short note, two proposals specific to agriculture announced as part of Atmanirbhar Bharat Abhiyan and the subsequent ordinances are critically examined. — *Gopi Sankar G, Gopal Naik*

## Pioneering Psephologist and Scholar Extraordinaire

- 26 Ramashray Roy (1927-2020) was an eminent political scientist, well-remembered for his studies on parliamentary elections and Mithila culture. — *Ajit Kumar Jha*

## A Passionate Teacher and Activist: Ilina Sen (1951-2020)

- 27 Ilina Sen, teacher, author and activist, has left behind a rich legacy of work and warmth that will continue to inspire women's and human rights activists and students. — *Gabriele Dietrich*

## Beginning of a New Mugabean Regime

- 34 The prime movers of the new regime argued that Robert Mugabe's exit would guarantee economic recovery and restoration of democratic norms in the country, but the new government is a populist paradox. — *Aswathi A Nair*

## Private Healthcare Sector and Caesarean Sections in India

- 39 An analysis of the latest round of the National Family Health Survey data reveals that the probability of an unplanned c-section is 13.5-14 percentage points higher in the private sector. — *Mitul Surana, Ambrish Dongre*

## Birth Pangs: Universal Maternity Entitlements in India

- 48 In June 2018, a small survey of the Pradhan Mantri Matru Vandana Yojana in two blocks of Jharkhand examined the status of the scheme and the problems faced by women at the time of pregnancy and delivery. — *Aarushi Kalra, Aditi Priya*

## The Curious Case of PAN-Aadhaar Linkage

- 54 Whether Aadhaar linkage to PAN truly identifies those holding financial instruments and undertaking financial transactions and ends black money and money laundering as the government claims are explored. — *Anupam Saraph, Sanjana Krishnan*

## Postscript

- 71 *Arundhati B Kundal* on baking and breaking bread during the lockdown; *Suyash Saxena* on reminiscing and the creation of memories; *Santosh Kumar* on how Jyoti Kumari's cycling feat is viewed as "matter out of place;" and Last Lines by *Ponnappa*.

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## Heavy Lifting by Government

In the midst of the COVID-19-induced economic crisis, infusing cheap liquidity is no substitute for directly injecting demand through government spending. **page 10**

## Push for Right to Education

The Fifteenth Finance Commission must make specific purpose grants for elementary education to fill resource gaps in the 16 focus states. **page 44**

## Likelihood of Health Insurance

An estimate of health insurance coverage across states, subgroups of the population, and share of public-funded health insurance schemes **page 61**

## The Camera and Social Control

Modern-day photojournalism and street photography are trying to cleanse themselves of the colonial gaze, but why do many photographers continue to produce such images? **page 73**

## Indian Interests and US Elections

People who believe in democracy and the modern concepts of human rights in India must share their hopes and dreams with such people elsewhere. **page 29**

# **A Faulty Response to the COVID-19-induced Crisis**

- 10 The neo-liberal embrace of monetary measures that infuse cheap liquidity as a substitute for fiscal activism has not resulted in faster credit growth.  
— *C P Chandrasekhar*

# **COVID-19 Mortality Trends and Reporting**

- 13 The differences between the numbers in India and Italy early in the COVID-19 pandemic are readily explained by the time and frequency of virus importations and the two countries' age profiles. — *T Jacob John, M S Seshadri*

# **The Domicile Law of Jammu and Kashmir**

- 18 The policy has evoked the fear of demographic change, loss of economic and cultural rights, and has engineered profound changes in the political structure of the region. — *Muhammad Mutahhar Amin*

# **Maharashtra's Semi-English Government-aided Schools**

- 22 The semi-English schools in Maharashtra that are aided by the government have much to teach the other states in terms of ease of English learning.  
— *Arvind Sardana*

# **Emerging Governmentality and Biopolitics of COVID-19**

- 26 The biopolitics of the COVID-19 pandemic is discussed amidst disciplining and quarantining measures associated with the governments' extraordinary powers during unprecedented times. — *Abraham Samuel, Gorky Chakraborty & K J Joy*

# **Narrow Interests or Common Principles?**

- 29 An examination of the implications of the United States presidential elections for India and the positions of the candidates in the fray. — *Satyendra Ranjan*

# **Impact of Natural Background Radiation on Health**

- 39 Some studies claim that the existence of high natural background radiation in coastal regions of Kerala and Tamil Nadu has no impact on the health of the population, while others disagree. — *T S Krishnan, Annapureddy Rama Papi Reddy & M V Ramana*

# **Financing the Right to Education**

- 44 An assessment of the resource gaps for fulfilling the right to education across Indian states reveals the large gap between normative requirement and actual expenditure. — *Sukanya Bose, Priyanta Ghosh & Arvind Sardana*

# **Invest More in Public Healthcare Facilities**

- 53 Data from National Sample Surveys (71st and 75th rounds) show that there is a significant increase in the utilisation of public facilities and, as a result, a dramatic fall in the overall financial burden on patients.  
— *V R Muraleedharan, Girija Vaidyanathan, Sundararaman T, Umakant Dash, Alok Ranjan & Rajesh M*

# **Estimates of Health Insurance Coverage in India**

- 61 The coverage of health insurance in India is low and not uniform across the states and union territories, despite the fact that several public-funded schemes focus on the below poverty line population. — *Binod Bihari Jena, Manoj Kumar Roul*

# **Postscript**

- 71 *Aparna Vyas* on how the market has transformed essential goods into status symbols; *Meghaa* reflects on her experiences as the author of a children's picture book; *Rahulnath* on shaking off the colonial gaze in photography; and Last Lines by *Ponnappa*.

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## Other Truths of Gandhi

Gandhi's critique of modern industrial civilisation is familiar, but not his insight about persistent neglect of what is presumed trivial and inconsequential, leading to major eruptions. [page 20](#)

## Is the Congress Ready?

If the Congress realises that its own resolve of ridding itself of its "Congressness" that is killing it, this would be the first step towards reinventing itself. [page 35](#)

## On the Term 'Secular'

A conceptual—linguistic journey of "secular" in India shows how the word's entry into any discussion was accompanied by anxiety around its foreignness and traces it through multiple sites. [page 40](#)

## Discourse on Dalits and Cinema

An attempt to go beyond representational questions of erasure, stereotyping, and othering and explore the embodied presence and affective, expressive aesthetics in Indian cinema [page 47](#)

## Corporate Governance Practices

A study of the nexus between value relevance of accounting information, earnings management on stock valuation and moderating effects of corporate governance in Indian firms [page 54](#)

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## Macroeconomics of a Lockdown

- 10 A distinction must be drawn between two different kinds of contraction of the economy, one caused by the lockdown itself and the other caused by the auto-deflation of demand. — *Prabhat Patnaik*

## Appointment of Judges to the Higher Judiciary

- 12 The performance of the Supreme Court collegium during the pandemic is examined in this column by comparing it with available data for past years. — *Alok Prasanna Kumar*

## Universal Immunisation Coverage in India

- 15 The role of two policy pillars in achieving immunisation coverage is examined by assessing the central funds disbursed to the state governments under the Universal Immunisation Programme and the available physical health infrastructure in the states. — *Dweepobotee Brahma, Debasri Mukherjee*

## Thinking of Gandhi Today

- 20 Learning to think without being hindered by fear or temptation will, among other things, help those who want to emulate M K Gandhi deal with the gravest challenge that they face. — *Sudhir Chandra*

## Why It Makes Sense to Leave and Stay Gone

- 23 Three different policies are outlined whose combination could have, and can still, reduce, if not entirely stop, the mass exodus of informal sector workers from Mumbai due to COVID-19. — *Neeraj Hatekar, Pallavi Belhekar*

## Police Violence on Dispossessed Dalits in Kashipur

- 26 What remains behind the repetition of brazen violence is the continuous and calibrated deployment of different techniques of power that involve the recycling of violence in various forms. — *Minati Dash*

## The Curious Case of the Congress Party

- 35 The extraordinary nature of the crisis faced by the Congress means that the revival of the party is necessarily predicated upon its renewal. — *Suhas Palshikar*

## Secular, Secularism and Non-translations

- 40 This paper traces the conceptual-linguistic journey of the term "secular" in India and shows how its entry into any discussion was accompanied by questions of ambivalence about equivalence. — *Rita Kothari*

## Anti-caste Aesthetics and Dalit Interventions

- 47 The paper attempts to evaluate and argue for an enabling anti-caste aesthetics articulated through an embodied sensibility in films, producing affective, expressive archives. — *Manju Edachira*

## Value Relevance, Earnings Management, Corporate Governance

- 54 A comprehensive examination provides empirical evidence that earnings management affects the value relevance of accounting information and that good governance can reduce the practice among Indian firms. — *Ameet Kumar Banerjee, Pitabas Mohanty*

## Reimagining the Idea of a University in India

- 61 A response to the editor's column, "University as an Idea" by Gopal Guru (*EPW*, 11 January 2020) and Swatahsiddha Sarkar's article, "The Idea of a University in India" (*EPW*, 4 April 2020). — *Venkataraman Ganesh*

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## Beyond the Usual Framework

The lockdown may be temporary but its severe constraints on output and changes to the macroeconomic dynamics for the subsequent period must be handled with different policies and approaches. [page 34](#)

## Triumph of Neo-liberal Educationists

The conception and ongoing implementation of higher education reforms are focusing on skill-forming to suit the requirements of the corporate sector, and the pandemic is expediting it. [page 41](#)

## 'Engineering' Floods

An analysis of dam-induced flood hazards across the Brahmaputra river basin and how involving local communities in the decision-making process will curb the recurrent floods [page 10](#)

## Shared Spaces and the 'Private'

A discussion on how households have to state their traditional identities and allow encroachment whilst fighting the pandemic, with West Bengal as an example [page 20](#)

## Lockdown and Disability

COVID-19 has worsened the precarity of persons with disabilities, and the obstacles in their access to services must be resolved with sensitivity. [page 30](#)

## Hydrocracies, Hubris, Hazardscapes

- 10 The effects of infrastructural projects in Assam that play a prominent role in "engineering" floods in the Brahmaputra river are discussed.  
— *Mirza Zulfikar Rahman*

## China-bashing and Post-COVID-19 Narrative

- 14 The disruption of supply chains caused by COVID-19 has led to predictions that international firms will relocate production away from China, but such changes will neither be quick nor painless. — *Biju Paul Abraham, Biswajit Nag & Partha Ray*

## Waiting for the Eureka Moment

- 18 Even as health systems are close to breaking down and economies are flailing due to COVID-19, most governments are failing to provide appropriate social security and relief. — *Ravi Duggal*

## (De)politicising the 'Private' in Bengal

- 20 The article discusses if and how households are compelled to state their traditional identities, allow encroachment on their existence, and evaluate the formation of emerging (pseudo) safe spaces after it sheds the fetters of politics. — *Amrita DasGupta*

## Handloom Weavers and Lockdown in Sualkuchi

- 23 After demonetisation in 2016, and imposition of the goods and services tax in the subsequent year, the COVID-19 lockdown has turned out to be a final nail in the coffin for the handloom sector in Assam. — *Anamika Das, Rajib Sutradhar*

## Disability during COVID-19

- 30 COVID-19 and the resultant lockdowns have severely curtailed the mobility of persons with disabilities and restricted their ability to seek basic necessities, healthcare, and assistance. — *Srei Chanda, T V Sekher*

## Macroeconomic Consequences of a Lockdown

- 34 The resource position and slump in demand due to the lockdown can be reversed only by discarding the usual macroeconomic framework and implementing out-of-the-box solutions. — *Arun Kumar*

## Neo-liberal Reforms in Higher Education

- 41 The COVID-19 pandemic and resultant changes in the education system are being used to increase acceptability of the reforms that aim at making society receptive to the principles of free market. — *Debashis Biswas*

## Impact of MGNREGA on Consumption Expenditure

- 49 This study attempts to quantify the impact of the MGNREGA on the level and pattern of consumption expenditure of rural households at the national level using a difference-in-differences method. — *P Mahendra Varman, Neeraj Kumar*

## Assam and the NRC: A Political Reading

- 55 A response to Deepankar Basu and Debarshi Das's article, "Assam's Politics and the NRC" (*EPW*, 1 February 2020), which had responded to the author's article, "Assam's 2019 Verdict and the Anti-CAB Mobilisations" (*EPW*, 28 December 2019). — *Akhil Ranjan Dutta*

## Postscript

- 62 *Rohitha Naraharisetty* on Rhea Chakraborty's demonisation on the news and on social media; *Rashmi Sawhney* on how life imitates dystopic art this year; *Tapas Mitra* on how reading can change lives and bring us unfathomable hours of happiness; and *Ponnappa's* Last Lines.

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## A Mammoth in Modern Times

With BSNL having announced a massive voluntary retirement scheme, a series of poor policies and excessive red tape that led to the telecom giant's downhill journey are examined. [page 11](#)

## The Supreme Court's Decline

The Supreme Court's proclivity to buckle to the executive has allowed the latter's deliberately crafted strategy to seize control of the arms of the state to benefit its own political agenda. [page 31](#)

## Story of a Struggle

The two-and-a-half-decade long farmers' struggle in Jiwandesar for irrigation water from Gang canal is not borne fruit due to the selfish nexus of large farmers and local politicians. [page 19](#)

## Towards Reproductive Justice

Dalit feminist perspectives challenging dominant understandings of surrogacy highlight how bringing caste and social justice centre stage challenges notions of reproductive rights. [page 38](#)

## Lalit Deshpande (1933–2020)

A strong commitment to humanist ideals run through Lalit Deshpande's work on employment and industrial unrest, urbanisation and migration, and labour markets and the gender stratification therein. [page 54](#)

## New Labour Codes and Their Loopholes

- 7 Every successive reform in labour laws fails to plug the loopholes.

## Imposing New Inequities

- 8 Without an appropriate regulatory mechanism, deregulation is detrimental to farmers' interests.

## Privatisation and the Voluntary Retirement Scheme

- 11 The voluntary retirement scheme of public sector enterprises, most recently implemented in BSNL, is one of the instruments through which labour flexibility is ushered in public sector enterprises, which often end in privatisation. — *Vinoj Abraham, Ritika Jain*

## Odisha's Management of the COVID-19 Pandemic

- 15 Odisha, in spite of a poor public health system, did well in managing the pandemic in the initial month, adopting a proactive, as against reactive, course. — *Nandini Garikipati*

## The Story of a Peasant Struggle in Jiwandesar, Rajasthan

- 19 Farmers of Jiwandesar, a village in Rajasthan, have waged a struggle for the past two and a half decades for getting irrigation water from Gang canal. — *Akhil Alha*

## Gentle Giant of Labour Economics

- 23 Lalit Deshpande's (1933–2020) tremendous work on labour economics, unemployment and migration was strongly influenced by his liberal principles. — *Dilip Nachane*

## The Supreme Court: Then and Now

- 31 There is a tendency to view the threat to judicial independence in India as emerging from the executive branch, and occasionally the legislature. — *Justice A P Shah*

## Dalit Feminist Voices on Reproductive Rights

- 38 This paper attempts to explore the significance of caste by drawing on in-depth interviews with Dalit feminists who challenge dominant understandings of surrogacy in debates on reproductive technologies. — *Johanna Gondouin, Suruchi Thapar-Bjorkert & Mohan Rao*

## Transition Theory and India's Groundwater Management Systems

- 46 A critical look at the work of some non-governmental organisations and a case study of Bengaluru through the lens of transition theory help shed light on community-driven, participatory groundwater management approaches. — *Gogol Datta*

## Measuring Access to Higher Education

- 54 A response to "Measuring Access, Quality and Relevance in Higher Education" by Pankaj Mittal et al (EPW, 13 June 2020) — *Malish C M*

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## The Ayodhya Verdict

The choice of anonymity through the per curiam judgment by the Supreme Court on the Ayodhya title dispute is evaluated. **page 10**

## Deepening Agrobusiness Capitalism

Agricultural market reforms introduce agrobusinesses and further the government's agenda of centralisation of economic power and decision-making. **page 14**

## Time for Reflection

In the trajectory of feminist movements in India, the #MeToo movement stands out as being one that does not engage with the state or any other institution. **page 21**

## Inclusivity in Education

Budgets for school education of six states are analysed to examine how the states are budgeting for the education of children with disabilities. **page 34**

## Electricity (Amendment) Bill, 2020

The proposed amendments aim to reduce subsidies and push for privatisation in power distribution, but fail to address the long-term crises in the sector. **page 40**

# Economic & Political Weekly, Vol.55 No.41, October 10, 2020

## Is Policing a Moral Question?

- 7 The actions of the police in the Hathras gang rape case show a disturbing lack of sensitivity.

## Nagging Annals of the Babri Verdict

- 8 Institutional failure that led to the verdict suggests spontaneity as the sure route to escape from conviction.

## India's First Per Curiam: The Ayodhya Verdict

- 10 A per curiam opinion seeks to project the court as a resolute bloc in unanimous verdicts; as such, the Supreme Court's choice of anonymity in the Ayodhya decision is examined. — *Sumedha Ray Sarkar*

## Deepening Agrobusiness Capitalism and Centralisation

- 14 Agricultural market reforms recently enacted by the National Democratic Alliance government reflect the Bharatiya Janata Party's determination to push its agenda of centralisation of economic power and decision-making. — *Pritam Singh*

## Disastrous Decade for Data: The Way Forward

- 18 Questions on credibility of official data and the pandemic-induced problems have come at a time when technology offers solutions to data collection, processing and dissemination. — *Arjun Kumar, P C Mohanan & Amitabh Kundu*

## Lessons from #MeToo: Where Are We Now?

- 21 With #MeToo having taken the world by storm in the last few years, reflecting on debates in the Indian context reveals some important lessons. — *Rohitha Naraharisetty*

## Academic Administration and Academic Freedom

- 25 The recent penal measures taken against some faculty members of the Kerala Agricultural University are analysed against the backdrop of the misappropriation of autonomy of academic institutions to curtail the autonomy of individual academics. — *Priyadarsanan Dharma Rajan*

## Inclusivity in School Education and the Budget

- 34 This article examines state budgeting for education of children with disabilities by analysing existing interventions, both by union and state governments, through a detailed analysis of school education budgets for six states. — *Protiva Kundu*

## Electricity (Amendment) Bill, 2020: Inviting a Bigger Crisis

- 40 The proposed Electricity (Amendment) Bill, 2020 is not only anti-people, but also fails to address the long-term crises in the sector and will only accelerate its deterioration. — *Tejal Kanitkar, Sudha Mahalingam & R Srikanth*

## Tribal Rights and Heritage Conservation in the Western Ghats

- 46 In the context of Karnataka, the implementation of the Scheduled Tribes and Other Traditional Forest Dwellers (Recognition of Forest Rights) Act, 2006 shows how the concerns of tribals and indigenous people are often marginalised in the debates around conservation. — *Madhusudan Bandi*

## Postscript

- 55 *Mrinmoy Pramanick* on the silence around the diverse experiences of partition, and notions of home and nation; *Neha Sinha* on balcony birders during the lockdown and strengthening citizen science; *Ravishankar V Kommu* on S P Balasubrahmanyam's influence on the Telugu people; and Last Lines by *Ponnappa*.

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## A Test for the IT Industry

An analysis of the effects of COVID-19 restrictions on international travel leading to the alienation of Indian IT firms from their clients that will jeopardise the sector's long-term health **page 17**

## An Optimal Inflation Target

Empirical findings indicate the presence of a 5% threshold inflation rate, stabilising the long-run inflation rate around which will have crucial implications for monetary policy and the economy. **page 21**

## Limitations of the Social Sciences

The COVID-19 pandemic calls for questioning the social sciences, which have not been able to capture the depth and intensity of the crisis. **page 29**

## Dalits and Knowledge Production

An illustration of the role of Dalits in sociopolitical advancements through constructing a history of Dalit journals in colonial Madras **page 34**

## The Linguistic Landscape of India

A linguist's take on Javed Majeed's examination of the *Linguistic Survey of India* by suggesting ways for an interdisciplinary recovery of this important historical exercise and an appeal for a just treatment of India's languages **page 40**

# Economic & Political Weekly, Vol.55 No.42, October 17, 2020

## Ethos of Justice and Its Adversaries

- 7 Rape atrocities tragically suggest that justice is in dire need of egalitarian commitment by every citizen.

## Bihar Assembly Elections, 2020

- 8 Caste complacency of the ruling combination necessarily deflects attention from critical self-evaluation.

## Newly Formed Empowered 'Technology Group' and COVID-19

- 10 The role of the empowered "Technology Group" with respect to building and promoting health technologies is discussed. — *Sunil Mani, Janak Nabar*

## Tax on Agricultural Income: Holy Cow of the Indian Economy

- 12 A 2019 CAG report has brought out glaring irregularities in the exemptions given to agricultural income for income tax purposes. — *Govind Bhattacharjee*

## Post-COVID-19 Challenges in the Indian IT Industry

- 17 The COVID-19 pandemic as a paradigm shift has created significant barriers for IT firms to maintain cognitive proximity with their clients and could adversely impact their global competitiveness. — *Rohan Chinchwadkar, Vinish Kathuria*

## In Search of Optimal Inflation: Evidence from CPI Data

- 21 The impact of inflation on dispersion of relative prices is examined in a cointegration framework using a data set of all seven components of the consumer price index from India. — *Sartaj Rasool Rather*

## The COVID-19 Pandemic and the Crisis of the Social Sciences

- 29 This article raises wider questions like whether the social sciences have been able to provide any meaning to the COVID-19 crisis by exploring the life worlds of body, time and nature. — *Shiv Visvanathan*

## Dalit Journals in Colonial Madras (1869–1943)

- 34 This article attempts to construct a history of Dalit journals in colonial Madras by analysing the sociopolitical contexts and the content of 42 journals published from 1869 to 1943. — *J Balasubramaniam*

## Life to Indian Languages

- 40 This paper presents a linguist's response to the main themes that run through Javed Majeed's (2019) comprehensive and thought-provoking two-volume study of the *Linguistic Survey of India* and its editor, George A Grierson. — *Ayesha Kidwai*

## India's Rural Organised Manufacturing Industries

- 49 Given the robust performance of India's rural organised manufacturing industries in recent times, this study attempts to understand the nature of the technical change underlying it. — *Nabanita Mitra, Debarshi Das*

## Weakening of Institutions of Primary Healthcare

- 58 It is necessary to revive referral services needed for primary-level curative care by focusing on strengthening community health centres and developing a strong public health workforce at the grassroots level. — *Mathew George*

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- Contours of Alliance Politics in Bihar
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- Information Asymmetry and Status Quo Bias in Menstrual Hygiene Market

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- Jammu and Kashmir's Open Defecation Free Status

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## The Mask and the Mandate

As the relationship between voters, caste and state power determines the forthcoming Bihar assembly elections, the pandemic-induced return of migrant workers could prove to be a game changer. [page 14](#)

## Agricultural Markets in J&K

The agricultural market operations and wholesale prices of Jammu and Kashmir during the pre- and post-COVID-19 lockdown periods are analysed. [page 17](#)

## Progressivity of Devolution

The implications of the Fourteenth Finance Commission's recommendations for Bihar are assessed, and expectations from the Fifteenth Finance Commission are discussed. [page 37](#)

## Barriers to Safer Menstruation

The silence and taboos around menstruation pose as barriers to the adoption of safer and sustainable menstrual products and practices, revealing the information asymmetry in the menstrual hygiene market. [page 30](#)

## An Electoral Imbroglio

The run-up to the US elections has fully exposed the flaws of its political economy and the underlying reality of its so-called model of democracy and development. [page 21](#)

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## A Neo-liberal Economic Order?

The Modi government's pursuit of top-down control over all power centres has led to an economic order that is far from being neo-liberal. **page 12**

## Political Campaigns on Twitter

Without being in consonance with the state's sociocultural ethos, the Bharatiya Janata Party and right-wing affiliates' campaigns in the Tamil Twitter space will be unable to draw support from a wider audience. **page 20**

## 'Shoe-leather Public Health'

A public health approach to the pandemic, combining testing with community engagement, strong administrative measures, and epidemiological understanding is required. **page 47**

## 'Post-coronial' Development

In a post-pandemic India, the Industrial Disputes Act needs to be dismantled, and micro, small and medium enterprises have to recast themselves and fall in step with R&D-powered industries. **page 32**

## No Shortcuts to Financial Inclusion

A post-demonetisation survey reveals the adverse impact of currency shortages on those employed in tiny, informal enterprises: as their income fell, so did the demand for credit. **page 40**

# Economic & Political Weekly, Vol.55 No.44, October 31, 2020

## Pandemic in the Eyes of the World Bank and the IMF

- 7 A damning critique does not allow India to remain self-complacent on the economic and health fronts.

## On People's Alliance for Gupkar Declaration

- 8 The new alliance is reconfigured around the prospect of democratic politics, but its realisation may face challenges.

## Breaking the Balance of Power Trap

- 10 India, Pakistan and China need to sit together and take a decision to jettison the "balance of power" theory that has kept them entrapped in trying to balance each other by using proxy war and interference in each other's internal matters. — Atul Bhardwaj

## India's Far from Neo-liberal Economic Order in the Modi Era

- 12 India's economic order is far from neo-liberal and expectations that the Modi government would liberalise audaciously have been disappointed. — James Manor

## Use of EdTech in Indian School Education during COVID-19

- 16 This article examines issues faced by schoolteachers from across the country in their efforts to connect with their students during online teaching at a time of social distancing. — Ajay K Singh, Raja Sekhar Satyavada, Tushar Goel, Padma Sarangapani & Nishevita Jayendran

## BJP's Twitter Experiments and Tamil Resilience

- 20 While the Bharatiya Janata Party and right-wing affiliates' campaigns in Tamil Nadu social media circles spill over to offline public discourse, they are still unable to draw support from a wider audience. — Vignesh Karthik K R, Vihang Jumle & Jeyannathann Karunanithi

## The Future of Work in the Post-COVID-19 World

- 23 With technology replacing many human activities, our societies will likely shift towards more individualistic entities with less human interaction. — Elia Rossi, José Balsa-Barreiro

## Status Quo Anti: A Mind Reset for Post-pandemic Revival

- 32 This article argues in favour of dismantling the Industrial Disputes Act and emphasises the issues for the "post-coronial" economic development of India. — Dipankar Gupta

## Repercussions of Protracted Currency Shortage

- 40 A survey conducted among two distinct groups in Mumbai and Pune, three months after demonetisation, reveals the adverse impact of currency shortages on the incomes and livelihoods of those employed in tiny, informal enterprises. — Anuradha Kalhan

## Beyond Biomedical and Statistical Approaches in COVID-19

- 47 Past experience seems to be corroborated in the present epidemic that a contextually rooted "shoe-leather public health" approach provides the most effective interventions and operational strategies, more so in a society as diverse as ours. — Ritu Priya, Sanghmitra Acharya, Rama Baru, Vikas Bajpai, Ramila Bisht, Rajib Dasgupta, Prachinkumar Ghodajkar, Nemthiang Guite & Sunita Reddy

## Analysis of Private Healthcare Providers

- 59 To better promote universal health coverage, policy emphasis on better monitoring, administering regulations, transparency in system, and ensuring quality in delivery of service is needed. — Chetana Chaudhuri, Pritam Datta

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- Towards an Alternative Indian Tea Economy: Examples of Producer Cooperatives from Darjeeling

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## POSTSCRIPT

## Obligations of a Democratic State

The establishment must prevent abuse of law that deprives citizens of their liberty when exercising their right to speech, expression, and protest, which is being constantly undermined. [page 32](#)

## Victim Compensation Schemes

State victim compensation schemes are non-uniform, fail to comply with the centre's guidelines and suffer from inadequacies, resulting in a grave injustice to the victims of crimes. [page 22](#)

## Finance Commission and the States

Having allayed many fears in its first report, the Fifteenth Finance Commission must ensure that its second report provides states the fiscal space for socio-economic response and recovery. [page 14](#)

## Access to Maternal Healthcare

Wide variations across states in inequality in maternal healthcare utilisation mean that poor women in poor states have a long way to go to catch up with even the poor women in rich states. [page 37](#)

## Tax Payment and Firm Size

With large firms adopting more tax-aggressive policies and using tax incentives, their effective tax rates are lower as compared to small firms, to whom incentives are not easily available. [page 45](#)

# Economic & Political Weekly, Vol.55 No.45, November 07, 2020

## An Inconsequential Stimulus

- 7 The fiscal stimulus is too little to have any major impact on the economy.

## 'Foundational Agreements' and Self-reliance

- 8 The assessment of the new military alliance should be informed by its implications for Indian armed forces.

## A Return to Ethics

- 10 Ethics has to become comprehensive, cutting across cosmos, civilisation, constitutions, syllabus, creating a commons of alternatives that can give a new imagination to the citizens today. — *Shiv Visvanathan*

## Fifteenth Finance Commission Award for 2020–21

- 14 The Fifteenth Finance Commission's main report for 2021–22 to 2025–26 will have to factor in COVID-19's impact on the economy and provide adequate fiscal space to the states for socio-economic response and recovery. — *T M Thomas Isaac, R Mohan & Lekha Chakraborty*

## COVID-19 and the Quest for Alternative Paradigms

- 18 The Indian context of the COVID-19 pandemic is examined, and a reimagining of the development path for a more rational and egalitarian democracy is argued for. — *MA Oommen*

## An Analysis of Victim Compensation Schemes in India

- 22 State victim compensation schemes are vastly different from one another in terms of the number of categories for compensation as well as the amount of compensation prescribed under each category. — *Abhishek Kumar*

## Safeguarding Fundamental Rights

- 32 In recent times, the right to speech, expression and the right to protest have been constantly undermined, which runs contrary to the spirit of civilised democracy. — *Madan Bhimrao Lokur*

## Inequality in the Utilisation of Maternal Healthcare Services

- 37 How the pattern of inequality in maternal healthcare service utilisation has evolved after the adoption of the National Rural Health Mission in 2005 is analysed, and the absolute as well as relative measures of inequality at the state level are estimated. — *Sohini Paul*

## Tax Payment as a Social Responsibility

- 45 By employing fixed effects and quantile regression models to ascertain the impact of firm size on the effective tax rate using panel data for 1995–2017, we find that large firms' effective tax rates are lower as they adopt more tax-aggressive policies and use various tax incentives. — *Ramesh Jangili*

## Towards an Alternative Indian Tea Economy

- 53 A review of the current trends in the Indian tea market and two alternative sites in Darjeeling indicates the potential of solidary enterprises and exposes the difficulties these groups face to emancipate themselves from the colonial-style tea companies. — *Miriam Wenner*

## Postscript

- 63 *Anubhuti Sharma* and *Vidula Sonagra* on the link between sexual harassment and the guru-shishya parampara in the arts; *Melwyn Pinto* on how performance pressure on students lays the ground for increasing malpractice in examinations; *Manash Firaq Bhattacharjee* reflects on the nature of friendship and its relationship with memory; and Last Lines by *Ponnappa*.

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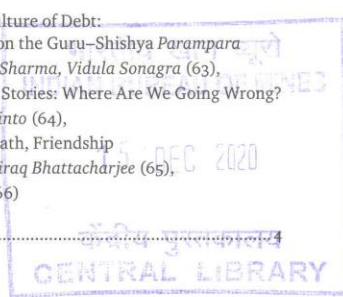
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- How Mobile Are Workers across Informal and Formal Jobs in India?
- Practices as Political: Tribal Citizens and Indigenous Knowledge Practices in the East Himalayas
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## Worker Transition Patterns

Using a longitudinal data set for India, a study examines the likelihood of individuals moving up from lower-tier to upper-tier informal jobs and to formal jobs. **page 40**

## Upper-caste Hold of Social Media

An evaluation of the Dalit–Bahujan media's advent into the digital space after the increasing sway of social media and what has been the former's success or failure in democratising Indian media **page 34**

## COVID-19 and South Asia

A discussion on the policies relating to macroeconomics, health, economic sectors, stimulus measures, and reforms that are decisive for the region's recovery **page 13**

## Women's Markets of Manipur

A look at the coping skills and resilience of women vendors in negotiating their livelihood during the COVID-19 pandemic and lockdown in a tribal market complex in Imphal **page 19**

## Sri Lanka's Iconic Architect

Geoffrey Manning Bawa's work contextualised in the birth and development of the Sri Lankan nation state in the 20th century offers lessons and a philosophy that covers modernity, urban spaces, and cosmopolitanism. **page 56**

## The State of State Finances

- 7 Only a generous award by the Fifteenth Finance Commission can restore fiscal balance.

## Symptom Controlled, Disease Persists

- 8 Biden's policy of the "return to the normal" would be inadequate to decisively defeat Trumpism.

## A Consortium Proposal to the SDR Basket Countries

- 10 The proposal to the SDR basket countries invites the United States, Germany, China, Japan, and the United Kingdom to form a consortium under the United Nations to create funds in their fiat currencies.  
— *Ahmet Öncü, T Sabri Öncü*

## The Pandemic and Economic Fallout in South Asia

- 13 Coherent national strategies, backed by regional cooperation efforts, offer a way forward for economic recovery in South Asia, which is rapidly becoming the next COVID-19 global hotspot. — *Selim Raihan, Ganeshan Wignaraja, Vaqar Ahmed, Puspa Sharma, Nazir Kabiri & Prabir De*

## Negotiating Livelihood during COVID-19

- 19 This article focuses on how the women vendors at the Tribal Market Complex in Imphal East negotiated their livelihood during the lockdown and analyses its impact. — *Hoipi Haokip, Arfina Haokip & Tingneichong Gangte*

## An Uncertain Future for Indian Higher Education

- 23 The National Education Policy, 2020 seeks to revamp the entire regulatory structure to construct a system based on enhancing students' choice in opting for courses. — *Saumen Chattopadhyay*

## Upper-caste Domination in India's Mainstream Media

- 34 The rising phenomenon of Dalit-Bahujan media in the digital space and their success or failure in democratising Indian media is examined.  
— *Dilip Mandal*

## How Mobile Are Workers across Informal and Formal Jobs?

- 40 Using a longitudinal data set for India, this study examines the likelihood of individuals moving up from lower tier to upper tier informal jobs and to formal jobs (and vice versa). — *Rajesh Raj, Simone Schotte & Kunal Sen*

## Practices as Political

- 49 Through a study of the Lepcha traditional practices in the east Himalayas, it is argued that the practising Adivasi or indigenous peoples are indeed presenting empirical sites of "ethico-political articulations," or "Ecosophy."  
— *Mollica Dastider*

## Geoffrey Bawa and Ludic Modernism

- 56 This paper examines Sri Lanka's most celebrated architect Geoffrey Bawa's architectural sites as "visual texts" that exhibit a fraught, fractious engagement with the dominant nationalism of his times.  
— *Anupama Mohan*

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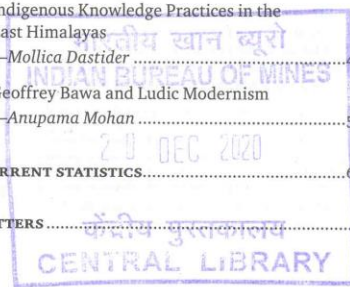
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- Sanitation and Hygiene in India: The Role of Development

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## Revenue Guarantee to States

Data on revenue from subsumed taxes for 24 states and two union territories during 2012–16 is used to investigate whether the 14% revenue guarantee was justified. [page 18](#)

## Investing in Public Health Systems

A study argues that the COVID-19 crisis presents an opportunity for policymakers to prioritise investment in equitable public health systems. [page 12](#)

## Inflation Convergence

The direction of convergence between core and headline inflation as well as the efficacy of the expectation channel compared to the aggregate demand channel is analysed. [page 37](#)

## Science and the Public

Scientists have the moral obligation and responsibility to accurately communicate their ideas and results of publicly funded research to a wider audience. [page 33](#)

## The Dalit Experience

The question of lived experience and Dalit subjectivity in a caste society is critically examined, highlighting “Ambedkar thought” as a decision that creates an ontological separation from the Hindu social. [page 47](#)

## The Best Possible Constitution?

- 10 The alternate versions of the constitutional text presented by the members of the Constituent Assembly deserve serious engagement and consideration.  
— *Alok Prasanna Kumar*

## An Opportunity to Invest in Equitable Public Health Systems

- 12 India's public health system is in dire need of investment and the COVID-19 crisis is the perfect opportunity to back this policy decision with political will.  
— *Amar Patnaik, Anshuman Sharma*

## Is the 14% Revenue Guarantee to States Justified?

- 18 Using data on revenue from subsumed taxes for 24 states and two union territories during the years 2012–16 preceding the GST, it is investigated whether the 14% revenue guarantee was justified.  
— *Manish Gupta, Indira Rajaraman*

## Will COVID-19 Change the Landscape of Financing Innovation?

- 22 The revenue loss induced by the pandemic is likely to divert the existing resources in aiding firm survival and economic recovery, with financing innovation taking the back seat. — *Ketan Reddy, Subash S*

## A Committed Scholar: C P Bhambri (1933–2020)

- 25 C P Bhambri believed that the task of social science, like all other sciences, was to arrive at the truth on the basis of well-established facts.  
— *Gurpreet Mahajan*

## Science in the Public Sphere: Obligation and Responsibility

- 33 Scientists have the responsibility and the moral obligation of accurately communicating their ideas and results to the public.  
— *Ramakrishna Ramaswamy*

## Inflation Convergence and Anchoring of Expectations

- 37 The inflation targeting regime's impact on anchoring inflation expectations is used to assess the direction of convergence between core and headline inflation and the expectation channel's efficacy compared to the aggregate demand channel of monetary transmission. — *Ashima Goyal, Prashant Parab*

## From Postcolonial Irony to Dalit Truth

- 47 This paper, in three parts, examines the question of lived experience and Dalit subjectivity in a caste society. — *Rajat Roy*

## Sanitation and Hygiene in India: The Role of Development

- 54 Data from the India Human Development Survey on toilet possession and personal hygiene in India shows that the strongest influences on households having a toilet were their social, economic, and educational circumstances.  
— *Vani Kant Borooh*

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- 63 *Amitabha Bhattacharya* pays tribute to actor Soumitra Chatterjee; *Prashant Bhaware* relates his experience with disability and obtaining a disability certificate; *Roomana Hukil* narrates a personal tragedy in light of the toxic levels of air pollution in Delhi; and Last Lines by *Ponnappa*.

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## Industrial Change in India

Avoiding the trajectory of deindustrialisation and dependent development necessitates a renewed focus on state-led industrialisation. **page 40**

## New Cold War or Unbalanced Triad?

Conflict between the United States and China and Russia is not a social-systemic one as was the case in the Cold War, but the contest of one global superpower and two regional powers portends an unmanageable, turbulent world order. **page 25**

## Internet as a Public Good

The new normal under the pandemic underscores that broadband internet has become a necessity, and it is imperative that access to it is subsidised and universalised. **page 21**

## Flawed Policies for Migrants

For the future policy proposals for migrants to be effective, reliable estimates of their numbers are required, for which the government needs to invest in a large-scale migration survey across India. **page 13**

## Strategic Inertia on LAC

Escalation appears to loom large in India's thinking, resulting in adversaries taking advantage of its sensitivity as seen in the unyielding talks with China. **page 10**

## Crumbling Firewalls

- 7 Ownership of banks by industrial houses will cost the economy dearly.

## Boosting Growth: Leaving Much To Be Desired

- 8 Economic planning requires well-preparedness to meet the challenge of a better growth rate.

## Eschewing and (Not) Manipulating Escalation

- 10 India's unwillingness to tactically manipulate escalation makes its responses predictable and has led to strategic inertia most evident in the handling of the situation at the Line of Actual Control in Ladakh. — *Ali Ahmed*

## COVID-19-led Migrant Crisis: A Critique of Policies

- 13 The genesis and evolution of the COVID-19-led migrant crisis in India, along with the institutional responses, is discussed, and alternate policy measures to ensure migrant welfare in the immediate future are suggested. — *S Irudaya Rajan*

## Swachh Bharat Mission and Vulnerable Populations

- 17 Available data is used to consider existing sanitation gaps in relation to the Swachh Bharat Mission's objectives and claims, focusing on populations that are already at greater risk of compounded impacts from COVID-19. — *Sarita Vijay Panchang*

## Broadband Internet Access: A Luxury or a Right?

- 21 A total shift to online modes of operation during the pandemic has created a huge digital divide in the country, aggravating the already existing inequalities. — *Rajagopal Devara*

## The World Order: An Unbalanced Triad

- 21 The current and emergent correlation of forces between us-China-Russia points towards a new era of one super-imperialist power coexisting with a triadic form of major inter-imperialist tensions. — *Achin Vanaik*

## Connectivity Issues in the North East

- 34 The strategic location of the North East and the recent geopolitical developments in the region necessitate the creation of robust infrastructure and multimodal connectivity. — *Sanjeeb Kakoty*

## Has India Deindustrialised Prematurely?

- 40 The district-level spatial concentration of employment by industry has increased, and the coefficient of localisation is rising, but the industrial change discernible at the micro level seems too feeble to show up in the aggregate. — *Judhajit Chakraborty, R Nagaraj*

## Manipur's Population Conundrum

- 48 This paper argues that it is competition for seats in the state legislative assembly and not conventional demographic factors that explains the abnormal population growth rates in parts of northern Manipur. — *Ankush Agrawal, Vikas Kumar*

## Kerala State Road Transport Corporation

- 57 This paper attempts a depot-wise efficiency analysis of the Kerala State Road Transport Corporation and its regional variations for 1988-97 using the data envelopment analysis methodology. — *Anup Kumar Bhandari, Sreelakshmi P*

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# Review of Environment & Development

A set of five papers looks at developmental action plans based on inclusive conservation models, biodiversity-based agriculture, the rise of zoonotic diseases, sustained livelihood opportunities in rural areas, and employment of technology to better document community knowledge. [page 27 onwards](#)

## Wildlife Trade and the Pandemic

With illegal wildlife trade taking centre stage in the pandemic, the efficacy of imposing bans on wildlife markets as a way to prevent future zoonotic-origin epidemics is critiqued. [page 13](#)

## Dalit Representation in Cinema

*The Discreet Charm of Savarnas* (2020) highlights casteist prejudice in Indian cinema and the need for the movement for diverse representation to be institutionalised by film industries. [page 63](#)

## Popular Power in Bolivia

The Bolivian experience shows how popular movements can defend democracy, but there are also frictions between social movements and progressive governments. [page 16](#)

## Bank Privatisation: Why, How, When?

- 10 The government has not provided any rationale for the proposed privatisation of public sector banks. — *T T Ram Mohan*

## Interconnectedness of Illegal Wildlife Trade and COVID-19

- 13 Dwelling on the channels of zoonotic spillover of the coronavirus, the policies implemented to curb illegal wildlife markets are critiqued. — *Shreya Sethi*

## Social Movements and Popular Power

- 16 The return of the left to power in Bolivia is a product of the role played by social movement organisations, outlining the major challenges the new President-elect Luis Arce Catacora faces. — *Tathagatan Ravindran*

## V N Datta: A Student's Reminiscence

- 20 The author recounts his memories as the student of late historian V N Datta. — *Sudhir Chandra*

## Review of Environment and Development

A set of five papers converges on the idea of sustaining and augmenting human well-being through development that is focused on biodiversity.

## Exploring the 4-Cs Framework

- 29 The 4-cs framework is suggested to address human well-being within the purview of ecosystem assessment and management by incorporating multiple social-ecological variables. — *Dhruv Gangadharan, Ravi Chellam*

## Biodiversity in and around Farmlands

- 34 Unlike in protected areas and nature reserves, loss of biodiversity in and around farms due to agricultural intensification has not gained as much attention as it deserves. — *G Ravikanth, Vikram Aditya & R Uma Shaanker*

## Whither One Health in India?

- 40 The lack of a systematic framework that explicitly involves institutions that manage biodiversity and wildlife health leads to gaps in operationalising a One Health framework in India. — *Mridula Mary Paul, Niti B Jadeja, Nadisha Sidhu & Abi T Vanak*

## Restoring Employment and Rural Landscapes

- 48 The potential of "ecological restoration" of primarily rural landscapes in India to generate rapid and high-volume employment along with other co-benefits is demonstrated. — *Rajkamal Goswami, Shreya Bedia & Nitin Pandit*

## Developing Electronic Peoples' Biodiversity Registers

- 55 The need to establish a national framework for electronic peoples' biodiversity registers to simplify the biodiversity documentation process in order to ensure the participation of both experts and citizens is examined. — *Vishwas Chavan, Vinod Mathur*

## Postscript

- 63 *Goutham Raj Konda* on the poor representation of Dalits in Indian cinema; *Richa Shukla* and *Dalorina Nath* on hate speeches and the usage of "thick terms;" *V Vamsi Viraj* proposes a new origin myth for Karna of the *Mahabharata*; and Last Lines by *Ponnappa*.

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### Editor & Publisher:

Santosh Mahanti

### Directors:

Sabita Mahanti

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### Director & Content Strategist:

Kritika Mahanti

### Editorial:

Anindita Banerjee

Megha Ghosh

### Marketing:

Shyamalendu Banerjee

Angan Chatterjee

### Design & Layout:

Dipak Adhikari

Sambaran Karmakar

### Editorial & Corporate Office:

Merlin Links, Block 5E/5F, 5<sup>th</sup> Floor

166B, S. P. Mukherjee Road

Kolkata - 700 026

Phone: 91-033-2465-8581/9406

Fax: 91-033-2465-3790

E-mail: [isinfo@eth.net](mailto:isinfo@eth.net)

[contact@isinfomedia.in](mailto:contact@isinfomedia.in)

Website: [www.isinfomedia.com](http://www.isinfomedia.com)

### Registered Office:

10, Chowringhee Road

Kolkata - 700 013

### Subscription Rate

#### Domestic

₹ 10,800 (Yearly)

₹ 950 (Single Copy)

#### Overseas

\$ 1200 (Yearly)

€ 1200 (Yearly)

● 5 % GST on advertisement as applicable

Owned & Printed by Santosh Mahanti

at M/s. Gupta Quick Printers

4D/28, Dharmatalla Road

Kolkata - 700 039

and published by him from

10, Chowringhee Road

Kolkata - 700 013, India.

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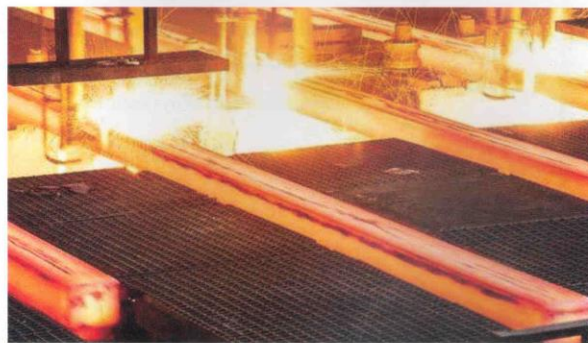
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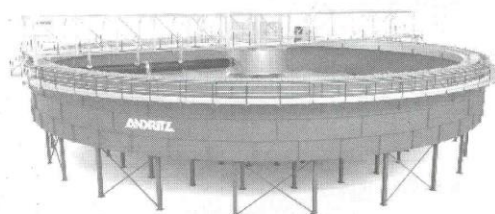
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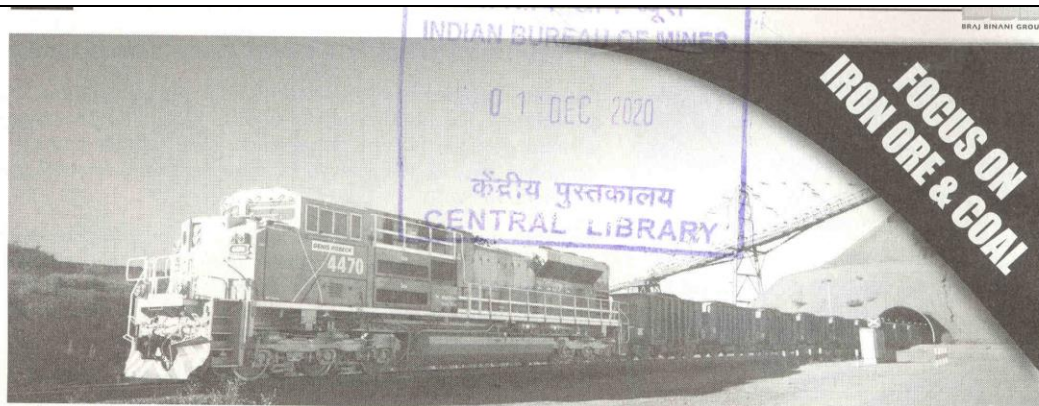
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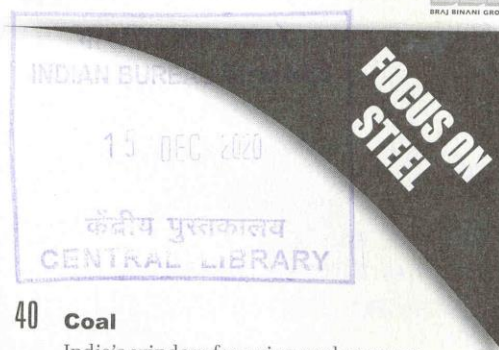
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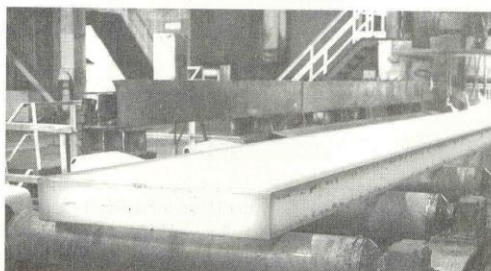
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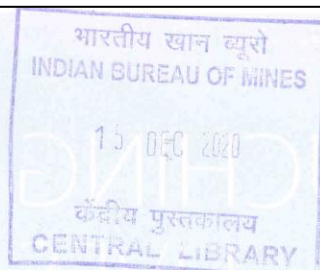
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# Mining Engineers' Journal



Official Publication of Mining Engineers' Association of India

Vol. 22

No. 5

MONTHLY

December - 2020



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Correspondence Address

### MEAI National Headquarters

Contact: **Secretary General,**

**Mining Engineers' Association of India**

F-608 & 609, Raghavaratna Towers, 'A' Block, VI Floor,

Chirag Ali Lane, Abids, Hyderabad - 500 001.

Ph.: 040-66339625, 23200510

E-mail : meai1957@gmail.com

website : www.meai.org

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