

**Symposium**  
**PAST CONNECTIONS, CONTEMPORARY DEBATES: INDIA AND TURKEY**

12-13 February 2015, CSDS Seminar Room, Delhi

**PROGRAMME**

**Day 1: Thursday 12 February 2015**

**Inaugural Session**

9.30-10.15 am

**Welcome Note:** Sanjay Kumar, Director CSDS

**Opening Remarks:** Excellency Burak Akcapar, Ambassador of Turkey to India

**Brief Symposium Introduction:** Smita Tewari Jassal

**Session I: Historical Connections**

10.15 am-1.45 pm

**Chair: Ravikant**

**Eyüp Özveren:** Interplay of Shadows and Trajectories in the *longue durée*

**Shahid Amin:** Cooking for the Turkic Brother

**Tea 11.45 am-12.15 pm**

**Smita Tewari Jassal:** Witnessing Saintly Justice in the dargahs of Jaunpur

**Shail Mayaram:** Sufis and Salafis in former Ottoman and Mughal cities: some reflections on Luxor, Akko and Jerusalem and Delhi and Ajmer

**Lunch 1.45-2.15 pm**

**Session II: Ideas, Leaders, Movements**

2.15-5.00 pm

**Chair: Shail Mayaram**

**E. Khayyat:** The *Edib* in the Colony or the “neo-Moslem” Gandhi

**Ceren Ergenç:** Political Participation of the Middle Class: Anti-Corruption Movements in India and Turkey

**Tea 3.45-4.15 pm**

**Prasad Shetty:** In a City, Parts do not make the Whole

**Day 2: Friday 13 February 2015**

**Session I: Capitalism, Agriculture and Development**

10.00 am-1.30 pm

**Chair: Prathama Banerjee**

**Halil Turan:** Bernard Mandeville, David Hume and Adam Smith on Incentives to Growth: Turkey and India as Two Contemporary Cases

**Aditya Nigam:** "Populist" capital and the desiring middle-class subject.

**Tea 11.30 am-12 Noon**

**Dipankar Gupta:** Informality of Labour

**Vijay Baskar:** Land Privatization in Tamil Nadu

**Zeynep Kadirbeyolu:** Waterproof Development: Democracy, Media and Dam Building in India and Turkey

**Lunch 1.30-2.00 pm**

**Session II: Secularism and Nationhood**

2.30-6.00 pm

**Chair: Aditya Nigam**

**Rajeev Bhargava:** Rethinking Secularism: Respect, Domination and State

**Mustafa Sen:** Alevis and the Turkish State

**Ayse Saktanber:** Women's Issues in Turkey

**Tea 4.00-4.30 pm**

**Meliha Benli Altunsık and Derya Göçer Akder:** Locating Agency in Global Connections: The case of Turkey and India as "Rising Powers"

**Sebnem Akcapar:** Migration and Diaspora in the Two Nations

### **Papers of contributors in Absentia.**

**Badri Narayan Tiwari** Democracy, Deprivation and Dispossession: Multiple Narratives of Democracy in North India

**V.Geetha:** Republican Turkey and Tamil Self-respecters: Kemal Pasha in Southern India

**Kushanava Choudhury** The Endangered Pleasures of Indian Cities: Notes from the Good Life in Istanbul

**Durba Chattaraj** Access to the City: Informal Vending in Urban Space

**Özgür Avcı:** Heroes of the Poor: Bollywood and Turkish Films of the 70s

**Vasanthi Raman:** The Uniform Civil Code, Minority Rights and Women's Rights in India: The Trajectory of the Discourse.

### **ABSTRACTS**

#### **India and Turkey: interplay of shadows and trajectories in the *longue durée***

Eyüp Özveren

Behind this paper, which proceeds as a collage or bricolage as far as its basic form and style of expression are concerned, stands a large-scale, long-term historical approach to 'India and Turkey' as a singular subject-matter. The paper will dwell on specific historical connections between India and Turkey that provide evidence of the strength of background forces at work that render to a theoretically informed analysis. The contention is that corresponding geographies of Turkey and India were far more linked than generally assumed as parts of a greater whole which constituted a human geography associated with an overall culture. In short, geography and culture will be the point of departure here. The narrative will start with the advent, in fact the reverse movement, from West to East of Alexander the Great that re-constituted the terrain in question as a traceable human geography in the ancient world. I will then look at some medieval tales (*Thousand and One Nights*, Sinbad the Sailor) and travelogues (Ibn Battuta and Marco Polo) that have served to reproduce a sense of historical connected-ness and cultural affinity, not to mention alterity, among the literati as well as common folks in this broad context. I will look at the Indian Ocean world-economy faced with European overseas expansion. As is well known, during the voyages of discovery, India was the major pole of attraction for the West. Indian Ocean became a less than safe harbor for all those attracted. It was en route to India that the Ottomans encountered the utmost West of Europe in the Age of Discoveries, that is, the Portuguese. The brief moment when the Ottomans ventured into this maritime struggle with their Mediterranean-limited resources, experience and horizon as best exemplified with the tragically ended experience of Piri Reis will be covered. I will then turn the focus to the nineteenth century when the Ottoman and Indian waters were brought into actual contact with the opening of the Suez Canal. I will rely on a number of travelogues to emphasize

the expansion of the subjective horizons of the travelers involved. As of this section, I will also bring in to the narrative colorful vignettes from our family history and personal memories that indicate the actual depth of instances of affinity, making the narrative all the more subjective. Finally I will present a pastiche of history, literature and the arts that will show how strong the exchanges and instances of contact were in the course of twentieth century. In this last section, I will touch upon the brief arrival of the Indian poet Rabindranath Tagore in Istanbul, how the late Turkish statesman Bülent Ecevit known for his interest in poetry, reciprocated with a visit to India during the last phase of his political tenure. In between the two points stand the attraction of Turkey and India for an outsider, the Italian intellectual, filmmaker and writer, but also political activist, Pier Paolo Pasolini who made his film *Medea* in Cappadocia, but also wrote *The Scent of India*.

### **Witnessing Sainly Justice in the Dargahs of Jaunpur**

Smita Tewari Jassal

To enter healing shrines across north India is to confront a universe where *insaf* (Justice) is the dominant motif. The practices, rituals, and assisting personnel at the *dargah* (Sufi shrine) evoke the *darbar*, the courts of kings of bygone eras, and their unique vocabulary, language, and symbols. Healing begins by submitting to the protocols of this distinctive universe in the expectation that justice will be realized. This essay focuses on on-going practices at specific healing shrines in north India to examine how concepts of justice are understood and invoked. The objectives at shrines today are different from the aims of medieval courts, yet since notions of justice are nevertheless central, this ethnographic essay enquires into the contemporary appeal and logic of the phenomenon.

A secondary interest is to examine the relatively unexplored people's oral traditions for possible traces of the encounter with Turkish rulers, ghazi, sultans, and Sufi Saints on life ways and practices. How this legacy might surface in oral traditions and ritual healing practices and what this tells us about how people engage with, imagine, and reconstruct their historical past, is a concern that informs this essay. Owing to the specificity of the shrine context and attendant notions of justice, the ethnographic data offers the opportunity to ask how the past is made meaningful and brought into conversation with the present. More specifically, within the parameters of the shrine, and framing this imaginary, are specific ideas about the Perso-Turkic state and its collective memory. Hence, I ask what the fieldwork context might reveal about social imaginaries and their vibrancy.

### **The *Edib* in the Colony or the “neo-Moslem” Gandhi**

E. Khayyat, Rutgers University

Ottoman-Turkish feminist, humanist, novelist and critic Halide Edib (1884-1964) reaches us from a world strewn with violence and suffering, yet one that is also full of passion, hope, and an infinite sense of promise. This world extends from her hometown Istanbul to Delhi, Paris, London and New York. She had a single cause behind her work, whether as a translator, novelist, or author of philosophical and political treatises, and wherever she wrote and taught.

This cause was the aesthetic education of the masses. For her the “true meaning of education,” i.e. aesthetic education, was the “awakening of the spirit and the struggle for its evolution.” In the age of colonialism and world wars, aesthetic education was of particular significance for the Muslim masses who, according to Edib, were caught in between dormant traditions and great powers fighting for world dominion. At the same time, then, hers was a relentless search for a model, for what she called the “ideal neo-Moslem” who would be fit for the challenges of the modern world, and whom she would eventually discover in India.

Edib devoted her life to the search for the “ideal neo-Moslem” and the cause of aesthetic education, which compelled her to remain oppositional, and always ready to change sides or become impartial when and if need be for the greater cause. She first allied with Turkish revolutionaries against the pious “tyrant,” i.e. Sultan Abdulhamid II, and then against the Entente during the WWI. Eventually she challenged the Ottoman revolutionaries, too, for what she considered their violent authoritarianism. Then she chose self-exile in Europe and the US and abandoned her hijab *but* gave numerous lectures critiquing modern Turkey’s “cutting its people off from their past.” *The New York Times* introduced her in a full-page article with her unveiled picture as the new face of the Near East. In India, where she was invited to teach at Maktaba Jamia Millia Islamia in 1935, she was the face of the modern Muslim woman — this time veiled, *but* mocking Islamists of the late Ottoman Empire for having nothing better to do than policing women’s dresses on the streets of Istanbul. At Maktaba Jamia Millia Islamia she also declares Mahatma Gandhi her ideal neo-Muslim, concluding her search for modern Islam with a paradox.

Edib’s life and work bear witness to a conflictual history in which a radically new sense of space and new forms of visibility, i.e. a new sense of collectivity and the public gradually reshaped the traditional ways of being and saying, seeing, making and sharing in the non-West. This essay focuses on the – at times ambivalent if not obscure – conflicts and allegiances that marked this history in Turkey as in India. I show how Edib embodies these ambivalent conflicts and allegiances, and how her writings and activism in Turkey, India, Europe and the US enable us to reframe many of the key issues of contemporary literary and cultural criticism, including that of the relationship between visibility and faith in the modern world; the politics of the veil; and the ideal of free speech and thought in the age of globalization.

## **In a City, Parts do not Make a Whole**

Prasad Shetty & Rupali Gupte

The story of Gurgaon is perhaps most unique amongst stories of recent cities. Emerging on the outskirts of Delhi, Gurgaon has been called the ‘millennium city’ by its inhabitants, for whom, the rapid growth in the economy of the city has created a promise and image of prosperity. These people have come to Gurgaon from all over India to take part in the opportunities available. At the same time, discussions about poor infrastructure, degrading environment, absent government, developer-driven planning, growing consumerism, neo-liberal civil society, and inadequate cultural life have dominated characterizations of Gurgaon. Perspectives on Gurgaon have generally oscillated between a critique of its awkward urbanity and a celebration of its tremendous promise.

Discussions on many Indian cities seem to be trapped in the meta-narratives of deficient infrastructure, shoddy governance, environmental issues, capitalistic dominance, loss of rights, and socio-cultural decay. These meta-narratives identify clear problems and create a context for immediate interventions, which create further problems. For example, the narrative about poor infrastructure has made way for large-scale infrastructure creation, which in turn causes displacement of people, which in turn causes creation of rehabilitation policy, which in turn causes environmental and cultural damage, and so on.

The proposed paper is drawn from recent works of CRIT Studio titled 'Gurgaon Glossaries', which is a compilation of 'terms' by which the city of Gurgaon has been settling. Terms here are not only new words and phrases that have emerged in the new city of Gurgaon, but also new ways of doing things, new things, new relations and new practices. On the other hand, 'settling' here is not necessarily a resolution of city forces, nor is it a peaceful coexistence of different people and practices. It is rather a set of processes by which things get worked out – the elaborate mechanics, which keeps the city in a perpetual state of becoming.

The Glossary is an experimental form and is conceived as an unending work with multiple episodes – every time there is an opportunity, new terms get added to the Glossary and new discussions are held. While making this Glossary, attempts to find a beginning or an end, to categorize, to formulate a grand narrative or to follow a singular method to collect terms seemed impossible. Every new term reconfigured the beginnings, endings, categories, methods and grand narratives. While the form of the Glossary allows for categories and grand narratives to be made, it also simultaneously has elements that dismantle them to be reconfigured in yet newer ways. It helps get out of the 'problem-intervention-problem' rat-race and generates an interest in living-in and loving the city. It offers nuanced readings of the city and helps find creative ways of engaging with it. The Glossary reiterates that cities get worked out beyond plans, conspiracies, policies, activisms, concepts, discourses and interventions.

The proposed paper is another episode in the unending work. While it is about presenting Gurgaon's awkward urbanity, it is also about using the glossary to re-tell the story of the city to complicate the meta-narratives. Using some of the terms from the Glossary we will aim at writing three narratives about Gurgaon. These narratives will be around three ideas – *trust*, *territory* and *enterprise* – the backbone frameworks on which the city of Gurgaon seems to be emerging and flourishing.

*Trust:* Being a place of migrants from all over the country, speaking different languages, practicing different customs and following different morals; Gurgaon's landscape appears rough, where 'trust' amongst people is still to consolidate. It appears to be a city of strangers. At the same time, many practices have emerged that completely dismantle this notion. This narrative will bring about such estrangements and dis-estrangements that simultaneously take place in Gurgaon.

*Territory:* Gurgaon seems to have neatly set up its boundaries for different people to live and do different things. These boundaries are guarded and seem non-negotiable. However, many kinds of seepages take place between these tightly held boundaries. This narrative will bring about the stories of such boundaries and seepages that continuously take place in Gurgaon.

*Enterprise:* Gurgaon is often rendered as a city of corporate capital, where large commercial offices have found place. At the same time, the new city has a new logic and has generated new kinds of enterprises that are beyond the ideas of conventional corporate capitalism. This narrative will focus on such new entrepreneurships that blur the conventional logics of capital.

## **Bernard Mandeville, David Hume and Adam Smith on Incentives to Growth: Turkey and India as Two Contemporary Cases**

Halil Turan

My aim in this paper is to focus on the relations between emulation and wealth, virtue and happiness in the context of economic growth. Three centuries ago, Bernard Mandeville, the author of *The Fable of the Bees*, argued that there is an antagonism between virtue and prosperity. Mandeville saw pride or vanity as the spur of industry and the cause of the wealth of a people. David Hume and Adam Smith read Mandeville, tackled the same issue of development along similar lines, but disagreed with him in calling vice the principal incentive to development. Both philosophers, however, admitted that passion has an important role in development. In this paper I will focus on Turkey's and India's potentials of economic growth by referring to these three philosophers' arguments. I will also consider Amartya Sen's criticism of the quantitative understanding of development, which he holds to be insensitive to the happiness of individuals. Sen, arguing that freedom and capability must be seen as the primary indicators and constitutive of the foundations of development, seems to aim to amend the passion oriented analysis which can be traced back to Mandeville, Hume and Smith.

## **Locating Agency in Global Connections: The case of Turkey as a “Rising Power”**

Meliha Benli Altunışık and Derya Göçer Akder

Recently Turkey has been making claims to become a “central state” and a “world power”. Considered in the periphery of NATO during the Cold War, the end of bipolarity has unleashed a desire to become one of the major players in global politics. Although strengthened by its economic successes, this desire cannot be reduced to economic motivations and interests alone. Status-enhancement and identity issues have become motivators for foreign policy preferences. This claim towards ‘world power’, which has been made by several actors in Turkey's politics since the late 1980s, has culminated in the period of Justice and Development Party (AKP), ruling Turkey as a majoritarian government since 2002.

This paper will first map the evolution of this imaginary about Turkey as a “rising power.” Such a conceptualization has been related with re-casting Turkey's domestic and international identity that became highly pronounced under AKP rule. Two concepts become particularly relevant. One is a constant reference to a monolithic understanding of an “Islamic civilization” and recasting Turkey as the global representative of it. For instance, Turkey's leadership, together with Spain, of the Alliance of Civilizations, is a case in point. Second, there is making peace with the Ottoman past and claiming that imperial identity, which led to the labelling of Turkey's foreign policy as “neo-Ottomanism.” In fact, during the AKP period Turkey has been involved intensely with the former Ottoman regions of the Balkans and the Middle East. Therefore, the first part of the article will focus on the construction of Turkey as a “rising power” by the AKP, the choices it has made in doing so and the implications of this imagination for domestic and foreign policy. The paper will explore the changes this brought on Turkey's ways of connecting to the world.

After analysing Turkey's conceptualization of itself and its relations with the world, the paper will focus on the implications of this for Turkey's foreign policy. The impact of Turkey's new

international identity, self-confidence and status-enhancement efforts will be discussed through three issue areas:

- 1) **Global Governance:** One of the main areas “rising powers” engage with in articulating their re-positing in global politics has been their views on global institutions, both in economic and security governance. Thus, the paper will analyse Turkey’s views on global governance: Has Turkey been challenging existing global governance or has it been a supporter of status quo? If it does challenge some aspects of global governance (for instance, emerging views on the UN Security Council), is it to be included in the existing governance regimes or to advance alternative visions? What does all this mean for a country like Turkey which is a member of NATO and a country in accession negotiations with the EU?
- 2) **Foreign Aid:** Aspiring to become an actor in foreign aid has been another important sign of an aspiration to become a global player. Both BRICs and second tier “rising powers” like Turkey, once recipient countries themselves, are becoming aid donors. Are there different practices of aid that Turkey is implementing? What factors differentiate Turkey from established donors? How does aid politics relate to Turkey’s aspirations as a “rising power”?
- 3) **Regional Politics:** Generally the “rising powers” use “their regions” as a hopping ground for global aspirations. Turkey’s recent involvement in the Middle East can be seen as an example of such a policy. How has Turkey, as a “rising power” engaged with the Middle East? What kind of instruments it has used? What have been the opportunities and limitations of its regional policy?

At the end of the paper there will also be an attempt at comparison between Turkey and India. Since the end of the Cold War these two states have been trying to find themselves a new place and to define new roles in a changing world. India has also civilizational claims, economic strength and aspirations and multi-dimensional linkages to the global politics. The comparison will proceed by using the three issue areas above as its themes. Though brief, such a comparison will move us away from Turkey’s uniqueness arguments generally found in the study of Turkey’s foreign policy. It would allow us to see the specificities as well as similarities between these two cases

## **Rethinking secularism: Respect, domination and the State**

Rajeev Bhargava

It is widely recognised that political secularism, virtually everywhere in the world, is in crisis. It is also acknowledged that to overcome this crisis, secularism needs to be reimagined and reconceptualised. This article takes the first few steps towards doing so. It argues, first, that we need to move away from the standard church-state models of secularism and begin to focus instead on secularism as a response to deep religious diversity. Second, it claims that diversity must be understood as enmeshed in power relations, and therefore the hidden potential of religion-related domination must be explicitly acknowledged. Third, these two moves enable us to view secularism as a response to two forms of institutionalised religious domination, inter- and intra-religious. This way of conceiving secularism rebukes the charge that secularism is intrinsically anti-religious. Secularism is not against religion; it opposes institutionalised religious domination. Finally, the article argues that this conception entails that a secular state shows critical respect to all religious and philosophical world views, possible only when it adopts a policy of principled distance towards all of them.

## Alevis and the Turkish State

Mustafa Şen

Although some analysts have seen Turkey as a strictly secular or laic state, the state's religious apparatuses, consisting of Directory of Religious Affairs (*Diyanet İşleri Başkanlığı*, shortly *Diyanet*), Divinity Faculties, religious-track *Imam-Hatip* schools, compulsory religious classes in the primary and secondary schools, and official Quran courses, are the major actors of religious field in Turkey. All these religious apparatuses are official institutions fully financed and run by the state. This shows the limited character of Turkish state's laicism. From the very beginning these official religious institutions have disseminated a certain interpretation of Sunni Islam and thus excluded non-Sunni groups. In this sense, they are major tools for the homogenization of Turkish population in terms of religious beliefs and practices. The state's religious apparatuses are, to a large extent, in conformity with Turkish-Islamism and organized Sunni groups in terms of their interpretation and practice of Sunni Islam. Further, there are close and complementary ties between the religious apparatuses of the laic state and Islamist and organized Sunni groups that are non-official actors of the religious field in Turkey. Indeed, Turkish-Islamists and organized Sunni groups have always been eager to enlarge scope and scale of the state's religious apparatuses through which they have become a part and parcel of the state's institutional structure. Last but not the least, one can argue that the state's religious apparatuses have played a crucial role in the expansion of social basis of Islamist movement and organized Sunni groups. In this context, the role of *Imam-Hatip* schools, originally established as religious-vocational schools to train "enlightened religious staff" for *Diyanet*, must be highlighted. With other religious educational institutions such as Quran courses and Divinity Faculties, Islamist and organized Sunni groups have always seen the schools as channels for the recruitment of new members and cradle for a new Islamic *Ulema*." Indeed, the majority of the leading cadres of National Vision-based political parties and AKP have been graduates of *Imam-Hatip* schools. Furthermore, *Imam-Hatip* graduates have been among "the consumers as well as producers" of Islamist literature. In sum, one can argue that *Imam-Hatip* schools have had a crucial role in terms of dissemination and legitimization of main ideas and ideals of Turkish-Islamism. This paper will try to analyse the role of the state's religious apparatuses in terms of Alevis and the relationships between the Turkish state and Alevis as an excluded and discriminated religious group.

## Women Issues in Turkey: A General Outlook

Ayşe Saktanber

Women issues in Turkey have always been an ideological question and struggle and this struggle was like a tug of war between liberal and traditional forces. Emancipation of women in Turkey which came into being with the establishment of the Republic and followed a complex trajectory throughout time due to the changing political, economic and social conditions and mostly appeared as a long lasting struggle of women who aimed to gain their equal rights and liberation of women. This paper will discuss the transformation of legal status of women in Turkey regarding recent changes in Civil Code and Government Regulations and evaluate it vis-à-vis neoliberal and neoconservative state policies prevalent in current polity and society. It will also include different reactions of diverse women groups to these policies.

## **Republican Turkey and Tamil Self-respecters - Kemal Pasha in Southern India**

V.Geetha

Turkey's long and complex relationship to north and north-western India is acknowledged and well-known. But very few are aware of or perhaps know that early modern Turkey was present in the dissenting political imagination of South Indian radicals in the crucial 1920s. In what was then the Madras Presidency which comprised several linguistic and ethnically diverse regions, a small band of modernisers was openly admiring of Mustafa Kemal Pasha and his achievements. An editorial dated March 27, 1929, that appeared in their iconoclastic weekly aptly named *Revolt* had this to say of Kemal Pasha and his republic: "Ghazi Mustafa Kemal Pasha is the soul and brain of the New Turkey of today. Under his guidance and command Turks are organising their entire scheme of existence anew. The part that even Koran and the Shariat shall play in their life is being settled by the Ghazi and his enthusiastic band of reformers. No more of authority but ethics, no more of gospel but truth, no more of faith but science and technology, shall guide the life of young Turkey. The Ghazi has spoken and all Turks are straining themselves to the limit to realize his ideals."

This paper examines the attractions that early republican Turkey held out for a decidedly subaltern group of Tamil social reformers and iconoclasts in the 1920s. These men and women who called themselves 'self-respecters' were committed to an internationalism that they hoped would bind nations, especially those who had been colonized, and hold them accountable to a universal ethic of progress, equality and justice. The historically significant reforms proposed by Kemal Pasha in Turkey and King Amanullah in Afghanistan, the Bolshevik revolution and the emergence of the world's first socialist state, the growing atheism in Anglo-American life, the fact that China appeared on the brink of cataclysmic change – these developments appeared to the self-respecters as so many expressions of a universal moment of revolt and change, which marked the history of diverse populations. They were fascinated by the turn taken by history in the early twentieth century and looked with hope to the future, when a republic may yet be in India.

Today Kemal Pasha's modernization project has its critics, and his rich though troubling legacy is contested both on the ground and in the realm of ideas. In these debates, it is usual to conceive of modernization in terms of Turkey's relationship to Europe, and pose critical questions about the model that Ataturk adopted for his country. In contrast to these approaches, this paper will foreground the question of modernization as it was articulated within a shared internationalist discourse that desired to wrest the content of the "modern" from its imperial and western context and – paradoxically - re-house it within enumerable local realities. This peculiar confluence between the local and the international, I argue, constituted the "modern" anew in the Tamil-Indian context – and I would like to render such a reconstituted modern as an idea that enables us think beyond older theses of modernization.

## **Adam Smith, Karl Marx, Colonialism, Ottomans and India**

Doğan Göçmen

It is a widespread impression that the philosophers of the age of the Enlightenment justified colonialism. It is said that they championed the idea that European civilisations or nations are by

definition entitled to subordinate other countries and nations. In this context it is frequently referred to the colonisation of America and sometimes also to Africa and black people. Additionally, it is often suggested that Karl Marx more or less followed this Eurocentric view of the world and explicitly supported the occupation of India by British Empire. However, there are not only some justifiable doubts about this claim but also historical and textual evidences to put it in question. It is indeed not very difficult to show that many philosophers of the 'age of reason' supported subordination and colonisation of non-European nations and countries. But this seems to be only the half of the truth. At closer look, it may well be claimed that there are also many *philosophes* of that age, who opposed and openly criticised the politics of colonisation of non-European nations. Adam Smith is one and perhaps the most significant one of those philosophers who attacked modern colonisations explicitly.

When doing this, both Smith followed a tradition in European thought and set up a new one which conceptually goes much beyond the principle of cosmopolitanism which we know from Immanuel Kant for example. In Smith's works and lectures there is a constitutive line of thought which suggests that the *common* administration of the world should be taken by relatively independent nation rather than merely by the independent countries of independent nations. This approach of Smith's may be shown by analysing his conception 'the great society of mankind', which he uses in the *Theory of Moral Sentiments*. The conception of 'mankind' signifies the unity of the plurality of relatively independent 'nations'. This conception of the world as the common habitation of the humanity of relatively independent nations, as the historical development has shown, is built upon a much deeper principle than mere pluralistic cosmopolitan federation of nations.

This principle which may be called internationalism rejects by definition any form of subordination of one nation by another. It is then only from this point of view that Smith's criticism of modern colonies in the *Wealth of Nations* becomes understandable. This approach as used both in Smith's published works as well as his lectures refers back to ancient Stoics and goes through to Karl Marx whose work I take together with that of Friedrich Engels'. Like in Smith's *Wealth of Nations*, in Marx's *Capital* there is a chapter explicitly devoted to the critical assessment of "modern colonisation theories". It may then be reasonably claimed that in this context there is more than one reason to read Marx in the tradition of Adam Smith in particular and in that of the *philosophes* of the *Siècle des Lumières*.

Although with different goals and in different ways and times, both Smith and Marx theorise critically about *conditio humana* in the age of 'commercial society' as Smith used to call it or 'capitalism' as Marx prefers to define it. However, both Smith as well as Marx try to use the whole history of civilisation as much as possible to make sense of the conditions of humanity. They use the history of ancient and modern civilisations, and civilisations from Middle Ages from all over the world: Arabs, Romans, Greeks, Chinese, Germans, Tartars, Russians, Meds, Assyrians, Akkadians, the Sumerians, Indians, the Hittites, "Turks" or Ottomans and so on. Therefore, it may methodologically be useful to compare their views to various civilisations. It seems to be indispensable to compare their views at least of Indians and Ottomans.

By exploring the idea of humanity of relatively independent nations administering the world and its resources together one may also address the contemporary issues and developments in the practice and theory of international relations.

## **Democracy, Deprivation and Dispossession: Multiple Narratives of Democracy in North India**

Badri Narayan Tiwari

Democracy presents double discontent. The contradictions of the 'people's power' are deep. The existing power-holders and dominant sections often dictate governments that emerge out of democratic elections. They create hurdles in ensuring equality and participation as key values of democracy. This paper documents the multiple experience of democracy in North Indian society through the narratives of small dalit groups in eastern UP. These discourses of multiple marginalizations are crucial. In the project of empowering communities through state resources and their distribution through state policies, their implementation produces the sense of marginalization among various sections of society. We also trace the sense of relative deprivation of small dalit groups. We explore how state-led categories, which had been developed by the state to bring equality in the society, lead to the misdistribution of the resources and produced marginalization in several cases. These articulations of small dalit groups may be expressed in the broader public forum by the intervention of political groups and NGOs. But, these emerge through their everyday life. They realize the state-led democracy by its presence in the form of various aspects of social justice.

Key words: dalits, Democracy, marginalization, state, caste, resources, categories, communities

## **Access to the City: Informal Vending in Urban Space**

Durba Chattaraj

Both India and Turkey have fast-growing economies with large and expanding informal sectors. This article will explore an aspect of this informality by considering a striking similarity of practice between the cities of Calcutta and Istanbul - that of the casual vending, hawking and selling of various goods on the street, from fresh food, to plastic toys to handkerchiefs and leather wallets. Many of the street vendors in both cities belong to the informal or unregulated economy, and they may ply their trade in violation of state regulation and the law. For many hawkers, these types of jobs exist at the "end of the line," a last-resort form of work where many other forms of economic activity have failed them. For others, street vending allows for the making of a better living. The paper will consider what allows for this form of informal access to the street in both cities, through examining journalistic and policy documents, as well as interviews and ethnographic research conducted with hawkers in the city of Calcutta. While the focus will be on Calcutta, the article will also bring in the case of Istanbul to attempt to consider in comparative perspective the types of cities created by the dense layering of hawking and vending activities in busy public places; state practices of tolerance towards hawking and vending, even if these practices may be illegal; and the politics of access to a city's streets.

In the case of Calcutta, I argue that without these informal or even illegal practices, vast swathes of social and economic life in the city simply would not be. Many vibrant markets and shops along streets which line the city would not exist, and pavements would lie empty, where instead thousands make a living off them everyday. Ultimately, through a comparative framework, the paper aims to develop a normative argument of the ethics of the process of informal squatting, vending and hawking. The paper argues that while many of these practices may be illegal, the ability of the urban poor to sell goods on the street benefits the poor, as well as the publics of

these cities who consume the goods that they sell. In addition, the dense presence of street vendors in both cities is an inescapable part of their public space, and contributes to distinct characteristics and imaginaries of these cities, experienced by both residents and visitors alike. I argue that the streetscapes created by crowded and multi-use vending practices become an intrinsic part of urban culture. At a time when India is urbanizing rapidly, yet the mode of urban comparison is most often with the West, or increasingly with urbanization processes in China, it becomes important to examine other cities to open up other imaginaries, possibilities and practices.

## **The Endangered Pleasures of Indian Cities: Notes from the Good Life in Istanbul**

Kushanava Choudhury

Earlier this year, the world learned of Istanbul's unique urban culture through the confrontations at Gezi Park. It was at base a very simple fight: Thousands of people rose up to fight for a park where friends come together to while away summer afternoons, against the planned construction of a shopping mall. Such a battle between the ephemeral pleasures of the present and the unfolding of a utopian future would be unimaginable in urban India today, where our dreams must always be forged at the cost of our own, unarticulated and undefended sensibilities of what makes life in Indian cities worth living.

Since the “Liberalization” of India's economy in the early 1990s, those lucky enough to be urban educated professionals have become dramatically wealthier, with increased purchasing power and countless international brands to consume. Most dramatically, our lives have become car-centric and air-conditioned, insulating us from the rest of the public and from the harsh elements, enabling a kind of sensory secession from the city. Increasingly elites have begun to dream of an Indian city without the sensory overload of Indian urban life, and without the incessant stream of poor rural migrants into the urban space. In short, we have begun dreaming of an Indian city cleansed of most Indians. In the media and in the state, there is an elite discourse of making Delhi “a world-class city” and Mumbai “like Shanghai.” Well-travelled businessmen often lament how our cities fail to measure up to the ideal forms of Singapore or Dubai. In these fantasies, the ideal city is a place where the streets are clean, the skyscrapers are tall and where the majority of the people may not make the rules but do follow them. The archetypal city is invariably a metropolis under authoritarian rule.

In one way, an elite Indian visiting these utopias feels a sense of triumphal hope, that all that is jarring and intractable about urban life in India can actually be sorted out. But these spaces also provoke another feeling, of sheer panic. This is surely the future we must desire, we think. But why must our future also be so bereft of the pleasures of our present?

In the imagined future metropolis of highways and shopping malls, what becomes constricted are the kinds of pleasures that one can only avail of in the city, pleasures connected with the unprecedented mixing of strangers which produce distinctly urban idioms, new forms of comportment and mentality. In those vast, silent, empty spaces of our utopia/dystopias, what we miss is the textured social life of neighborhoods, of the corner shop and chai on the street, the sharing of various public spaces like coffee houses and parks for lovers. We miss the commotion of Esplanade in Calcutta, or Chowpatty beach in Bombay, Delhi's India Gate. Missing too are the public festivals – riotous, wasteful, spectacular – which are a constant feature of urban Indian

life. Most of all, we miss the thickness and breadth of experience that makes everyday life in an Indian metropolis worth living.

These aspects of the Indian metropolis remain integral to the urban experience as depicted in countless films, songs and literature. And yet, these essential aspects of urban experience remain absent in the futuristic imaginings of elite urban Indians. They figure nowhere in the archetypal new cities, like Gurgaon, which are being built with purported elite preferences in mind. These are cities of the car and the mall, where the pleasures of the Indian city are conspicuously absent.

Are we doomed to dream only of futures which require us to deny ourselves?<sup>1</sup> This article draws on the city of Istanbul in order to imagine an alternate urban future for ourselves. Istanbul's extraordinary public spaces, its modes of enjoyment of places, its celebration of the pleasures which are unique to urban life, provides clues of another future for our selves and our cities. In Istanbul, one senses Aristotle's understanding of the link between the polis, politics and the good life. In conversations in Beyoglu's meyhanes, while fishing along the piers in Kumkapi, or in the political debates around Bogazici, its citizens articulate a way of being which is attuned to the pleasures of being in public and of being a public. Those moments of people coming together in public are ultimately what makes city life the good life, and worth fighting for.

## **Waterproof Development?**

### **Democracy, Media, Networks and Dam Building in India, Turkey and Nepal**

Zeynep Kadirbeyoglu

The last decades have witnessed considerable contention in relation to the construction of large dams throughout the world. In some cases despite severe tensions and conflicts between the societal groups, states and donors, the dam was constructed whereas in other cases the projects were suspended or even cancelled. This paper aims to account for the different paths that lead up to a project being implemented or being suspended by examining three dam projects – Sardar Sarovar Project of India, the Ilisu Dam of Turkey and Arun III of Nepal – in order to unearth the factors that explain the differences between these three cases. The rationale behind the choice of these three cases is as follows: they were all given clearance in the post 1970 period and they all created national and/or international disturbances in terms of anti-dam organisations. The post 1970 period is important because we see more and more dams being challenged by social movements or NGOs throughout the world.

The paper will begin with a brief description of the three projects and the paths they have followed. Then, the variables that account for these differences will be summed up under four headings: whether there is democracy and how long it has been the system of government in a given country, whether there is non-state media which is free, whether there is access to transnational networks, and whether the state has the necessary resources to construct the dam irrespective of the international funding agencies.

---

## **The Poor's Heroes In Popular Hindi And Turkish Cinema In The 1970s**

Ozgur Avci

This study undertakes a comparative analysis of two iconic figures of the poor people's hero in popular cinema, which came into view in distinct contexts but around the same historical moment: The 'angry' working-class protagonist in Bollywood and the 'mad' hero of the urban poor in Yeşilçam. Although rapid urbanization and the problems related to urban poverty in the developing countries have been discussed extensively since the 1960s particularly with respect to economic and political outcomes, the issues related to cultural adaptation and identity construction especially on the part of the rural migrants have remained largely overlooked in the literature. An arena for various processes of meaning-making to clash and mingle, and as such, an important source of clues to the subaltern's perceptions of the world, popular culture offers a rich field of investigation to fill this gap. Accordingly, this study attends to popular cinema. It presumes to draw a parallel between two similar champions of the urban poor in a group of Hindi and Turkish movies by focusing on two star actors, Amitabh Bachchan and Cüneyt Arkın, whose films introduced the 'angry' and 'mad' heroes of the urban poor in their respective contexts at around the same time, the mid-1970s. Besides helping to uncover the maps of meaning that constitute cultural experiences of the lower classes under particular social conditions, an exploration of this sort would also give a chance to go beyond the peculiarities and outline the symbolic elements that commonly or similarly shape the ways in which people of different countries make sense of their social experiences.

## **BIOGRAPHIES**

**Eyüp Özveren** is professor in the Department of Economics of the Faculty of Economics and Administrative Sciences, Middle East Technical University, Ankara. He teaches Economic History and History of Economic Thought, Political Economy and Institutional Economics. He publishes in these fields as well as in Mediterranean Studies to which he has regularly contributed. He received his PhD. from State University of New York in 1990. He has numerous publications in Turkish and English and has been a visiting professor and research fellow in USA, France and Germany.

**Shahid Amin** was Professor of History at the University of Delhi until last year. Among his publications are *Event, Metaphor, Memory: Chauri Chaura, 1922-1992* (1995) and *Writing Alternative Histories: A View from India* (2002). He is the editor of *A Concise Encyclopedia of North Indian Peasant Life* (2005), co-editor with Gyan Pandey, of *Nimnvargiya Itibas, Bhag Ek, Bhag Do* (1994, 2001), and has also written the Hindustani dialogues of the feature film 'Karvan', directed by Pankaj Butalia. He was the Rajni Kothari Chair in Democracy at CSDS in 2012-13.

**Smita Tewari Jassal** is associate professor of Anthropology in the Department of Sociology, and Graduate School of Social Sciences, METU, Ankara, since 2010 and research fellow at CSDS, Delhi. She was the Madeleine Haas Visiting Professor of Anthropology, Brandeis University in 2008-2009 and taught at Columbia University and SAIS, Johns Hopkins University. She was Visiting Fellow at the Truman Institute for Peace, Hebrew University, Jerusalem between 2003-2004. She teaches theories of anthropology, culture, and courses on India. Her research interests include marginality, gender, religion, rural transformations, caste, Partition and cultural production. She has authored *Unearthing Gender* (2012, Duke UP), *Daughters of the Earth: Women and Land in Uttar Pradesh* (2001, Manohar) and co-edited *The Partition Motif in Contemporary Conflicts* (2006, Sage).

**Shail Mayaram** works on the intersection of politics, history, anthropology and philosophy. She has worked on subaltern perspectives on state and sovereignty, marginality, and identities of peasant, pastoral, and 'tribal' peoples and theorized 'living together' in Asian cities. She was Visiting Chair at Tel Aviv University, Visiting Professor at the L'École des hautes études en sciences sociales, Aligarh Muslim University and the Indian Institute of Advanced Study. She was awarded the Fulbright and Rockefeller fellowships. She has coordinated the Muslim Studies project at CSDS and been a member of the Subaltern Studies editorial collective. Her books are *Resisting Regimes: Myth, Memory and the Shaping of a Muslim Identity* (1997), *Against History, Against State: Counterperspectives from the Margins* (2003), (co-authored) *Creating a Nationality: The Ramjanmabhumi Movement and Fear of Self* (1995); (co-edited) *Subaltern Studies: Muslims, Dalits, and the Fabrications of History, volume 12* (2005); (edited) *The Other Global City* (2009) and *Philosophy as Samvāda and Svarāj: Dialogical Meditations on Daya Krishna and Ramchandra Gandhi* (2014).

**Ceren Ergenc** is Assistant Professor in the Department of International Relations, and Chair of the Asian Studies Program in the Middle East Technical University, Ankara. She teaches courses on contemporary China and East Asia, and world history. Her research interests include political participation, deliberative democracy, urban politics, and methodologies of non-Western historiographies. Her essay "Citizen Activism in China's Local Governance: A Case Study on Public Hearings" appeared in a special issue of the Journal of Chinese Political Science, 2014.

**Prasad Shetty and Rupali Gupte** are urbanists based in Mumbai. They are trained architects specializing in urban management and urban design. Their research on contemporary Indian

urbanism takes different forms - writings, drawings, mixed-media, storytelling, teaching, conversations, walks and spatial interventions. They have published widely and worked with several government and non-government agencies. In 2003, they co-founded an urban research network, Collective Research Initiatives Trust (CRIT). In 2013, with six other architects they co-founded the School of Environment and Architecture (SEA), an experimental academic space for research and education in architecture and urbanism.

**Halil Turan** is Professor and Chairperson, Department of Philosophy, Middle East Technical University. He has published papers and book chapters on the history of modern philosophy, phenomenology, ethics and political philosophy in English and Turkish and co-authored *Dictionary of Logic* (in Turkish) with Teo Gruenberg et al. He is currently working on a project about India and Turkey, of which the present workshop, “Past Connections, Contemporary Debates: Turkey and India” will be one of the outputs.

**Aditya Nigam** Professor at CSDS, Delhi, writes on social and political theory. He has published on Marxism, secularism, nationalism, identity and radical politics. He is currently researching 'the political' and its formation/s outside conventional western theorizations, and 'Capital' as a form of modern power that arises on the edifice of modern politics of knowledge. He has authored *The Insurrection of Little Selvas: Crisis of Secular-nationalism in India*, (OUP 2006), *Power and Contestation: India Since 1989*, with Nivedita Menon (Zed, 2007), *After Utopia: Modernity and Socialism in the Postcolony* (Viva, 2010) and *Desire Named Development* (Penguin, 2011). He was academic resident at the Bellagio Center in 2011, Visiting Fellow at the Centre for the Study of Democracy, University of Westminster, 2009 and Visiting Fellow at the Shelby Cullom Davis Center for Historical Studies, Princeton University, 2006.

**Dipankar Gupta** is Distinguished Professor and Director of Centre of Political Affairs and Critical Theory, Shiv Nadar University. He was formerly Professor in the Centre for the Study of Social Systems, Jawaharlal Nehru University. He was Leverhulme Professor in the London School of Economics in 2003 and Visiting Faculty as Fulbright Professor, Shastri-Indo Canadian Fellow, and Charles Wallace Fellow. In 2007 he was Woodrow Wilson Scholar at the Woodrow Wilson Centre in Washington D.C., USA. He has published over 70 research papers and won several awards. He was editor of the journal “Contributions to Indian Sociology” for over 15 years, until 2006. His books include *Caste in Question* (Sage, 2005), *Anti-Utopia: the Essential Writings of Andre Beteille* (OUP, 2006), *Learning to Forget: The Anti-Memoirs of Modernity* (OUP, 2006), *The Caged Phoenix: Will India Fly?* (Stanford U Press 2010, Penguin 2009), *Justice before Reconciliation: Negotiating a New Normal in post-riot Ahmedabad and Mumbai* (Routledge, 2011), *Revolution From Above: India's Future and the Citizen Elite* (Rupa, 2013).

**Zeynep Kadirbeyoglu** is Assistant Professor in the department of Political Science and International Relations at Bogazici University, Istanbul. Her Ph.D in Political Science from McGill University was on decentralization and democratization of irrigation management in Turkey. Her research interests include globalization, citizenship, environmental change and forced migration. Her essays have appeared in Environmental Politics, Mediterranean Politics and in edited volumes.

**Rajeev Bhargava** has been at CSDS since 2005. Before that he was Professor at the Centre for Political Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, and between 2001 and 2005 Head, Department of Political Science, University of Delhi. He has been Fellow at Harvard University, University of Bristol, Institute of Advanced Studies, Jerusalem, Wissenschaftskolleg, Berlin, and the Institute for Human Sciences, Vienna. He was Distinguished Resident Scholar, Institute for Religion, Culture and Public Life, Columbia University, and Asia Chair in Paris. His publications

include *Individualism in Social Science* (1992), *What is Political Theory and Why Do We Need It?* (2010), *The Promise of India's Secular Democracy* (2010). His edited works are *Secularism and Its Critics* (1998) and *Politics and Ethics of the Indian Constitution* (2008).

**Mustafa Şen** is associate professor in the Department of Sociology, Middle East Technical University (METU). He is also member of KORA (Center for Black Sea and Central Asia) and Eurasian Studies at METU. His PhD in Sociology from METU in 2001 was on “Turkish Entrepreneurs in Central Asia: The Case of Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan”. His main areas of interest are economic sociology, sociology of religion, and contemporary Central Asia. His current research is concerned with activities of official and non-official Turkish Islamic organizations in Europe and Central Asia and the transformation of state-religion relations in Turkey.

**Ayşe Saktanber** is Professor of Sociology at Middle East Technical University, Ankara. She has been chairperson of the Department of Sociology since 2009 and was elected as Executive Committee Member of the International Sociological Association (ISA) for 2014-2018. She is the author of *Living Islam: Women, Religion and the Politicization of Culture in Turkey* (2002), and co-editor of *Fragments of Culture: The Everyday of Modern Turkey* (2002). Her articles have appeared in edited volumes and journals such as *Signs, Social Politics, Middle East Policy, New Perspectives on Turkey* and *Turkish Studies*. In addition to media, women, youth and Islamic culture, her research interests include space, place and gender, and cities, “right to the city” and city cultures in the era of globalization.

**Meliha Benli Altunışık** is Professor, Department of International Relations, Middle East Technical University (METU) Ankara, where she also heads the Graduate School of Social Sciences. She has been a Fulbright Scholar at Center for Middle Eastern Studies, Harvard University (1988-89) and received her Ph.D. in political science from Boston University in 1994. She was resident Fulbright scholar in the Middle East Institute in Washington D.C. in 2003. Her research interests include Middle East politics, Turkey's foreign policy, IR theory and International Relations of the Middle East. With Ozlem Tur she co-authored *Turkey: Challenges of Continuity and Change* (Routledge, 2005) and has several book chapters and journal articles to her credit.

**Badri Narayan** is Professor at G.B. Pant Social Science Institute, Allahabad. His research interests include popular culture, social and anthropological history, dalit and subaltern issues. Writing in both English and Hindi, he is the author of *Kanshiram: Leader of the Dalits*, (2014), *The Making of the Dalit Public in North India: Uttar Pradesh, 1950-Present* (2011), *Fascinating Hindutva: Saffron Politics and Dalit Mobilisation* (2009) and *Women Heroes and Dalit Assertion in North India* (2006). He received the Fulbright Senior Fellowship in 2004-5 and the Smuts Fellowship, University of Cambridge in 2007.

**Durba Chattaraj** is Senior Fellow in the Critical Writing Program, University of Pennsylvania. She teaches courses on the Informal Economy, South Asia, and the Craft of Prose. Her research interests include informality, urbanization, and globalization. She is engaged in an ethnography on a highway connecting rural and urban W. Bengal, entitled, "Roadscapes: the in-between World of Globalization in India". Her article "*Globalization and Ambivalence: Sari Embroidery in Southern Bengal*" will appear in the International Journal of Labor and Working Class History in April 2015.

**Kushanava Choudhury** is Senior Fellow in the Critical Writing Program, University of Pennsylvania. He has a PhD in political science from Yale University. He teaches courses in Political Theory and Urban Studies and has recently completed a book manuscript on contemporary Calcutta.

**V. Geetha** is a writer and translator, currently Editorial Director, Tara Books. She has written widely in English and Tamil on caste and gender concerns in the Tamil context, education and literature. Her current research includes the Tamil labour diaspora and the making of a distinct culture of Tamil 'internationalism'.

---