

Globalization and Changing Pattern of the Santal Community: of Mayurbhanj District, Odisha

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Abstract

The Santal is the largest Dravidian indigenous community, found in the state of West Bengal, Bihar, Jharkhand, Odisha, and Assam. They speak the Austro-Asiatic language known as 'Ol Chiki' script and speak Santali as their mother tongue, and share a way of life that implies values different from Hindu. The Santal community mostly depends on Subsistence farming, they live a very simple life, have a distinctive culture, superstition, and backwardness, and are marginalized from the mainstream population. The paper focuses on the influences of globalization on sociocultural aspects of the Santal society because they migrated to urban space and they get changed in modern values. It also points out how agricultural technology has been utilized after returning to the place of origin and how it promotes modern values in their daily life. Globalization helps the Santal community to modify their conservative feelings and improve their lifestyle. There have been a lot of changes observed in their thinking social economic, political, cultural, and linguistic. As a result, the Santal have overcome their inertia and announced themselves as an important part of this beautiful world.

Keywords: Santal, Globalization, Lifestyle changes, Modern values

Globalization as a complicated process is not a new phenomenon in our world, our country has experienced the effect of globalization from different aspects. It is a complex and multidimensional phenomenon it impacts human life in the four spheres. The Oxford English Dictionary (OED) defines globalization as "the act of globalizing". The concept focuses on globalizing the whole world not nations, that's why we refer to it as the interconnectedness between nations as a result of the unification of trade, finance, individuals, and thoughts into a single global market 1. Globalization is growing It is a process in the current world with the dimension of social, cultural, economic, and political processes in the field of globalization. Globalization brings an exchange of ideas and elements in different societies which is not a common concept. Globalization in simple terms brings increased interconnectedness. The term globalization came for the first time in the second half of the 20th century during the late 1970s and 1980s. (Beyer 2003) The current process of globalization is a gradual process that removes the barriers to trade and investment between

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nations which start at the end of the 20th century. Karl Marx and Saint-Simon's ideas of globalization lead to established modernization with the global market. It aims to provide economic stability through private- enterprises seeking the objective of economic and social development. It also brings integration among different world economies with various companies. The major effect of globalization on different dimensions of life has a great deal of attention over the last three decades. The developing countries are speeding up to openness in recent years the concern about globalization and its different effects on economic growth, poverty, inequality, environment, and cultural dominance is increased. Globalization has its own domain of demographic variables "it is a process increase migration of people from rural and farming lifestyles to the urban and global fashion, food, markets, and entertainment". (Friedman 2000) (p-13) He also said in contrast to the cold war system, which was entirely based on nation-states, globalization is based on three balances (between nation-states, between individual nation-states and the global markets, and between nation-states and individuals)

Santal

The Santal is one of the Munda peoples who live in the state of Jharkhand, West Bengal, Bihar, Odisha, and Assam. They also inhabited as a minority in neighboring Bangladesh and Nepal. The Santal is considered the largest homogenous scheduled tribe in India. They are classified as Kolarians according to linguistic classification. They speak the Santali language and their script is 'Ol Chiki' invented by renowned contributor Pandit Raghunath Murmu. With a percentage of 4.26 million population and third -largest tribal community after Gonds and Bhils in India. In Odisha, they are distributed in the districts of Mayurbhanj, Balasore, and Keonjhar. The paper focuses on the Mayurbhanj district of Odisha where they have a specific economy, political organization, culture, language, and occupational structure. The Santal tribe has a typical lifestyle, as they live their life in the forest and fishing cultivation. These tribes are India also poses a magnificent skill of making bamboo baskets, mates, Sal leaves plates, and musical instruments as their economy. The paper highlights the influence of modern values in Santal education, the use of modern technology, music -dance, language, Tattoos making, Health, and superstition beliefs have noticed a change in the social, economic, and cultural life of Santal due to the migration to urban space. The particular effect of globalization makes it possible to change their lifestyle. They merge with the mainstream population and are globalized in their cultural ideas, standardization, and outlook on life. More particularly, the diminishing role of the patriarchal rule is no longer seen in Santal society's effect on education and occupation. If we look back to traditional Santal society, where they particularly work men and women to maintain their old traditions and customs, they have to depend on a forest-based economy, but tribal life has now come to a new transformation due to the effect of globalization aspects. The basic objective of the paper is to know the impact of the spread of education and the use of modern technology changes the traditional culture of Santal society. The Santal tribes have brought various changes in their day-to-day activities, age, old customs, and traditions. They are influenced by the people and new cultural traits, in this way education and migration have exposed them to various aspects of modernity.

Objectives

The study was designed to fulfill the following objectives: -

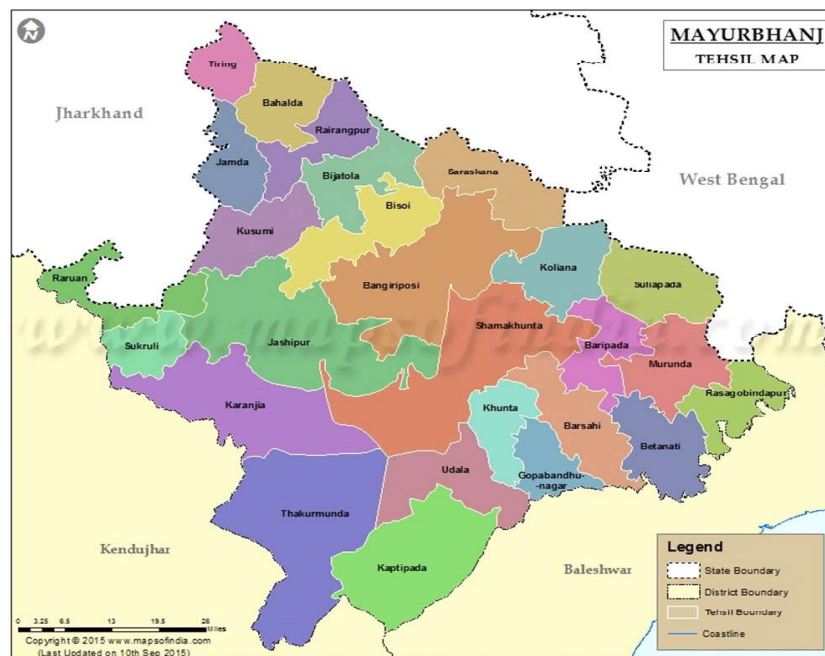
- To find out the social, and economic, changes in the Santal community.
- To understand the changing factors of occupation.
- To find out how globalization changed the Santal life's whole system.

Generally, the problem of the Santal community is a low standard of living, they are involved in agriculture and hunting for their livelihood. Their agriculture system is primitive mainly they do subsistence farming. They have primitive occupations, superstitious beliefs, and are conservative

as a result their lifestyle is very backward and organized from the mainstream population. But the impact of globalization in developing the Santal lifestyle of the Mayurbhanj district of Odisha.

Methodology

The researcher uses an interview schedule and focuses on group discussions conducted in the Santal community of the Mayurbhanj district, Odisha. Basically, the urban centers are more affected by the process of globalization so I focus on urban areas such as Baripada, Rairangpur, in order to study, data were collected from 200 people from different areas 100 men and 100 women from different households. Men and women ranging from age from 20 years to 65 years age group. The researcher uses primary data such as observation, interview schedule, and group discussion and secondary data such as books, journals, articles, the internet, etc. the study used purposive sampling and descriptive research design as a method.



Source: Mayurbhanj Tehsil map

Impact on Modern indicators

The process of migration is a complex one as it involves a variety of challenges both for the migrants and for the locality as well. The society and social institutions of migrants are subjected to change and they undergo several changes or modifications to fit into this changing system. Theoretically speaking, there remains the possibility of the migrants adopting new cultural perspectives, new ideologies, and beliefs from the very first moment they join the new society, and consequently, they may also bring these changes to the place of origin.

The Santal society has changed for modern indicators, this process is simple for migration. This process of migration is a complex one as it involves challenges both for the migrants and for the locality as well. The society and social institutions of migrants are subjected to change and they undergo several changes or modifications to fit into this changing system. Theoretically speaking,

there remains the possibility of the migrants adopting new cultural perspectives, new ideologies, and beliefs from the very first moment they join the new society, and consequently, they may also bring these changes to the place of origin. But, in reality, these changes might not be revolutionary to replace tradition with modernity (Saren Gurupada, July -2013). Most Santal is still attached to their own culture and consider it most important to overcome the divide between the home and the school atmosphere, which coexist as two separate worlds (Tambas Lyche. M.C.2007). Mainly modern indicators (Technology, Health, Education) influence them. Nowadays as well as technology has developed, and it affects the Santal society.

Result and discussion:

Changed traditional society and culture Globalization affects tribes (Santal) differently. The gains of globalization have so far accrued to those who already have education and skill advantage, easier market access, and possession of assets for use as collateral to access credit. For the Santal society, globalization is associated with rising prices, loss of job security, and lack of health care and tribal development programs (Responses of Santal to The Globalization: Kumar Vikramendra). The social dimension of modern indicators refers to the impact of globalization on the life and work of people, their families, and their societies. Anthropologists have time and again demonstrated the symbiotic relationship between the Santal economy, culture, and society with the ecology at a given time and space. Notwithstanding the diversity of cultural practices, therefore, the Santals of India represent certain uniformities. But the Santal society and culture witnessed several changes, particularly since independence in India. And migration is one of the major factors influencing them and bringing them close to other groups and societies in the country. Migration is closely related to Globalization for the impact of modern indicators. The process of migration is argued to have exposed the Santal to non-Santal and often an urban way of life. The impact can be seen in the field of cultural language, traditions occupation, customs, and so on. I have also tried to identify the areas of life changes and the culture of the modern indicators.

Table1

Changing Factors of Society and Culture

S.N.	Changing Factors	Responding to Views on the Basis of Sex					
		Male	Percent	Female	Percent	Total	Percent
1.	A traditional and new culture	13	13.0	13	13.0	26	13.0
2.	Traditional culture	16	16.0	21	21.0	37	18.5
3.	Modern Culture	31	31.0	26	26.0	57	28.5
4.	Ignore Traditional culture	10	10.0	10	10.0	20	10.0
5.	Learn about changing norms and values in society	24	24.0	22	22.0	46	23.0
6.	Don't know	06	06.0	08	08.0	14	07.0
Total		100	100.0	100	100.0	100	100.0

The table1 illustrated that areas of change observed by respondents' impact on modern culture have made them difficult to sustain the age-old belief and practices in society to days. On one end some respondents accepted the traditional system and another end some used to ignore the old social order of the society. Because of migration from village to town which shows a great

shift of values and mores transformation from a traditional system to a modern belief pattern by the means of the globalization process some of the changing aspects are seen in Baripada town of Mayurbhanj as the people cooking style changes previous they use smoke chullas for cooking now it get replaced by LPG gas now microvan used are also listed by santal people, use of ingredients, new western dress, etc. all these show entries of new cultural symbols and practices among them.

1.2) Globalization changed Agriculture :

Agriculture is the main source of income for the majority of the Santals of the area. Earlier, they used to practice traditional agricultural practices and their technology was indigenous. But now, they are adopting modern technologies like shallow tube wells, pump sets, power tillers, sprayers, and so on. They are also using HYV seeds, chemical fertilizers, pesticides, etc. to achieve better production. The unavailability of adequate irrigation facilities is a major problem in the area. Canal irrigation is available for a few agricultural lands only. Shallow pump irrigation proves to be useful in providing irrigation for paddy which has a significant impact on productivity. For irrigating their lands, earlier they were entirely dependent on monsoon rainfall and thus mono-crop was cultivated. But the introduction of pump sets has brought changes in their modes of production. Now, they are also cultivating double crops sometimes triple crops. Land tilling and threshing is also being done in the mechanized (tractor and power tiller) by most of the Santals now. Earlier those were done by bullock power. Some of the Santal households have threshers and sprayers. On the other hand, some of the Santal households are now using a high-yielding variety of seeds (HYVs), chemical fertilizers, pesticides, etc. to increase their yield. Many changes have occurred in the aspects of their social organizations and cultural activities or life. The commercial nature of farming has been gradually taking place among the mechanized Santal farmers. The market orientation is also increasing among the Santals. The Santhals use the traditional form of economy and their sole objective is to sustain their livelihood through subsistence agriculture. But nowadays occupational structure has changed. There are many types of work. As - any type of service (govt. and private), doctors, teachers, & small and big shops, etc.

Change of Economic status

The Santhals use the traditional form of economy and their sole objective is to sustain their livelihood through agriculture their economy is forest-based. The Socioeconomic states of the Santhals in India depend on agriculture and forest-based activity. About 95% of the Santhal are involved in agricultural operations, collecting hunting and fishing was once a very important source of living now they have been reduced to subsidiary status. Animal husbandry is common but plays a comparatively minor role in maintaining the food supply. In fact, the Santhals depend mainly on "paddy cultivation" as their chief source of livelihood. As a result, the traditional tribal (Santhals) economy has changed by globalization. I have also tried to identify the area of changes in Santhal's economy.

From this table, it is clearly shown that the santal have changed their economic status and engaged themselves in different paid jobs in Baripada like government jobs a greater number of Santals there 93% than private services 46% the third most important job done by Santal community traditionally was agriculture 41% and last business 20%. It is found that due to the education of males and females they attract to the services sectors more than agriculture.

Globalization changes EDUCATION level

"Education" is the heart of any community or society. On the other hand, "Education" is the backbone of any community or society. As education spread among the people it enables them to educate themselves and their community so that they can develop and utilize methods that exploit the situation in society for their own development. On one hand, education is changed their whole society. Education is the key to the future of any nation, on the other hand without education development is not possible.

Without education, modernity can't progress beyond imitation and duplication, without education the individual can rarely improve the quality of his/her life. In this area, many tribal schools are plagued, but high dropout rates. As a result, the education level of the study area is quite low. But nowadays govt. a policy like "SORBO SHIKSHA AVIJAN" and "MID-DAY-MEAL PROJECT" has influenced the spread of education.

I noticed this earlier while discussing the educational background of the migrants themselves. It is in this respect that migration proves to be positive for the Santhals. And all authorities concerned have recognized the urgent need to trained special teachers for tribal areas and the employment of numbers of the tribal community. Those who have received a basic education have helped to cope with the demand for teachers able to teach in the mother tongue. For Indian educationists, it is important to teach tribal children in the mother tongue for the three first years, at last, to ensure their cognitive development (Saini -1980). But the parents, who fill the time spent in school should lead to quick results in terms of employment, view the concentration on the mother tongue with little enthusiasm. Thus, while the Santhal elite tries by all means to give an English Medium Education to their children, the lower middle classes often decide that learning through Hindi, Oriya, and Santali mediums will give their children access to administrative jobs. The rejection of one's mother tongue is motivated by individual strategies, which often turn to disaster, however (Saran, Gapani – 2003). Some of the educated Santhals, unqualified for proper jobs, remain unemployed or work in inferior jobs. These youth, who have tried to assimilate themselves in the dominant culture, have dreamt of finding employment in a state institution or, at least, a white-collar job (Tambislyche, Marine, carrin – The Impact Of Culture Diversity and Globalization).

Changed Health & Welcome modern medi-system

"Health is, a state of complete physical, mental, and social well-being and not merely the absence of disease and infirmity" (WHO – 1971). Mahapatra (1994), therefore sees health among tribal groups as a functional and not clinical concept. Satchidananda (1994) sees the field of tribal health aspects as a cultural concept as well as a part of social structure and organization which is continuously changing and adapting itself to changes in the wider society. It is a faith, prevailing among tribes that diseases are caused by supernatural agencies. Broadly, the tribal people believe in four types of supernatural powers. These are: -

1. Protective spirits who always protect them.
2. Benevolent spirits who are worshiped at the community and familial level regularly, otherwise they may bring diseases or death.
3. Malevolent spirits the evil spirits who control smallpox fever, abortion, etc.
4. Ancestral spirits, the spirits of their ancestors, and always protect them.

The causes of ill health perceived by the tribal communities can be divided into two categories, namely, known and supernatural. Singh (1994) indicates nine factors to examine and assess the tribal health situation in India. He highlights the effect of changing physical environment on tribal health, which is ultimately related to their economic pursuits, nutrition, availability, medicine, etc. It has also been emphasized that ecology and tribal health is intimately related.

Gurupadasoren (2013) –On the one hand, these people continue to rely on age-old practices of herbal medicines which are sustainable given their closeness to nature and forests. But on a large-scale disease caused by polluted water and lack of nutrients remain untreated. On the other hand, the involvement of Ojha including practices of Black magic and sorcery for healing from various diseases makes them vulnerable.

But nowadays their health concept is fully changed. It is here that migrants see a new role of modern medicines to cure their ailments and serious, major diseases. This access to modern

medicines is available at Raghunath Murmu Medical College and Hospital, other private Hospitals, and Primary Health Center.

Globalisation Impact on Santali language

The “OI Chiki” script was an age-making creation, which gave brilliant forming pictures to the Santals. The items in most other head Indian tongues began in the mature past and the story of their beginning has involved prominent investigation. Anyway, the “OI Chiki” has been planned only 70 years back. Pandit Raghunath Murmu originally conceptualized the substance for a long time and gave it its last design during the 1940s. though a continuous quirk, the approaching of the substance has been connected to specific legends and plays of extraordinary powers. Furthermore, the substance’s characters are not simply a pantomime of those ongoing days in different vernaculars around. Most of them are improvements of Pandit Raghunath Murmu. The letter set is also confined to an angle containing only 30 characters and 5 basic diacritics, including 6 basic vowels and 3 additional vowels. Santals never use Bengali or Oriya scripts for writing for the development of the scripts. In the British period, the Roman alphabet was preferred in writing the Santali. is useful both for printing and making. (Anderson 749).

This content was planned by including Pandit Raghunath Murmu in 1925. Raghunath Murmu is broadly perceived as ‘**Guru Gomke**’ among the Santals, a title conceded to him through the Mayurbhanj Adibasi Mahasabha. The letter set of the language is known as “OI Chiki”, in spite of the way that individuals are as of now not great learned in it. Pandit Raghunath Murmu is respected among Santals for his good deed, movement, and obligation to the substance “OI Chiki” for the Santal society.

Digitalization and Education

We are living in a country where technology has no bounds and moves towards a period of radical change. The technology can be accessed and reached every corner in today’s period where people are no more unseen of the use of smartphones, laptops, and tablets in their day-to-day life. We are in a current stage where digitalization has reached the people where they can use digital technology while studying, they use desktop computers, social media networking, computer program application, and other sorts of innovations that helps or ease their day-to-day activities. In the 21st century, the education system is evolving for the betterment of the generation who are not confined to the limitations of a simple living process. Our old educational system won’t be able to stand a chance in the 21st century if we continue to teach our children the way we taught them yesterday. Therefore, our educational system must use digital technology.

Digitization involves converting information into a digital computer-readable format. A representation of an object, image, sound, document, or signal is obtained by generating a series of numbers that describe a discrete set of points or samples. Digital representation is also called digital images, for the object, and digital forms, for the signal. Nowadays, digital data is processed by digital computers using binary numbers, but digitalization is just a process of converting analog data into numerical form; decimal numbers or any other number system can be used. (Bloomberg. J 2018). The last ten years have shown how digitalization merges with newer techniques. Digitalization overthrows the traditional mode of teaching and learning process in the context of modern India, it also encouraged us to remodel our educational sectors special focusing on schools, colleges, and higher education. According to a recent study, the government should give importance to making our education reach the digitalization it targets to reach 55% internet penetration by 2025. (According to the Hans India report-2022).

The Santali language in Digital Space: -

According to the 2011 census the literacy rate of Santal is approximately 53.11% and 46.89% are uneducated, Santals are the third largest and most advanced tribe in India. In 2004, Santali was included in the 8th schedule of the Indian Constitution, their dialect belongs to the Munda-Austro-Asiatic group which is derived from the old Kherwali language. In the 2011 census, 22 languages have been made available through Wikipedia including Santali. Digital technology and the www revolution have allowed the indigenous language due to the presence of social media. Few relevant resources, showing the presence of the Santali language in the digital space are: -

- **Santali Wikipedia: -**

It is a free online multilingual encyclopedia available for a user, it has content available in 309 languages. Santali became the first Indian tribal language to have a dedicated Wikipedia edition in the native 'Ol Chiki' script in 2018. The Santali Wiki page was made live on 2nd August 2018 as a focused endeavor to promote the indigenous Santali language. The Wikipedia page has developed by contributors by Santali community users from India, Bangladesh and Nepal. The Santali Wikipedia marked a major leap in the development of Santali language and script, paving way for other Indian tribal languages.

- **Online Daily Newspaper: -**

Santali daily newspaper know as 'Khoborkagaj' published by Johar of Jamshedpur in Ol Chiki script can be read online on www.khoborkagoj.com. A dedicated App can also be download on Google play for accessing this daily Ol Chiki newspaper.

- **Santali Keyboard Assistance: -**

Santali keyboard helps in tying the Ol Chiki script on the social media platforms that include Facebook and Twitter, for text message typing the Swalekha Indic keyboard assists in typing message in the 22 official Indian language including Santali. It also allows us to type emails and blogs in the Ol Chiki, emoji selections, G-Board in the Google keyboard facility that allow Ol Chiki glide typing and voice typing with auto correct facilities and suggestions from the enabled language.

- **Santali Language Lexicons: -**

Government of Odisha has designed 21 tribal languages Lexicons in trilingual dictionaries in Odia, English and Ol Chiki. these dictionaries can be downloaded online free of cost. The online Santali Dictionary can be downloaded on computer, laptops, smartphones and tablets enabling offline uses. It can be access through KHANDBAHALE.COM, it is a virtual speaking dictionary developed by the Living Tongues Institute of Endangered Languages. The talking dictionary of Santali currently has 472 words entries and 472 corresponding audio files.

- **Santali Web Portal: -**

The portal website is especially dedicated to Santali culture, tradition and language through its online Ol Chiki e-newspaper "Disom Khobor", this is known as "We Santals". The portal also conveys news and happening in the Santali online readers in the Ol Chiki script. The portal has a Santali-English and English-Santali dictionary which guide the teacher and the beginners in Ol Chiki.

- **Santali YouTube: -**

You Tube is the largest Over the Top (OTT) platform of the digital universe. It has acted as potent media for content creators. Google's Video sharing platform has been highly supportive in promoting Santali films and music videos, audio-visual news and current affairs. The digital scope has been a savior when it comes to reaching the Santali viewership. YouTube is accessed generally through mobile phones mostly by young viewers.

- **Internet Saathi: -**

The presence of Santali language on the internet has clearly created options for the Santali clan to create publication collections of user generated e-content. On social media Ol Chiki has created windows for one-to-one conversation in the native Santali language. Digital media has altered the communication patterns in India by providing greater opportunity to the marginalized and isolated population allowing them the gateway to convey, connect and contribute. Initiative like Internet Saathi run by Google and Tata Trusts have the focus on educating rural and tribal women regarding the use of the Internet by making them online confident and capable. The aim of 'Internet Saathi' is to create networks of internet-savvy women who further impart training to other women in their local population and adjoining villages.

- **Pradhan Mantri Digital Saksharta Mission: -**

This mission is the digital literacy program run by the government of India in all states and Union Territories of the country to enable the rural population in becoming Internet literate. Its target is to make 6 crore rural Indians, internet educated by 31st March 2020. The medium of instruction used in these digital tutorials include all the 22 official languages of India. Santali is also one of the mediums of instruction, informational videos in Santali language are available for each module.

- **Santali Resources Online: -**

There is a list of various online Santali resources available includes Ol Chiki Tech, Linguistic resources on Santali language/Ol Chiki writing system, Santali Ol Chiki converter to convert text in legacy encoding to Unicode, UGC NET syllabus and exam, personal blogs and Vlogs are also present in the digital space, giving prominence to the Santali language.

Suggestions: -

- The Ol Chiki script has made its headway online. The requirement now is to develop more content that is socially, educationally, and functionally helpful in the day-to-day life of Santali community.
- More e-publication with up-to-date information of local and national interest should be developed actively and provided in Santali script.
- Dedicated educational websites with Santali academic content should be made Live for the benefit of the Santali student community.
- More content should be added and made available on Wikipedia in Indian indigenous languages.
- More digital media promotion and popularization projects should be awarded to the active local community and for the enrichment of Santal.
- Government should develop more projects for the digital inclusion of the Santali Tribe and other marginalized tribal communities.
- More public internet facilities like internet kiosks in Santali language should be felicitated for increasing user access at the grassroots level.

Conclusion

Lastly, I would like to conclude my research that globalization has come up with rapid expansion in the field of modern indicators of Santals in their daily life they no longer remain as traditional as previously, now they are used to merge their cultural hybridization. It is clearly seen in the field of agriculture they now used Hybrid seeds for more production and technological advances are seen in their fast production process. In the health sector they now available all the primary health care systems no longer depend on Ojha for their traditional treatment it is of the changes observed due to technological and educational enrichment in that area and another one is that the



language known as 'Ol Chiki' is no longer confined to the limitation of their boundary they merged with digitalization by the introduction of electronic media like youth tube, internet sathi, an online newspaper, and dictionary are the positive impact of globalization but on the other hand, there is extinction seen because of the globalization the santal no longer confined to their village they used to migrate to the urban space for better jobs and education, so they didn't learn their culture and language, which lead to the extinction of the 'Ol Chiki' for them.

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Understanding the Lullabies as a Source of Women Voice in Sumi Naga Tribe of Nagaland

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Abstract

Lullaby holds a significant medium through which we can comprehend the status of women particularly in a patriarchal society where they are mostly not provided with any platform or medium through which they can express their desires, problems, pains, expectations to the members of the family and the society. Hence, we can observe in most of the patriarchal societies, public speaking platforms are traditionally male controlled and where women can only be spectators not performers and even in some societies, they are allowed they have to perform strictly scripted roles there, maintaining the patriarchal values. The present study is also focused on understanding the status of women among the traditional Sumi tribe of Nagaland. Nagaland which is strictly a patriarchal society the diverse norms, rituals and values and practices are designed to keep balance with the broad patriarchal value. Hence a detail study of the few traditional lullaby which are now in the verge of extinction can through light on the overall status of a typical Sumi women and the Sumi society as a whole. The study establishes how women in a typical traditional Sumi society face divers gender based social inequalities which are legitimized by the rigid social norms, rituals and practices in a typical patriarchal society.

Keywords: *Lullaby; Gender; Folklore; Sumi tribe; Patriarchy.*

In the literature of folklore, lullaby is often referred as cradle song, in this line folklorist Theresa Brakeley (1950:653) defined lullaby “as a type of song sung by mothers and nurses the world over to coax their babies to sleep”. The interpretation of these songs is frequently connected with charms, as the power and enchanted integrated in the blend of musical drive and pulsing modeling stimulus to the behavior of the song addressee. Similarly, Ikegami (1986:103) expresses the connotation of magic to lullaby singing in Japan and endorses that the performer of the text perceives that they have control over the doings of the song receiver in much the identical way as a magician chants an allure and commands an alteration in behaviour. Likewise, in the literature on lullaby performance, Farber’s (1990) investigation of Babylonian and Assyrian lullabies draws strong parallels between an allure used to soften a crying baby and the religious ancestries of Babylonian magic but counters the impression that lullabies in this context are controlling. Giudice’s (1988:270)

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research of Italian lullaby and Ebeogu's study on Igbo recital of Nigeria (1991:99) contemplate the function of lullaby performance. They hold that while the prime role of the lullaby is to put children to sleep, in several cultures the performance of lullabies aids other secondary functions such as the socialization of the infant in musical and conceptual standings.

In the context of lullaby performance children are the receivers rather than the recitalists and hence lullaby songs are not proposed to be sung by children but rather to be sung to and for the infant or child by a grownup. Further, the performance of lullabies is usually considered to be the sphere of women and performance of lullabies may offer the child with one of the first points of contact with important female kin. Thus, performance of lullabies can serve as a vent for sensitive countenance by the performer. Macfie (1990:196) suggests that Turkish lullabies often prompt the feelings of the mother and Manasseh (1991:4) highlighted through his study that performance of lullabies amongst women of the Iraqi Jewish tradition serves the twin purpose of comforting a child and the singer's own injured soul by providing her with a ventilator to air her emotion. Masuyama (1989:144-5) observes that in Japan lullabies might ideally be defined as an occasion for caregivers to "say the socially unsayable" in order for them to release their feelings of craving, yearning and displeasure. Thus, lullaby texts may through light on the social and musical themes of curiosity and interest to not only mothers but also other adult listeners. Amil Çelebioğlu, in an interview about lullaby as a literary genre suggests that between the ages three-four, the feelings of anger, promise, displeasure becomes more active. Although lullabies are addressed to babies, mothers tend to express their daily difficulties and obstacles and problems through this medium, the mood that they are experiencing and their hope for the future and many more personal feelings and expectations through lullabies.

Thus, lullaby holds a significant medium through which we can comprehend the status of women particularly in a patriarchal society where they are mostly not provided with any platform or medium through which they can express their desires, problems, pains, expectations to the members of the family and the society. Hence, we can observe in most of the patriarchal societies, public speaking platforms are traditionally male controlled and where women can only be spectators not performers and even in some societies, they are allowed they have to perform strictly scripted roles there, maintaining the patriarchal values. The present study is also focused on understanding the status of women among the traditional Sumi tribe of Nagaland. Nagaland which is strictly a patriarchal society the diverse norms, rituals and values and practices are designed to keep balance with the broad patriarchal value. Hence a detail study of the few traditional lullaby which are now in the verge of extinction can through light on the overall status of a typical Sumi women and the Sumi society as a whole.

The Sumi tribe are mostly concentrated in the Zunheboto district of Nagaland situated in the heart of Nagaland and is bounded by Mokokchung on the North, Tuensang district on the East, Phek district on the South and Wokha on the West. The name, 'Zunheboto' is derived from two sets of words "Zunhebo" and "To" in Sumi dialect. "Zunhebo" is the name of a flower shrub with white leaves which bear sponge like ears containing sweet juice and "To" means the top of a hill. Hence, Zunheboto was named after the flower found on the top of the hill. It is interesting to note that Zunheboto district was never known by a single nomenclature.

Sumi Nagas, are a warrior tribe of Nagaland. Head hunting was practiced extensively until the advent of the Christian missionaries who converted the warriors to Christianity. Today the people are peaceful and hardworking, practicing agriculture as their main occupation. Like all other Nagas, Sumis have Mongoloid features. The people are generally healthy and well-built. Sumis are adept artisans and skilled craftsmen. They weave beautiful designs on their hand-woven mekheles and

shawls. The Sumi people are on an average shorter in height but their lives are very active, manifested in their folk dances which are fast and rhythmic. They have a system of hereditary chiefdom and the words of the chief were the laws in the past. He was the man who was responsible for the maintenance of harmony in the village, protection of their customary laws and customs and defence of the village from the invaders. The role of the village elders in the day-to-day affairs of the village was very important. In modern times however, this hereditary system has been gradually replaced by a system of elected/nominated representatives forming a village council headed by a chairman.

The present study is focused on a detail study of three selected lullaby of the Sumi tribe to get more light into the social life of Sumi women as it has got inputs of many minute details of their pains, problems, expectations that the society and the family has imposed on them and in the process get impression of the actual traditional social practices among the tribe.

Lullaby 1

Angamuzu puzu kue le (Song putting a baby to Sleep)

Hi ye lo zuhu velo
Off to Sleep
Hi ye lo xu shivelo
Off to Slumber
Ninu ye akivi ke
Our son is obedient
Ni nga mulo shi pusa mo zuhu velo
Our daughter won't be stirred so slumber
Hi ye lo zuhu velo
Off to sleep
Hi ye lo xu shivelo
Off to Slumber
Alomi adu shipeni ke
May my beloved be a gentleman
Alokeu apumi ye adu kuchou shipiyeni
May my beloved son become a real gentleman
Alokeu ilimi ye totimi kuchou shipiyeni
May my beloved daughter be virtuous
Iqhu ighai alo ino aza lokumugha ke puno zuhu velo.
In sweet calm, burden not your mother and sleep

Analysis.

This particular lullaby is generally sung by the mother for their baby off to slumber. The mothers articulate her gratefulness for their children and phrasing a blessing line for their children. In the earlier times it was a believed that whatever phrase pronounce by the parents for their children normally turns into reality when they grow up, therefore parents are always cautious and think wisely before they speak. Hence when they are still a toddler the mother moulds their children by singing a melodious lullaby in a calm voice and allowed baby to sleep peacefully and also ask a good fortune for their children. The lullaby highlights the gender constructs of the tribe where the

boy child is expected to be gentle man and obedient, but the girl child is expected to be virtuous. The importance given to the chastity of the women throws light on the gender perspective of the tribe. It also pointed out the how by the medium of lullaby singing the mother is requesting her children to not add to her burden of household chores which she may not do to other members of the family.

Lullaby 2

Inali lakhino Aza anga-kupu kuha no qa-ghi anga muzu keu shikipili le.

(Lullaby of a daughter-in-law sung in tears)

Wolo wolo

Gone gone

He-o wolo zulo-ii-ye yea-ey-oh-oh-i-e lo-e

Yodeling...

He-oi ning-u ninga-oi qakeloilomi-I i-ye lo-oyi iye-o-oh-he-yi

O My Baby don't you cry o

He-o azano mulani qatsuke vi-lo-I he-o-I ye-oyi lo-yi

O mother shall work so don't you shed a tear

He-o azano ashi lhotsuni ke qakelo-I hi-ye-ye-o-oh he-oyi

O don't cry as your mother shall prepare you meat

He-oi timi khiu nono aza zuqho shitsu kemi kuha ye-o iye-lo-o-yi lo-o-yi

Alas! There's no **nanny** to lighten my burden

He-o ilomi azano xapsu qaniye ninga oyi iye lo-oyi lo-oyi

O my dear the mother is shedding a tear

He-o niqhemu hamiye ninga puqa che ye-I hi-ye-lo-ooh lo-oyi

O how some of my companions let their children cry

He-o azaye inapu, inali-mike qatsu kevalo-oh he-oyi lo-oyi

O I am a stranger here, so don't you cry

He-o xulo-oi zulo-oi

Ahoy! Life goes on

I-ye o he-o-yi lo-oyi

Analysis.

Every community has diverse lullaby, and this lullaby is not only for smoothening the babies but also a platform for the mothers where she can express her feelings. Even in Sumi community the lullabies are usually sang by the mothers for their babies at the same time narrating her hardship living. This particular line signifies how one face barrier when married to a far place, she also narrated that nobody to give her a helping hand she was completely alien and feeling isolated and secluded, where no one in the family is sensitive to her pain, problems and dreams. Therefore, mothers are pleasing their baby to sleep at the same time narrating her unfortunate life simultaneously. Hence lullaby is sometimes considered the only voices for the mother to showcase her emotion. The use of meat here is not just food but a reflection of happiness, celebration and good days.

Lullaby 3

Khaghi kichimi ye aqha kumtsu no ale lakhi ye kumo, ikemu anga muzu puzu kiu le acheni ipikiu kiqui ye inapu inalimi no khuno phu lo kulau kela paghi mighimi shi kulaighi. Ikemua kimi no anipu atianuli ghili muthano paye ashou thono akibo ghili muthano anipu no imea kiu mutha. Anipu ye anga anike kea nga ghi ghoshi masa akumla ghi shimasa tilehino anga no qauve ani. Anga pinimula kelauno anga ghi heghi aza no ishi anga muzupu zu cheni

*Ningau aza ye Inalimi ipukuhai zakuha,
Opu kughapesu ipushini izashiniye
Ikemu opunono akivishi ikujo tuchamoke
Ike aza no kugho no ani shinikeno ash iotsunani, akha otsunani,
aza no alokiu otsunan ike tighenguno azakimiye no qhatsukelo,
Ipi aza ghi anhezu iqhighi tishi ang amuzu ghi tishino akumla shiche.*

Tishi aye anga ghi ithiakeshi aza no tishi kimiye kiutsa pikiu,
Anga ghi aza tsa inipesu no zuhuveche.

Tishi no aza ye amlolikihi shi inapu inali shipu paye mla ithano kinimi shighi, tishino ajuaje kivishi quniye pukaputsa ghi anga muzu ghi ale pheachene.

Translation

During early days, the lullabies that were sung were of different genres which were performed according to the context. One certain type was of the woman who married off to a man from a faraway place and hence she had to abandoned all her relatives and had to settle off in her in-law's place as the society is a patrilocal one. Often the husband was unaware of the plight of the family at home for he was mainly concerned with the work and life outside the home. The wife had to deal with all the household chores and at the same time nurse the little child and so many times. The mother would be overwhelmed. In such situations the mother would well up and in tears would break into a lullaby

**O my little one. Mum is an alien and a hapless orphan
I expected your father to be even my mother and father
But your father is none of that.
When its *tuluni*, mother will feed you fish and meat aplenty
Mother will feed you the best so do not cry my little one.**

And as if the child understood the lyrics to the lullaby, at length would stop crying and would slumber off to sleep. And the mother would be relieved and would continue her chores.

Analysis

The song reveals many imperative details about the life and the status of women in the traditional Sumi society. The routine of a typical housewife is very hectic and when she is also a mother her plights is heightened by the demand for additional nursing to her children. Here the importance of family is also highlighted and marriage village exogamy is also portrayed. When a woman is married within or nearby her parents' house, her family members plays a significant helping hand to her both emotionally, psychological and also in the household chores physically.

But when she is married faraway outside her village she is all alone, and only expects her husband to fill the loneliness in her life, by also taking the role of her parents too. As the man of the family spends most of his time outside the house in search of bread for the family, she remains secluded and lonely with all her problems. The mention of Tuluni festival here represents the present status of poverty in the family where they may not always afford to have fish and meat, the festival also signifies happiness which is an occasional reality for her. Hence this lullaby reveals the story of a typical Sumi woman who is lonely, unhappy, tired, sad, despondent and her only ray of solace is her child and a hope for a better life for her child.

Conclusion

Performing lullabies within the concealment of the household permits women to express their private feelings, which are mostly silent and the forbidden. As they enjoy their privacy only when they are with the child, here only they can release their grievances and anguishes only to their baby. We can see here that the Sumi lullabies let women to ventilate their angst and longings over the lost people, homeland and happy family. In this context, lullabies might be observed as the most intimate revelation ventilated by repressed women in a typically patriarchal society.

Monologue of mother with her child is one of the most imperative refrains accessible by the mother in the form of lullabies. The analysis of this verbal art forms comprises numerous vital aspects. Regardless of the optimistic purposes of discourse which aids the mother to get respite from mental tension and stress, the melodies of lullabies in monologues also portrays the stifled feeling of the mother. These lullabies are the unwritten and oral expression of mother's suppressed feeling which she has chosen to convey to her children only. These suppressed feelings are related to mother's loneliness, pain, anxiety, disparity and also her dreams. Conceivably, the core purpose of opening such repressed feeling in front of children can be accredited to the fact that in a typical Sumi family, the woman has no choice or opportunity for free discussion and communication with members in the family. Hence, the gender inequality in the family leads to a situation where the woman is forced to unilaterally express her suppressed feelings to her children.

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Sustainable Development: Concept, Goals and Trajectory in India

Manju Singh

Abstract

The concept of Sustainable Development emerged in the 1980s as a response to the negative social and environmental effects of the prevailing approach to economic growth. The major emphasis was on the maintenance of ecological processes, the sustainable use of resources, and the maintenance of genetic diversity. Since the Brundtland Commission Report, a number of events and initiatives have brought us to the wide-ranging interpretation of Sustainable Development, which set the agenda of the Sustainable Development discourse both in developed and developing countries. As a result of a proliferation of sustainable development strategies and policies etc., innovative technologies, scientific and educational initiatives, and new legislative regimes and initiatives have emerged. In 2000, the General Assembly of the United Nations in the Millennium Summit passed the 'Millennium Development Goals (MDG)' and set the agenda to achieve these goals by 2015. However, these MDGs could not be achieved to the level of satisfaction. Therefore, a new strategy for sustainable development was formulated and 17 sustainable development goals were set to be achieved by 2030. The present paper is aimed to analyze the concept, goals and trajectory of sustainable development in India on the basis of the performance of different states and UTs of India from 2018-19 to 2020-21. The data indicate that there is substantive progress in cases of some states. However, some states are either stagnant or lagging behind.

Keywords: Sustainable Development; Climate Change; Environment, Poverty; Gender Inequality

The concept of Sustainable Development emerged in the 1980s as a response to the negative social and environmental effects of the prevailing approach to economic growth. The major emphasis was on the maintenance of ecological processes, the sustainable use of resources, and the maintenance of genetic diversity. Since the Brundtland Commission Report, a number of events and initiatives have brought us to the wide-ranging interpretation of Sustainable Development, which set the agenda of the Sustainable Development discourse both in developed and developing countries. As a result of a proliferation of sustainable development strategies and policies etc., innovative technologies, scientific and educational initiatives, and new legislative regimes and initiatives have emerged. In 2000, the General Assembly of the United Nations in the Millennium Summit passed the 'Millennium Development Goals (MDG)' and set the agenda to achieve these goals by 2015. However, these MDGs could not be achieved to the level of satisfaction. Therefore, a new strategy for sustainable development was formulated and 17 sustainable development goals were set to be

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achieved by 2030. These goals are: End poverty in all its forms everywhere; Ensure healthy lives and promote; End hunger, achieve food security and improved nutrition, and promote sustainable agriculture; well-being for all at all ages; Ensure inclusive and quality education for all and promote lifelong learning; Achieve gender equality and empower all women and girls; Ensure access to water and sanitation for all; Ensure access to affordable, reliable, sustainable and modern energy for all; Promote inclusive and sustainable economic growth, employment and decent work for all; Build resilient infrastructure, promote sustainable industrialization and foster innovation; Reduce inequality within and among countries; Make cities inclusive, safe, resilient and sustainable; Ensure sustainable consumption and production patterns; Take urgent action to combat climate change and its impacts; Conserve and sustainably use the oceans, seas, and marine resources; Sustainably manage forests, combat desertification, halt and reverse land degradation, halt biodiversity loss; Promote just, peaceful and inclusive societies; Revitalize the global partnership for sustainable development.

The present paper is aimed to analyze the concept, goals and trajectory of sustainable development in India on the basis of the performance of different states and UTs of India from 2018-19 to 2020-21. The data indicate that there is substantive progress in cases of some states. However, some states are either stagnant or lagging behind.

Methodology

The SDGs have 169 targets and 306 national indicators. However, in the Baseline report SDG 12, 13, 14 are not included as the detailed comparable data across the state and UTs on SDG 12, 13, 14 are not available. SDG 17 is also excluded on the ground that indicators for this goal have not been identified by NIF. But over a period of time, in the 2019 report SDG 12 and 13 were also measured and SDG 14 and 17 are not measured as indicators are not worked out till now. The data was taken from the various reports of NITI Ayog and analyzed afresh in a comparative approach over time i.e., between 2018 and 2021 on the one hand, and between different states and UTs on the other. For the analytical purpose, the scale used by NITI Ayog was as follows: *100 would be called an Achiever since the State would have achieved all the targets outlined by the SDGs. Any State with 65 or more progress would be classified as a Front Runner as the States are nearing the target versus the others. States above 50 are Performers. States that are yet to achieve even 50 of the distance to the target are classified as Aspirants.* However, for the purpose of the present analysis, it was modified and a new category of poor performance for a state/SDG was added in the cases where the score was below 35. Thus, we have analyzed the performance on a five-point scale as follows: 1. Achiever (Score 100); front runner (65-99); Performer (50-64); Aspirant (35-49); and Poor (below 35). These five categories were abbreviated as AC, FR, PE, AS, and PO respectively.

National Level Composite SDG Score of India

The composite SDG score for India for 2018, 2019 and 2020 is presented below in table 1. The data indicate that In **2018**, out of 17 SDGs India was **Front Runner** in four **SDGs (8,10,15,16)- Sustainable Economic Development; Reduction in Inequality; Sustainable Management of forests, rejuvenation of Land and Biodiversity Maintenance; and Societal Processes; Performer in five SDG 1, 3, 4, 6 and 7- Eradication of poverty; Health Issues; Inclusive and Quality Education; Water & Sanitation Access; and Sustainable Energy. In four SDG 2, 5, 9, and 11- Hunger, Food Security, Nutrition and Agricultural Growth; women equality and empowerment; Infrastructural Development, Sustainable Industrialization, and Innovation; and Sustainable Urban Development** India was **an Aspirant**.

In 2019, India's performance in the direction of achieving SDGs improved to some extent as India became a front runner in five SDGs (6, 7, 9, 15, and 16) with a slight drop out in the score of SDGs 8 and 10 (from 65 and 71 to 64 in each case and thereby became a performer from a front

runner in these cases, however, India's position as a performer upgraded as in eight SDGs scores was between 50 and 64. Although, in SDG 2 and SDG 6 India remains as an underperformer with a score of 35 and 42 respectively. In the case of SDG 14 and 17, the data remains unavailable for analysis.

In 2020, there is a significant improvement in SDGs as India consolidated sustainable development goals score further and achieved the position of the front runner for the first time with a consolidated score of 66. As far as individual SDGs are concerned, India also became a front-runner in 8 SDGs (3, 6, 7, 10, 11, 12, 15, and 16) despite a drop in the score of SDG 9 (from 65 in 2019 to 55)- *Infrastructural Development, Sustainable Industrialization, and Innovation*. This may be because of the three months of complete lockdown in 2020 and other many problems caused by the Pandemic Covid-19 in India and throughout the world. Despite this drawback, the overall performance of India can be said satisfactorily.

These findings suggest that the problem of hunger, food security, nutrition and agricultural growth on the one hand and the social problems like gender inequality and women empowerment on the other, are the major problems of Indian society in its path of sustainable development.

A comparative analysis of Composite Sustainable Development Goals (CSDG) score for different states and union territories (UTs) suggests that CSDG score varies significantly from India's average SDG score of India.

Among 29 states in 2018, only three states, namely, Himachal Pradesh and Kerala (69 each) and Tamil Nādu (66) were front runners. While as many as 23 states were in the performers (between 50 and 64). Among them, 6 states (Andhra Pradesh (64), Goa (64), Gujarat (64), Karnataka (64), Maharashtra (64), and Telangana (61) were having high CSDG score i.e., above 60 but less than 65. Seven states, namely, Punjab (60), Uttarakhand (60), Manipur (59), Mizoram (59), Rajasthan (59), Chhattisgarh (58), and Sikkim (58) had a CSDG score higher than the national average of 57. The state of West Bengal (56), Haryana & Tripura (55 each), J&K (53), Madhya Pradesh and Meghalaya (52 each), Arunachal Pradesh, Nagaland and Odisha (51 each) and Jharkhand (50) were having CSDG score less than national average and can be called lower performers. However, three Indian states, namely, Assam (49), Bihar (48) and Uttar Pradesh (42) were fall in the category of Aspirants or under performers.

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Goal	Related to	Index Score			Target
		2018	2019	2020	
SDG 1:	End poverty in all its forms everywhere	54 PE	50 PE	60 PE	100
SDG 2:	End hunger, achieve food security and improved nutrition and promote sustainable agriculture	48 AS	35 AS	47AS	100
SDG 3	Ensure healthy lives and promote well-being for all at all ages	52 PE	61 PE	74 FR	100
SDG 4:	Ensure inclusive and quality education for all and promote lifelong learning	58 PE	58 PE	57 PE	100
SDG 5:	Achieve gender equality and empower all women and girls	36 AS	42 AS	48AS	100
SDG 6:	Ensure access to water and sanitation for all	63 PE	88 FR	83 FR	100
SDG 7:	Ensure access to affordable, reliable, sustainable and modern energy for all	51 PE	70 FR	92 FR	100
SDG 8:	Promote inclusive and sustainable economic growth, employment and decent work for all	65 FR	64 PE	63 PE	100
SDG 9:	Build resilient infrastructure, promote sustainable industrialization and foster innovation	44 AS	65 FR	55 PE	100
SDG 10:	Reduce inequality within and among countries	71 FR	64 PE	67 FR	100
SDG 11:	Make cities inclusive, safe, resilient and sustainable	39 AS	53 PE	79 FR	100
SDG 12:	Ensure sustainable consumption and production patterns	Null	55 PE	74 FR	Null
SDG 13:	Take urgent action to combat climate change and its impacts	Null	60 PE	54 PE	Null
SDG 14:	Conserve and sustainably use the oceans, seas and marine resources	Null	Null	Null	Null
SDG 15:	Sustainably manage forests, combat desertification, halt and reverse land degradation, halt biodiversity loss	90 FR	66 FR	66FR	100
SDG 16:	Promote just, peaceful and inclusive societies	71 FR	72 FR	74 FR	100
SDG 17:	Revitalize the global partnership for sustainable development.	Null	Null	Null	100
Total		57 PE	60 PE	66 FR	100

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Among the seven union territories, Chandigarh (68) and Puducherry (65) were front runners, while Daman and Diu (63), Delhi and Lakshadweep (62 each) Andaman and Nicobar Islands (58) and Dadra and Nagar Haveli (57) can be termed as good performers. However, no UTs fall in the category of underperformers.

After two years i.e., in 2020, we find a significant change in the position of individual states and UTs. Among 28 states, as many as 16 states became front runners as shown in table 2. While the remaining 12 states either remain in the category of performers or moved away from the category of underperformers. Among front runners, Chhattisgarh (58 to 79), Kerala (75), Himachal Pradesh (74), Tamil Nadu (74), Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, Uttarakhand and Goa (72 each), Sikkim (71), Maharashtra (70), Gujarat and Telangana (69 each), Punjab and Mizoram (68 each), Haryana (67) can be termed as high performer (score more than India's national average of 66). While Tripura (65), Manipur (64), Madhya Pradesh and West Bengal (62 each), Nagaland, Odisha (61 each) and Uttar Pradesh (60) can be said as average performers while Assam (57), Odisha (56) and Bihar (52) can be termed as lower performers.

Among the present 9 UTs, Chandigarh is at the top rank with a CSDG score of 79, All other UTs have a CSDG score between the range of 62-68 and therefore can be said, good performers. Thus, there is a significant improvement in the CSDG score of all the states and UTs in a very short span of two years. A cursory view of detailed SDG scores of states and UT indicates that there are very significant variations among the various states as well as in the performance of the state in terms of individual SDG scores. For example, the state of Kerala has significant variation in its performance of different SDGs.

Conclusion

To conclude, it can be said that the development of agriculture and industrialization are two major economic problems of the country even today. Gender inequality and the problem of women's empowerment are major social problems in Indian Society that require significant measures from the side of the government and more and more awareness of gender issues and modern education for the girl child in our society. Another, important point that has to be noted is that we don't have data to measure the issues related to SDGs 14 and 17, which are importance for environmental development both at the local and global levels.

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Social Welfare State Transformation: Global Trends and National Prospects

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Abstract

At present, the transformation of the welfare state is becoming global. Around the world, new welfare state institutes and social services forms are developing, which create significant consequences for people in need of social support. The paper focuses on global transformation trends and national prospects for their implementation in the Russian welfare state. The research methods were the all-Russian survey (N=2047) expert interviews (N=27) and focus groups with clients of social services organizations (N=15) conducted in various regions of Russia as well as the literature review. The findings demonstrate the global trends in the mixed welfare systems associated with NGOs and civic activities and neoliberal ideology, which suggests developing principles and tools of marketization, managerialism, and consumerism. In current Russia, a legal framework for welfare state transformations was created. However, paternalistic attitudes are still rather strong, and the majority of citizens believe that government should be primarily responsible for their well-being, and NGOs face many barriers to their activities. In conclusion, it is emphasized the transition of the welfare state to mixed welfare. The development of the global process is caused by the inefficiency of the traditional forms of social support to solve the problem of social inequality and is not an appropriate response to new social risks. A consensus is needed between citizens' expectations and social policy based on social justice, equal opportunities, social inclusion, and equal access to high-quality education and health care.

Keywords: Welfare State, Mixed Welfare, Global Trends, NGOs, Social Services, Russia.

At present, the transformation of the welfare state is becoming global. Around the world, new welfare state institutes and social services forms are developing, which create significant consequences for people in need of social support. The process of transformation of the welfare state is also typical for Russia. The article presents the results of a study devoted to the issues of identifying global trends in the transformation of the welfare state and their manifestation in the development of the Russian social sphere, as well as national specifics, primarily related to the role of NGOs and the forms of interaction between NGOs, state authorities, business, and citizens.

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The main **research methods** were the analysis of scientific papers on the development of the system of social services and assistance in Russia, as well as the analysis of previously obtained empirical data, including the results of the all-Russian survey (N=2047) on social services for the population, including attitudes towards the state and non-state social organizations, as well as expert interviews (N=27) and focus groups with clients of social services organizations (N=15) conducted in various regions of Russia in 2020-2021.

The mixed welfare state and social partnership

The modern global trends of welfare state transformation are mainly associated with the mixed welfare system and social partnership. The prospect of a solution for the “social question” in welfare states is currently associated with the stimulation of civic activity; there is a shift in emphasis from the distribution mechanisms of public goods to initiatives coming from associations of citizens themselves. The crisis of welfare states in the 1980s and 1990s and the emerging debate about a “third way” between the market and the state has stimulated the development of theories to explain the emergence of NGOs as producers of social goods (Bridge et al. 2009; Giddens 2000). There has been the development of the concept of public benefit, the theory of the influence of models of states and social services on public organizations, and theories of trust in which NGOs are recognized as more capable and reliable service providers than private ones, although the limitations of NGOs are also stipulated. For example, non-commercial providers in competition with private ones may be less efficient, and state regulation of the market may affect the demand for their services in general (Borzaga, Tortia 2010). In any case, the reasons for the emergence of NGOs are seen in the inability (or lack of motivation) of the state, as well as the limited capacity of the market to meet the various social needs of citizens (Etzioni 1973; Salamon, Anheier 1996).

The concepts of a mixed welfare system for the production of public goods focus not so much on the specifics of each sector, but on their interconnectedness, which provides the necessary effect to achieve the quality of the produced public goods (Pestoff 2012; Salamon, Toepler 2015). The non-profit sector becomes a mediator in the interaction between the state, the market, and households (Evers 1995). In this regard, researchers pay attention to the ways in which state authorities interact with NGOs as partners in intersectoral relations within the framework of the theories of “soft management”, and “indirect state management”, which differ from “hard management” methods based on laws (Pestoff et al. 2012; Agranoff, McGuire 2003; Salamon 2002). In this regard, special attention is paid to social partnerships. In the theories of social partnership, the public/non-profit sector is assigned the role of a representative of the interests of civil society and an intermediary between government, business, and the population. The social partnership of the state with the non-commercial and commercial sectors forms the basis of a mixed system for the production of social benefits.

The findings demonstrate that the global trends of the welfare state transformation are associated with neoliberal ideology, which suggests developing principles and tools of marketization, managerialism, and consumerism. Marketization means creating social services market, which implies the development of the non-government sector. In Russia, this process takes place with the leading and controlling role of the state. Managerialism supposes using business administration principles in the production and provision of social services in order to increase efficiency. Consumerism assumes significant client rights including the choice of the social services provider. In current Russia, a legal framework for welfare state transformations was created. However, paternalistic attitudes are still rather strong, and the majority of citizens believe that the government should be primarily responsible for their well-being.

Russian prospects of welfare state transformation

The formation of a mixed system for the production of public goods in Russia is characterized by the active involvement of NGOs in the field of social services and the diversity of regional practices (Zabolotnaya, Larionov 2017; Topoleva-Soldunova 2019). Transformations of the sphere of social services affect the interests of the majority of the population, dictating the need to verify new approaches to understanding the nature of welfare in the regional context. At the same time, a number of fundamental tasks of social services are being solved. There are expanding opportunities for a differentiated and personal approach to the provision of social services, as long as NGOs are created in accordance with the specific needs of people (Starshinova, Borodkina 2020).

In Russia, as in other countries, there is a *structural transformation of the non-profit sector*. For many years it is based on NGOs and voluntary associations, the distinguishing characteristic of which is the lack of focus on making a profit and the impossibility of its distribution among members of organizations. However, the state stimulates the development of social entrepreneurship, as a result of which social enterprises appear and individual forms of social services are developed. The expansion of the non-profit sector of social services is also due to the emergence of new funding mechanisms, for example, through a system of grants (Starshinova, Borodkina 2022). At the same time, it should be noted that experts assess the impact of state funding on the non-profit sector of social services ambiguously. Permanent public funding can gradually crowd out other sources of income, but it can also attract various financial flows, as organizations seek to intensify their efforts and diversify sources of income in order to maintain a budget source, including by creating a favorable image (De Wit et al. 2017; Miko³ajczak 2018).

The ongoing administrative reforms lead in practice to the fact that regional/local governments in the field of social services transfer part of their powers to various social service providers, interaction with which is characterized not only by cooperation but also by competition. The state, acting as a customer of services, also performs the function of maintaining competition by creating equal conditions for all participants in the production of social benefits. The formation of a market of social services in the regions, which is targeted by the reforms, therefore implies a certain level of competition. At the same time, the activity of NGOs is influenced by the level of integration with state social service institutions; the frequency of collaboration between NGO professionals and their counterparts in government agencies can be especially important to improve the organizational planning and performance of these organizations. The network involvement of NGOs also contributes to increasing the authority in society and attracting donations, grants, and subsidies. Network interaction has an impact on the likelihood of an increase in the number of recipients of NGOs services, recognition and increased confidence of potential donors and volunteers, and opportunities for interaction with other participants in the social services market (Faulk et al., 2017; Cho et al., 2014). The factor influencing the development of the non-profit sector is a public trust. According to the results of the research, "practices based on trust increase the efficiency of institutions and reduce the costs of their functioning", and mass distrust violates the institutional unity of society, which ensures the maintenance of public order in modern ways. Trust is seen as a set of socially justified and socially confirmed expectations regarding the activities of the non-profit sector of social services, it affects the willingness of citizens both to receive the services of NGOs and to donate funds to charitable purposes (Mersiyanova, Korneeva, 2017; Starshinova et al. 2022).

An analysis of the structure of the non-profit sector shows that the density of organizations is closely related to citizens' awareness of the sector, and awareness, in turn, is closely related to their confidence in the effectiveness of non-profit organizations. The lack of proper information is a serious obstacle to the development of civic participation practices and contributes to the formation

of a skeptical attitude of the population towards non-profit organizations, reducing the potential of institutional forms of civic engagement (Golovin et al. 2020; Starshinova et al. 2022).

The state is interested in transferring some of its powers to new producers of goods - NGOs, since their entry into the sphere of social services creates opportunities for the optimization of expenses on the social needs of the population and ensures the fulfillment of obligations in response to the growing needs of citizens. As a result, the state aims to invest significant resources in the development of NGOs as providers of social services. Regulatory, legal, and organizational forms are changing that allow new participants to be included in social services, and special mechanisms and principles of their interaction with the state are emerging (Mersiyanova, Benevolensky 2017; Starshinova, Borodkina 2020). The need to transfer part of the powers to regional and municipal bodies on whose territory NGOs operate inevitably leads to decentralization of management. It is assumed that the emerging system of institutions and organizations will promptly and flexibly respond to the needs of the population, increasing the availability and quality of services. In other words, in Russia, the welfare state (as well as welfare states' policy in other countries) is losing its dominant position as a producer of social goods and is beginning to function as a customer, while the importance of the non-profit sector in the mixed welfare system is increasing. However, the formation of a new structure for providing citizens with social services guaranteed by the state is accompanied by a number of problems, including the unwillingness of social groups and individual citizens to enter into new relations with the state and non-profit structures.

Despite the ongoing structural changes, in Russia, unlike most Western countries, the main provider of social services is still state organizations. This circumstance is largely due to the strong paternalistic attitudes of the population, the administrative advantages of state organizations, the weakness of civil society, and the low level of Russians' trust in non-state organizations. According to the data of the All-Russian survey, the main factor of Russians' distrust in non-state social service providers is the stereotypes widespread in public opinion about the unconscientiousness of people working in NGOs, as well as the belief in the need to pay for services provided by NGOs. These attitudes are a consequence of the low awareness of citizens in general about the system of social services, and, in particular, about the procedure for providing services to citizens who are entitled to free services (Starshinova et al., 2022).

The significant institutional and structural transformation Russian welfare state became possible also with a change in the sources and mechanisms of financing, the procedure and methods for regulating their activities. In the current socio-economic conditions, when Russian NGOs do not have the opportunity to receive foreign funding, including major international humanitarian organizations and foundations, and most non-profit organizations have reoriented to state funding from the federal or regional state budgets. In many areas, NGOs are already clearly demonstrating advantages as providers of social services. NGOs are characterized by flexibility, the ability to attract additional resources and work in conditions of limited funding, recognition and approval of an individual approach to recipients of social services, and the ability to diversify the range of services and provide additional services.

It should also be noted that in Russia there is a change in public attitude towards the non-profit sector of social services in the direction of increasing its role and importance. A significant role in this process is played by young people who are more dynamic and open socio-demographic groups and demonstrate support and trust in NGOs. At the same time, the non-state sector of social services itself pays more attention to youth needs than state providers (Starshinova et al., 2021). The research results demonstrate that satisfaction with the services received in NGOs and the experience of interaction with them, dissemination of information about their activities have a positive impact on the transformation of public opinion in relation to the developing sector, displacing

the prevailing stereotypes (Starshinova et al. 2022). At the same time, in Russia, it is the state that remains the main actor in the implementation of social policy at all levels. By creating legal and financial opportunities for the development of the non-profit sector, the state, and not civil society, primarily exercises control.

Conclusion

The welfare state in Russia is undergoing significant institutional and structural changes, which are largely of a global nature; first of all, this process is related to the development of the non-governmental sector of social services. It should be emphasized the transition of the welfare state to mixed welfare. The global and national transformation processes are caused by the inefficiency of the traditional forms of social support to solve the problem of social inequality and are not an appropriate response to new social risks. In many countries, the attempts by governments to make social services more efficient based on neoliberal ideology face strong paternalistic expectations of some vulnerable groups and criticism from professionals. Russian attitudes towards public services also contrast sharply with the neoliberal trends in social policy associated with developing new governance and strengthening individual responsibility. A consensus is needed between citizens' expectations and social policy based on social justice, equal opportunities, social inclusion, and equal access to high-quality education and health care. In Russia processes of transformation of the welfare state are taking place along the path of a mixed welfare system, but with a dominant role of the state.

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The Problem of Managing the Preservation of Historical and Cultural Heritage in the Regional Context

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Abstract

The present paper deals with main theoretical and methodological approaches to the study of management of historical and cultural heritage of Russia in terms of objects and phenomena of material and spiritual culture of people having special historical, art, esthetic and scientific value for ensuring social continuity of generations. The major focus of the paper is on the management of preservation of historical and cultural heritage. The paper presents the results of a comprehensive study of the evaluation of the power-management vertical in 12 regions with different levels of socio-cultural modernization (according to N. I. Lapin), conducted by the Center of Sociology of Management and Social Technologies of FCTAS RAS (2015-2017). The authors raise a number of important problems that need to be solved in the process of managing the preservation of historical and cultural heritage in Russia at the present time, and offer their solutions related to the organization of social participation (involvement) of the population in the development of territories, the use of technologies of socio-cultural design and resources of local governments.

Keywords: *Historical and cultural heritage, management, preservation of historical and cultural heritage, local self-government, socio-cultural design, technology of predictive social design, social and cultural resource.*

Despite the undertaken measures for the preservation of historical and cultural heritage, the situation in regions of Russia is far from satisfactory. There were some changes taken in town planning and architectural fields, in Russia, for the previous decade, that made it harder to collect relevant information about the real situation with historical cities in some regions. In its turn, the lack of information creates severe obstacles in developing a working methodology that will regulate the preservation of 'historical and cultural heritage' (further HCH). It's sad to admit, but a modern city still very often lives and transforms based on principles and laws of the structural approach.

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Responsible bodies put raw, average, or even presumptive data underlie urban environment planning. (Sociology of Management 2010, Sociology of Management 2015)

André Maurois noted: "It is important to keep a quite big share of the past in the present. The nation can't start from scratch, rejecting everything that was created by the previous generations. Durable symbols of continuity are architectural monuments Durability of establishment – pledge of his force tries to respect traditions whenever possible. If you cancel them, you should create others and whether they will be better?" (Maurois 1983: 345).

A new State, which is beginning its life as an independent nation, must have a sense of national Identity. In many cases, however, the new citizens, who formerly lived without any strong bond between the land formed part of a different political system, can not have that true, deep sense of national Identity which comes from a knowledge of the past and an understanding of the present. Where can they get this knowledge? They will find it in books in which the scattered traditions have been brought together. A library is not only a valuable instrument for the nation's use it helps to shape the nation itself.

The Japanese thinker Nisid Kitaro who developed the theory of the place spoke about the root place where human consciousness is created and the feeling of the place, the feeling of attachment of the person to the "place on the earth" is formed.

G. Jonas notes that progress exists in many spheres "Yes here only ... it is necessary to pay for it. With each transformation it is lost something valuable, ... the price of civilization in human and animal spheres is high and with further progress, it only increases" (Jonas 2004: 276).

The preservation of cultural values testifies to the high importance attached in the public mind to cultural heritage. This heritage ensures the preservation of society, as a base, the most important principle solutions to many of the most acute problems of modern spiritual life, taking into account the selection and interpretation of classical values that meet the needs of modern life. Only by leaning on heritage, and increasing it, society is capable to enrich culturally and itself, and a world civilization (Alexander 1977, Castells 1989).

Historical and cultural heritage plays a huge role in forming cultural space. The person who grew up in royal chambers or abbey will have another set of values, than the person who grew up in the hut.

Through many centuries the "concept idea of the place" had a great impact on forming different psychological aspects of a person and was tied closely to the main forming processes of the culture.

Each personality from birth to death exists in a certain historical and architectural environment, and it plays a significant role in his life, which can shed the light on many social, historical, psychological, and cultural aspects of life.

The previous policy of historical and cultural preservation, which was held by the Russian government turned out to be not that effective, though many government and public authorities of monument protection, were created during this period.

State documents condemn the disparaging attitude toward cultural and historical values, but still, the real need for restoration works is provided insufficiently (Arnoldova 2003: 14-19) At the same time many scientists and philosophers find the strong dependency between the preservation of historical and cultural heritage and the spiritual growth of society. What is more interesting with its creative perception and ability to use it for the sake of the ideals which are essentially important for moving towards the future.

“The historical and cultural heritage – is a part of the society itself, and it stands from the fundamental cultural phenomena, acting not like a frozen archival value or antique artifact storage but the live cultural space feeding and inspiring the living generations, giving a surprising richness of the cultural wealth so necessary for the person” (Arnoldova 2003: 25).

The contradiction between two opposite phenomena:

- admitting the importance of the preservation of historical and cultural heritage as a required condition for potential region development and growth by the scientific community (architects, town planners, urbanists, sociologists, etc.). And, also, growing interest, together with a willingness to help from the small to middle size businesses - on one side and
- lack of an implementation methodology for managing the processes of HCH at the regional level – on the other side forms the Scientific Problem of our research work (A. Tikhonov. B. 2007).

Research objective

The purpose of our work is to prove the importance of creating the management technology for HCH preservation taking into consideration the sociocultural aspects of the region and its modernization level.

Methodology

The study, that we are basing our research on, was carried out by the Center for Sociology of Management and Social Technologies of the Federal Research Center of the Russian Academy of Sciences. The study method - questionnaire (held in 2015-2016 in 12 regions), a total of 5452 working documents (questionnaires) were collected. The sample is a quota, proportional to the weight of groups at the intersection of the signs “gender” * “age” * “education” in the general population of these groups according to the country’s census (Russia: reforming the managerial vertical 2017).

When analyzing the answers given by responders about the current state of the historical and cultural heritage of the region and the activities of the authorities, we divided them into four groups:

- 1) Low level of development (Dagestan, Kalmykia, Smolensk region);
- 2) The level is below the average level of development (Bashkortostan, Omsk region, Sakha-Yakutia);
- 3) The average level of development (Amur, Belgorod, Vologda regions);
- 4) High level of development (Moscow, Nizhny Novgorod, Sverdlovsk regions).

The level of modernization of the regions, that our scientific group used during the region selection was based on the determinization adapted by N. I. Lapin and his colleagues for Russia, which defines six levels of modernization of Russian regions (in ascending order): 1) lagging, 2) pre-developed, 3) below the middle, 4) middle, 5) above the middle, 6) high (Atlas of Modernization 2016).

Research results and discussion.

As noted earlier, the state of historical and cultural heritage is a significant aspect that characterizes the quality of management at the regional level. HCH is a sociocultural resource, the competent use of which allows not only to attract financial flows to the region through tourism activities but also to form communicative meanings that unite the citizens.

Gender

Our study showed that in general (regardless of the region) women tend to assess the state of protection of cultural and historical monuments, better than men. They provided “excellent”,

“good” and “satisfactory” rate values in their answers more often. Men more often gave “rather bad” and “very bad” values. More often,

Education

Respondents with incomplete secondary, secondary general, and general special education provided “very bad” rate values more often than respondents with incomplete higher and higher education.

Income

The income level of the respondent is also important in assessing the state of preservation of cultural and historical monuments. The higher the income level the better “rates” responders provided. Financially unsecured part of the responders rated the situation worse.

Information awareness

Respondents demonstrating a low level of inclusion in information channels (less often reading newspapers, watching TV, using the Internet), more often rate the state of HCH preservation as “rather bad” and “very bad” than respondents demonstrating medium and high levels of inclusion in the information environment.

During the study, we obtained two indicators directly characterizing the situation with historical and cultural heritage in the regions:

1. The state of affairs in the field of preservation of historical and cultural heritage in the region in general;
2. Effectivity of the authority’s attempts in the preservation of HCH

Results:

To simplify the comparative analysis, we combined the responses with an “excellent” and “good” rate and the responses with “bad” and “very bad” rates (Table 1 and Table 2). And left satisfactory as well.

In these indicators, data significantly differs from region to region. At first, we will consider how citizens estimate the state of affairs in the field of HCH preservation in regions with a high level of modernization.

High level of modernization

Most of the answers of the citizens of the Sverdlovsk region, a situation with HCH preservation in the region is satisfying - 63.6% of responders. As “good” 25.7% and as “bad” 10.7%. 55.0% of participants of the poll consider that authorities’ attempts to manage the HCH problems as satisfying. 32.0% think – they are doing “good”, and 13.0% provide “bad” rates.

In the Moscow region, 56.6% of responders estimate a problem condition as “good” - 56.6%. 30.9% as “satisfactory”. And 12.6% as “bad”. Residents of the Moscow region estimated the activity of authorities slightly worse, than a situation with a problem, “good” - 54.6%, “satisfactory” – 30.4%, rated as “bad” – 15.0%.

In the Nizhny Novgorod region, the state of affairs in the field of preservation of historical and cultural heritage was estimated by 59.3% as “good”, “satisfactory” by 30.9% of responders, “bad” rate was set by 9.2% of responders. The activity of authorities was estimated slightly worse, as well as in other regions with a high level of modernization. The “Good” rate was given by 52.7% of responders, “satisfactory” by 37.3%, and “bad” by 10.0%.

Table 1

Population assessment of the situation with preservation of historical and cultural heritage in the region
(in % of the total number of respondents)

Modernisation Level	Regions	Rates		
		Well	Satisfying	Bad
High	Sverdlovsk region	63.6	25.7	10.7
	Moscow region	56.6	30.9	12.6
	Nizhny Novgorod region	59.3	31.5	9.2
Middle	Republic of Bashkortostan	73.9	21.1	5.0
	Republic of Sakha (Yakutia)	48.8	39.2	12.0
	Omsk region	46.6	34.9	18.5
Below the average	Belgorod region	73.6	17.8	8.6
	Vologda Oblast	70.2	26.6	3.2
	Amur Region	62.5	27.9	9.6
Low	Smolensk region	55.4	34.8	9.8
	Republic of Dagestan	51.2	39.0	9.8
	Republic of Kalmykia	51.1	34.7	14.3
Total:		60.3	29.5	10.2

Table 2

Population assessment of the regional administration for the preservation of historical and cultural heritage in the region
(in % of the total number of respondents)

Modernisation level	Regions	Rates		
		Well	Satisfying	Bad
High	Sverdlovsk region	55.0	32.1	13.0
	Moscow region	54.6	30.4	15.0
	Nizhny Novgorod region	52.7	37.3	10.0
Middle	Republic of Bashkortostan	66.7	25.9	7.5
	Republic of Sakha (Yakutia)	48.9	37.1	14.0
	Omsk region	37.1	39.1	23.8
Below the average	Belgorod region	67.2	20.1	12.7
	Vologda Oblast	66.7	27.0	6.3
	Amur Region	58.0	27.9	14.1
Low	Smolensk region	50.1	36.6	13.2
	Republic of Dagestan	48.8	34.1	17.1
	Republic of Kalmykia	48.7	35.5	15.8
Total:		55.2	31.6	13.2

In general, all regions which we conditionally carried to the high level of modernization have average values in the parameter of assessment of the problem of HCH preservation and activity of governing bodies in the solution of this problem.

The average level of modernization

In regions that we conditionally referred to as the average level of modernization, the problem of preservation of historical and cultural heritage is as follows.

In the Republic of Bashkortostan, more citizens than in any other region gave "good" rates to a condition of HCH (73.9%), 21.1% of the population gave a mark "good" and 5% "bad". Estimates of the activity of authorities were also estimated much above, than in other regions, it is "good" said 66.7% of responders, "satisfactory" - 21.1%, and "bad" rate gave 5.0% of responders. Thus, the Republic of Bashkortostan together with the Belgorod region share the leading position of the study. In two other regions with the average level of modernization, the situation with historical and cultural heritage is much worse.

The Omsk region has the worst figures in this parameter among all studied regions, 46.6% of the population consider a situation as "good", 34.9% - as "satisfactory", and 18.5% give a "bad" rate. Even worse points gathered situation with authority activities towards the HCH preservation in Omsk. As "good" rated 37.1%, "satisfactory" rate – 39.1%, and "bad" rate - 18.5%.

Approximately the same situation in the Sakha (Yakutia) Republic. A mark "good" on the condition of a problem, in general, was given by 48.8% of responders. 39.2% Rate for the "good" authority activity was given by 48.9% of responders, "satisfactory" by 39.1%, and "bad" by 14.0% of people.

Estimates of the problem of HCH preservation in regions with the average level of modernization received strong dispersion. One region was the leader in this parameter, and two other regions were outsiders.

Modernization level below the average

In regions with modernization level below the average, the situation with HCH preservation was rated highly enough. In the Belgorod and Vologda regions, the responders gave high rates both to the situation in general and to the work of authorities in the field (table 1 and table 2). In the Amur region, we received average values.

Low level of modernization

Among regions which we consider as regions with to a low level of modernization, the situation is better in the Smolensk region and worse in the Republics of Dagestan and Kalmykia (table 1 and table 2). In our opinion, the lack of resources and deficiency of investments affected the situation around the HCH preservation and peoples' opinion about the problem as a result.

Summary

Summing up the result, we can allocate three regions that won the leading positions on the preservation of cultural and historical monuments:

- the Republic of Bashkortostan;
- the Belgorod;
- the Vologda region.

Then go five regions with average results and middle positions:

- the Sverdlovsk;
- Amur;
- Nizhny Novgorod;
- Moscow;
- Smolensk.

The rest four regions are closing the list:

- the Republics of Dagestan;

- Kalmykia;
- Sakha (Yakutia);
- the Omsk

Findings

Having analyzed a situation with a condition of historical cultural heritage in regions, we can draw the following conclusions:

- Rates, provided by responders don't depend on the level of modernization of the region. Higher rates on this indicator were given by citizens of average and below-average modernization level regions.
- We can't insist on a correlation between the level of historical and cultural heritage (regions with high and rich HCH) and responders' answers about the real condition of the state and authorities' activities. The Vologda and Belgorod regions have advantages over the Omsk and Amur regions, they historically have a richer heritage, and results were higher, but Nizhny Novgorod, Smolensk regions as well as the Republics of Kalmykia, which also could be considered as regions with rich HCH showed much lower results.
- In all regions, we can observe a decrease in values when we suggest rating the regional authority activity in HCH preservation in the next question (table 1 and table2)

So it looks like that even in those regions where the situation with HCH preservation is excellent or good, based on the answers, responders tend to underestimate the results of the work of the government authorities when it comes to management problems (Russia: Reforming the Power and Management Vertical 2017).

Social participation: Principles and Practices.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, the principle of social participation was implemented across the board among most architects and urban planners in a number of Western countries. It is based on the right of the citizens to participate in the creation and development of the urban environment. This concept was developed in the 60s in the West. It was invented to oppose the vicious concept of urban planning practices, that ignore the interests of the consumer, citizens were created based on the "utopian idea of a rational city, the inhabitants of which do not live a natural life, but" implement clearly divorced functions "" (Dridze 1994: 131).

In Russia, for a long time, the main concept was the concept of "social settlement" (alternative to the principle of social participation), which implies the existence of the city "within" or "around" the industry, and the further urbanization led to the waste of almost all human life resources.

The main role in the development of the so-called "doctrine of social participation" is given to social sciences. It is based on the right of the population to participate in the design and creation of the urban environment on the basis of the principle of bilateral information. Specialists acquaint citizens with the projects they are developing, and citizens, in turn, pose problems to specialists arising from their requests and living conditions.

In fact, this means a transition from a functional approach to the development of the territory to the so-called "environmental approach" (Dridze 1994: C. 137). Within this approach, the status of an ordinary citizen changes, he turns from the object of a decision made by officials and specialists to the subject who has his own interests and rights, as well as reasonable requirements for changes.

The goals of social participation are divided into two classes:

- participation in the discussion of renewal programs and inclusive projects and processes during their whole implementation time. This can guarantee constructive dialogue between local authorities and citizens, providing a better understanding of each other's positions and difficulties;

- direct participation of citizens in socio-cultural changes, and the creation of their own local communities (Dridze 1994).

To implement the principle of social participation in today's conditions, in all managing processes of the HCH preservation, we should develop a technology that will base on the principles of predictive social design technology (developed by the scientific team at hand. T.M. Dridze) adapted for this very subject area.

Predictive Social Design Technology (Social and Cultural Design Fundamentals)

People as living organisms constantly exchange data with the surrounding environment, therefore, any unnatural plan of HCH preservation and its integration into the city development plan should be preceded by deep environmental and socio-diagnostic research. The problem of survival and reproduction of a physically, and mentally healthy person in an urban environment is still very acute.

Social diagnostics, which is used in the predictive sociocultural design, has its own specifics. It is a comprehensive interdisciplinary and it is based on the priorities of social development that underlie civil society.

"Accordingly, the attention of specialists in predictive socio-cultural design should focus on two objects

- on the psychological condition and life strategies of people who resolve problem situations by their own life resources, on one hand
- on counter flows of consciousness "and institutionally supported strategies of management decision-makers (professionals, officials, investors, other social entities) who are holders of public (state, territorial, etc.) or private resources, and on the other hand".

(Dridze 1994: 138)

Projective (or design) activity belongs to the category of innovative, creative activity. It involves the transformation of sociocultural reality and is built on the basis of the corresponding technology, which can be unified, mastered, and improved.

Social design requires the observance of certain conditions, namely, it must be taken into account that, along with the most likely way of development of the sociocultural processes, there is the least likely (but also possible) way.

What should be taken into consideration?

In sociocultural objects, there is usually a pool of internal resources that can be mobilized to solve the problem.

Socio-cultural structures are characterized by significant deformations, which can be used to realize the preferred way of future development.

Prospective purposes related to content can be replaced by one another; the same goal can be achieved by different means.

A change in one component of the sociocultural system can lead to a change in others. Secondary changes in feedback can affect the original component, changing it, so it is necessary to take into account the directional nature of the forward and reverse links.

When designing socio-cultural objects, it is very important to take into account subjective factors that imply the specifics of the design. These include but are not limited to:

- contradictory sociocultural object;
- multi-vector development of sociocultural objects;
- the impossibility of describing a sociocultural object with a finite number of terms;
- multivariate functioning of the sociocultural object;
- Variety of subjective components that determine the ratio of the assumed and real in the development of a socio-cultural object;

- factors determining different criteria for assessing the maturity of the development of a sociocultural object (Dolzhenkova 2005: C.15).

The most important structural element of the design phase - is research, since the designer should, firstly, know, and see the real problems of the functioning of a particular object area, and it's usability; secondly, should have a whole, general view and how to support it. The dominant methodological principle here is the systematic collection of information about the design and projection problems and the creation of a complex of information and resources for the project support.

How it works:

- accurately determine the areas of project activity (or priority areas of social and cultural design) and clearly determine the audience of the project (social category or community of people - carriers of the problem);
- develop the content of the program in a qualified manner, i.e. to formulate goals and objectives, to determine the types of sociocultural activities that are considered within the framework of the project as a means of solving problems;
- identify social forces interested in the implementation of the project (forces of support, potential and real partners, sources of financing) (Dridze 1994, Dolzhenkova 2005).

Conclusion

The management of historical and cultural heritage is an ongoing process. Fifteen years of experience in studying this process by the Center for Sociology of Management and Social Technologies of the Federal Research and Development Center of the Russian Academy of Sciences allows us to say that, unfortunately, the management system has not yet been verified and configured, both from the point of view of legislation and from the procedural aspect, for a positive result.

There are no clear boundaries of stakeholder responsibilities. The participation of citizens, as a directly interested stakeholder, in the city/region/state development process, is deliberately and systematically limited or even blocked.

The only opportunity to apply world experience in restoration and effective management, as well as the successful usage of cultural heritage objects not only for the benefit of the monument itself but also for the territorial unit in which this object is located, lies in the privatization of the monument by business enthusiasts who have been financially established and do not have the goal of obtaining serious commercial benefits from this object (Hillier, Vaughan 2006; Jeffres, Bracken, Jian, Casey 2009).

This is primarily due to the most complex and clumsy regulations for carrying out any work on the preservation or restoration of objects, as well as a huge administrative add-on represented by relevant departments and organizations that control the activities.

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Bengali *Jatra*: Change, Continuity and Reinvention of Folk Theatre in the Age of Globalization

Amit Kayal

Abstract

Bengali Jatra is a regional form of 'folk' theatre, developed in Bengal (now West Bengal). There have been many manifestation not only in our state but also in the neighbouring state of Odisha, Assam, Manipur, Tripura, Bihar and Bangladesh. The development of Jatra simultaneously happened in each of this region from pre- colonial to post- colonial times. Bengalis become the reference group in the development of Jatra literature and culture in other region because of its greater Bengal phenomena in pre- colonial period. Jatra, the most popular traditional theatre form in the eastern part of India, especially in Bengal, Odisha and Assam. Jatra is a musical procession where a deity is carried out from one place to another. But its early history, which has been variously linked to the Rig-Vedic rituals, classical Indian theatre, and tribal festivals; can hardly be called well documented. Jatra probably existed in the form of loose song-and-dance sequences, very provisional in character, without any pretensions of "plot" or structure. The earliest Jatra plays, (Palas in Bengali) that have come to us only from the late 18th century. Earlier compositions of this form are long extinct. It is certain, that the earliest Jatra Palas, are very much a part of the oral literary tradition of pre- colonial Bengal, were never written down and therefore lost to us gradually. So, for all practical purposes, it is only from the 16th century onwards that the popular folk theatre of Bengal started taking a somewhat tangible shape in the form of Jatra (Sarkar, 1975). Jatra was not dealing with the books, epics or other forms of printing and written materials previously. It is their 'voice', which was narrated, changed in a various forms, depends on area to area, but moralistic tone were remain same. 'Bibek' (conscience) is very important in this form of folk culture, as it is always create some kind of conscience, morality and ethics through the characters, emphasized by Jashodhara Sen (2008), a theatre scholar. 'Niyati' (destiny) is also another character that plays crucial role in Jatra culture from its inception (Chatterji, 2014). For this, people themselves enmeshed with the actor as one who play the role of Krishna or Radha and crying in pain with them instantly in the field, which is so fascinating and significant mark of this folk culture of Bengal. Traditionally, Jatra often told mythological stories that reflect the aspirations of the audience. The mythological hero in the Jatra took its proper shape on the audience's emotional identification. Jatra is a living form within the masses, still very popular, impactful and always transforming. It incorporates many themes like- historical, socio- political, economic changes, direct political propaganda and many more from the colonial times onwards. To many scholars and artists, Jatra goes beyond theatre and it plays concept of life, a way of life. Because Jatra is so popular, it is an excellent medium for making people's 'Voice' or narratives. My major sociological concerns with this study, is how did Jatra of Bengal transform into a commercialized 'mass' theatre from 'folk' theatre and how this popular theatre form has been created and reinvented through the long journey from pre-colonial period to the age of Globalization?

Keywords: Bengali Jatra, Vaishnavism, Folk Theatre, Commercialized Mass, Globalization.

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My major sociological concern with this study is how did Jatra of Bengal transform into a commercialized 'mass' theatre from 'folk' theatre and how this popular theatre form has been created and reinvented through the long journey from the pre-colonial period to the age of Globalization. Bengali *Jatra* is a regional form of 'folk' theatre, developed in Bengal (now West Bengal). There have been many manifestations not only in our state but also in the neighbouring state of Odisha, Assam, Manipur, Tripura, Bihar and Bangladesh. The development of Jatra simultaneously happened in each of these regions from pre-colonial to post-colonial times. Bengalis become the reference group in the development of Jatra literature and culture in other regions because of its greater Bengal phenomena in the pre-colonial period. *Jatra* is the most popular traditional theatre form in the eastern part of India, especially in Bengal, Odisha and Assam. Jatra is a musical procession where a deity is carried out from one place to another. But its early history, which has been variously linked to the Rig-Vedic rituals, classical Indian theatre, and tribal festivals; can hardly be called well documented (Sarkar, 1975).

Jatra probably existed in the form of loose song-and-dance sequences, very provisional in character, without any pretensions of "plot" or structure. The earliest Jatra plays, (Palas in Bengali) have come to us only from the late 18th century. Earlier compositions of this form are long extinct. It is certain, that the earliest Jatra Palas, which are very much a part of the oral literary tradition of pre-colonial Bengal, were never written down and therefore lost to us gradually. So, for all practical purposes, it is only from the 16th century onwards that the popular folk theatre of Bengal started taking a somewhat tangible shape in the form of Jatra (Sarkar, 1975).

Jatra was not dealing with books, epics or other forms of printing and written materials previously. It is their 'voice', which was narrated, changed in various forms, depending on the area to the area, but the moralistic tone remained the same. 'Bibek' (conscience) is very important in this form of folk culture, as it always creates some kind of conscience, morality and ethics through the characters, emphasized by Jashodhara Sen (2008), a theatre scholar. 'Niyati' (destiny) is also another character that plays a crucial role in Jatra culture from its inception (Chatterji, 2014). For this, people themselves are enmeshed with the actor as one who plays the role of Krishna or Radha and crying in pain with them instantly in the field, which is so fascinating and a significant mark of this folk culture of Bengal. Traditionally, Jatra often told mythological stories that reflect the aspirations of the audience. The mythological hero in the Jatra took its proper shape on the audience's emotional identification. Jatra is a living form within the masses, still very popular, impactful and always transforming. It incorporates many themes like- historical, socio-political, and economic changes, direct political propaganda and many more from colonial times onwards. To many scholars and artists, Jatra goes beyond theatre and it plays the concept of life, a way of life. Because Jatra is so popular, it is an excellent medium for making people's 'Voice' or narratives.

1. Jatra: Seasons, Plot and Time

The Jatra season rounds between September and late May or early June, since this is the period which has no fear of rain and dwellers certainly do their job. The season really gets started from the Puja festivals, which roughly coincide with the harvesting time in rural Bengal. In the village areas, the peak season begins after the harvesting is over. First, there are religious festivals like Durga Puja (late September, early October), Kali Puja (held about three weeks after Durga Puja), etc., which fall within the normal Jatra season. Ratha Jatra, the chariot festival, and Manasa Puja, the worship of the serpent goddess, are held in late July or early August, but these nevertheless are fit occasions for a Jatra (Sarkar, 1975: 104-106).

Jatra is a theatre in the round, and it is very loud. Everything is influenced by visibility and audibility. Jatra Palas are frequently performed in villages without electricity. The hajak lamps which are used, don't give much light; but the actors have to make themselves visible to a large audience, so the make-up is heavy and the costumes are very colourful. Jatra Palas had to rely mostly on songs previously. It is much easier to perform a song than speech and continuous acting, which would be very strenuous in a play, lasting until midnight from early afternoon (Gunawardana and Dutt, 1971: 230; Patgiri, 2019: 40). Jatra fairs and festivals are still very popular. As Jatra is synonymous with festivals and also originated from religious processions, it continues to be performed during local festivals and annual fairs.

There is a demand to organize Jatra in every Puja- Parbon (season) in almost every major village in Bengal. Festivals are the time for professional Jatra troupes to make a profit. Thereby, they recover the losses they face during the non-festive season when they get smaller audiences, face adverse climatic conditions and so on. Fairs and festivals like- Manasa Puja, Durga Puja, Sitala Puja, Baruni Mela, Poush Mela, and Janmashtami usually take major Jatra parties to perform.

2. Jatra and Vaishnavism

Jatra has its roots in Gaudiya Vaishnavism, or Bengali Vaishnavism, a religious philosophy, initiated by Sri Chaitanya. It originated toward the beginning of the sixteenth century. The movement gave birth to a religious community or tradition of Gaudiya Vaishnava. The term Gaudiya refers to the specific Bengali provenance of "Gauda" a historical-geographical area shared between Bangladesh and West Bengal, India. At present, most of the ruins of Gauda are in the Malda district of West Bengal. The foundation of this religious tradition is characterized by Krishna bhakti or an absolute devotion to the deity Krishna.

Sri Chaitanya Mahaprabhu (1486-1533) and his associates, were the first to employ the performing arts (dance, music, play-acting) for the furtherance of their belief. But this fact alone cannot positively affirm what has been called the Krishnite origin of Jatra. The earliest extant Mangal Kavyas that have come down to us is a date from the 16th century. The earliest Jatra Palas were composed on the same principles, structural or otherwise, as those of the Mangal Kavya. These similarities are too obvious to be ignored and if our assumption is right, they make Jatra an audio-visual performing art of the essentially oral tradition of Mangal Kavya (Patgiri, 2019: 40). So, it is safe to conclude that the former cannot predate the latter.

Gargi Balwant, an eminent scholar said on this folk theatre, "Though the Jatra is equally popular in Orissa and the eastern parts of Bihar (two bordering states), it originated in Bengal" (Balwant, 1966: 11). Kapila Vatsyayan, another scholar in this field also says, "The origins of Oriya or Bengali Jatra are somewhat hazy and the discussion has been full of controversies and widely divergent views." Due to controversies in this matter, Vatsyayan has avoided pronouncing any decision. She has of course traced the origin of dance and drama in Orissa and as per her opinion, "Gita Govinda" — the famous romantic poetry of Jaydeva, provided the 'real foundations of poetic, musical and dramatic activity, for the purpose. Of course, she has admitted that dramatic performances gradually developed in the states of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, under the powerful impact of "Gita Govinda" (Vatsayan, 1980: 131-133). Theatre scholar M. L. Varadpande has traced the origin of Jatra play in 'Dev Jatra' mentioned in "Vishnu Dharmotter Purana." According to this Purana, the deity is taken in procession outside the temple and is followed by dance, music and dramatic dialogues. Subsequently, this has taken the shape of Jatra. He further adds: "Historically, the Jatra as a dramatic form, owes its existence to the Krishna Bhakti Cult of Bengal. The dramatic

poems such as Jayadev's *Gita Govinda* and Babu Chandidasa's *Krishna Kirtan* (15th century) set the background" (Varadpande, 1982: 33-34).

Thus, it has been proved by most of the scholars that Jatra originated from the annual religious festivals initially. "Gita Govinda" is at the root of 'Krishna Jatra' and this most popular medium of mass entertainment originated from it. Though most of the scholars like Keith Hansen, have accepted "Gita Govinda" as the primary source of Jatra. Sri Chaitanya, the religious saint of Bhakti Cult of Bengal, has been designated as the father of Krishna Jatra of Eastern India. For this, descriptions from "Chaitanya Bhagbata" written by Brindaban Das and "Chaitanya Charitamrita" by Krishna Das Kaviraj have ample references. It is said that after returning from Gaya in 1507 A.D., Sri Chaitanya Dev arranged a Jatra Pala called "Rukmini Haran" (Abduction of Rukmini) in the house of Chandra Sekhar, one of the Zamindar of Bengal, where he took the role of Rukmini. His followers acted in different roles. The performance was successful and was hailed by the audience. Ashutosh Bhattacharya, an eminent critic of Bengal, has accepted this to be the first Jatra Pala of Bengal (Bhattacharya, 1978: 30).

3. Jatra: Themes, Flavours and Personalities

In Indian folk performances, it is not the characters that play the central theme; it is the 'bhava' (emotions) and 'rasa' (flavors), that are experienced by the audience with the portrayal of various characters. The Indian folk performances do not act from the body, rather it deals with the mind (Chatterji, 2014: 3). Epics build narratives around a series of devotional tableaux that present themselves to the devotee. This not only blurs the line between devotion and entertainment but also involves dramatic techniques such as formulaic speech that prolong ritually significant moments but does not sit well with modern proscenium theatre.

Viewing a mythological play is itself an act of worship, and folk theatres like Jatra and Ankiya Naat with mythological themes are part of this aura. Therefore, apart from providing entertainment, the folk theatre also played a role in harnessing 'community' based sentiments (Chatterji, 2014: 9; Patgiti, 2019: 41). This is also a reason why folk forms of theatre have managed to survive even with the advent of modern Indian theatre, film, and television. The folk tradition as an alternative discourse of knowledge became primarily redundant to most aspects of social change that are characterized as modernization. However, despite this shrinkage in space for folk culture and the oral tradition in India, it retains its resilience in several areas of culture like graphic and plastic art forms, music and theatre (Singh, 2012: 162, Patgiri, 2019: 41).

Vijyalaxmy Shankar mentioned, that 'the initial aim of the folk theatre was to give the first impact with the sound and sight and slowly it opens the audience's mental eye for a message on morality' (Shankar, 1978: 40). The performances by the folk or the community is said to have far more spontaneous than the contemporary theatre. These folk dramas act as a channel between the actors and the audiences. They are performed in such a manner that it becomes appealing to the rural population as well as the urban. But in beginning, Jatra was designed for the rural people, which was simple in character, portrayed as 'Pala-gan'. It is generally considered that Jatra deals with religious and moral issues, but in reality, it also shows the socio-cultural and political issues, as Debayan Deb Barman shows us how the popular Jatras, natakas and theatre can be political (Deb Barman, 2014: 184).

The history of Jatra revolves around personalities, like Gopal Ure, Matilal Roy, or Mukunda Das, rather than types or forms. So in it, we find somewhat free and arbitrary use of terms, which

convey little that is meaningful to us. Appellations like “old” (Prachin) and “new” (Nutan) have been used in some places to describe Jatra, but the terms imply kinds rather than chronological change. The “old” Jatra represents palas that contain religious themes and were instructive and moralistic in tone, i.e., the ‘Bibek’ (conscience) and ‘Niyati’ (fate or destiny). The “old” Jatra was also marked by performances of professional troupes, which were mostly owned and managed by the chief singer or actor of the troupe. The “new” Jatra seems to be more secular than religious in content. It aims to entertain the spectators above everything else. It is more lyrical than strictly dramatic. The “new” Jatra also represents another version, originally performed by amateurs, called ‘Sakher Jatra’, which was formed mainly for their own amusement (Sarkar, 1975: 96-103).

Jatra is closer to the Bengali realistic theatre, but not quite. Regardless of experiencing transformations and ups and downs, Jatra continued to grow. The main reason for the survival of Jatra is that it is a powerful medium. This power resides in common rural audiences, although at present rural society is affected by urban society. Till today, reaching the common people is the primary purpose of Jatra. The language of Jatra is colloquial. Consequently, Jatra can effortlessly speak about complex and intimate topics to reach the common people. Jatra’s main theme is to enhance solidarity in society by concentrating on its members. Otherwise, Jatra is a powerful medium that can present a vantage point effectively and straightforwardly to the common people.

4. Globalization and Reception of Jatra:

To Storey (2013), Globalization is producing two contradictory effects, sameness and difference – that is, a sense that the world is becoming similar as it shrinks under the pressure of time–space compression, but also that it is characterized by increasing awareness of difference. What on the surface may look like the export of sameness always involves the global being articulated with the local, and in the process having to compromise with local culture and tradition. Moreover, the processes of sameness may provoke the articulation of difference. Globalization is making the world smaller, generating new forms of cultural ‘hybridity’, but also bringing into collision and conflict different ways of making the world mean. While some people may celebrate the opening up of new ‘global’ routes, other people may resist globalization in the name of ‘local’ roots. There is a great temptation to think of the ‘local’ as ‘authentic’ and the ‘global’ as an ‘inauthentic’ imposition. Storey (2003) advised, that we should be careful to avoid romanticizing the ‘local’ as the organic expression of a more “real” way of life. If we listen carefully, it is possible to hear in the debates on the impact of the ‘global’ on the ‘local’, echoes of earlier debates about folk culture being destroyed by industrialism and urbanism. It is as if the ‘local’ is an authentic folk culture and the ‘global’ is a homogenizing mass culture. But it is always more complicated than this: the ‘global’ is always part of the ‘local’; the ‘local’ is what resists the ‘global’. As Edward Said (1993) observes, “all cultures are involved in one another; none is single and pure, all are hybrid, heterogeneous, extraordinarily differentiated, and un-monolithic.” (Said, 1993: xiv)

Globalization offers the possibility of cultural mixing on a scale never before known. This can of course produce resistance to difference, but it can also produce the fusing of different cultures and the making of new and exciting forms of cultural hybridity. Globalization is perhaps the final unwinding of the idea that for popular cultures to be truly authentic, they have to be organically grounded in and bounded by a locality. Globalized culture is undermining what had been a key aspect in intellectual discussions of folk culture, that is, being embedded in a particular space – the rural and separated by both time and space from the development of modern urban and industrial life, guaranteed “authenticity.” The movement of people and commodities around the globe, bringing the ‘global’ into the ‘local’, clearly challenges the idea that locality can fix the boundaries of a

culture. The nature of global cultures suggests we are witnessing a shift in how we see cultures, a shift from culture as “roots” to culture as “routes.” Although globalization changes or even destroys the conditions which had sustained previous modes of culture, it also supplies new resources for new forms of culture. To see this as a significant cultural development does not mean that we must first embrace the myth of folk culture and see the ‘local’ as having previously existed in isolation from other localities, global or otherwise. This is not a denial of difference but an insistence on seeing a difference within the context of a shared humanity. To live in both the ‘local’ and the ‘global’ and effectively share a “Glocalized” culture, would be a truly popular culture (Storey, 2003: 114-120).

Storey (2003) asserts that consumption is not that straightforward: the global commodities of the culture industries always encounter people situated in local cultures. Consumption, therefore, is always an encounter between the materiality of a cultural commodity and the cultural formation of a consumer, which takes place in a particular context. He quoted Ian Ang, ‘the global and the local should not be conceived as two distinct, separate and opposing realities, but as complexly articulated, mutually constitutive. Global forces only display their effectivity in particular localities; local realities today can no longer be thought of outside of the global sphere of influence, for better or for worse (Ang, 1996: 153, as cited in Storey, 2003).

Ang (1996) explains, culturally speaking, it is hard to distinguish here between the “foreign” and the “indigenous”, the “imperialist” and the “authentic”: what has emerged is a highly distinctive and economically viable hybrid cultural form; in which the “global” and the “local” are inextricably intertwined (Storey, 2010). In other words, what counts as “local” and therefore “authentic” is not fixed content, but is subject to change and modification timely.

Asian theatre, as a whole, is transforming, some forms are renewing themselves, and new ones are evolving as societies are going into transformations at all levels. Concurrently, with the growth of Western-inspired forms, indigenous theatres are either declining or breaking out of the framework; which traditionally identified them and moving towards the dramatic and presentational forms customarily associated with the West. The true pattern of Indian culture in all its facets can best be witnessed in the countryside. It is in its villages that the dramatic tradition of India in all its pristine glory and vitality remains preserved even to this day. It is these rural drama groups that require real encouragement. On the other hand, it is not until the city youth is fully exposed to the influence from folk traditions in theatre, that a truly Indian theatre, modern and universal in appeal and indigenous in form, can really be evolved. It must form, from a deep-rooted feeling that if the folk arts of India really represent Indian culture, then rehabilitating and strengthening them will perhaps help the process of evolution of the folk-art forms.

As we have seen in figure 3 and 4, the stage, techniques, instruments and also interfaces have been changed. The famous Tollywood actor now acting in the lead roles in the Jatra Pala for the commercialized cause and market economy. It is almost seen in all the Asian folk and indigenous theatre, art, dance, music and other forms. The contestations between local and global have been seen everywhere. I have discussed it more in the next section.

4.1. Hybridization of Jatra in Post-colonial Bengal

Colonial Bengal was a ‘hybrid’ political space, integrating its colonial survival with distinctive models of political and cultural exchange and progress. Jatra was not an exception. The form has gone through many shifts since its inception. Grounded in religion, identity, and culture, Jatra was arrogated by the Bhadrak, politicized and radicalized for the urban audiences by theatre activists,

and reinvented by Utpal Dutta, who valued Jatra's aesthetic and political potential to ascribe unstable colonial and post-colonial struggles to Bengal. The result of all this granted contemporary Jatra its 'hybrid' identity.

There was a certain amount of traditional Jatra aesthetics merged with new modes of stage and lighting designs catered to Jatra's new audience. The performative structure was ambivalent, opposing the Europeanist naturalism with larger than life, while embracing the proscenium-style stage configuration. Simultaneously, authoring stories specific to the Bengali culture through advanced technological equipment, such as microphones, synthesizers, and electronic drum pads. Therefore, the notion of ambivalence is key in the context of my study of Jatra which will also reveal Jatra's 'hybrid' identity in relation to its agency and authorship. Jatra espouses many of Bhabha's theories by gradually witnessing a series of economic, political, and social changes, Jatra became an all-encompassing performance form, exposing its hybrid and ambivalent identity, which is simultaneously introspective (Sen, 2019: 33-35).

Empirical evidence by which Jashodhara Sen asserts, that over the years, Jatra has achieved a hybridized performance form merging the attributes of traditional theatre with the techniques specific to the Europeanist model. She observed a performance titled *Karunamoyee Rani Rashmoni* (Compassionate Queen Rashmoni) produced by Sri Chaitanya Opera and directed by renowned Jatra performer and director Ruma Dasgupta during her fieldwork. Typically, in contemporary Jatra performances, the open-air theatre is structured like a proscenium arch- a temporary canopy over the stage, with the audience sitting at the front. The performance she viewed had a similar sitting arrangement. The musicians sat on two sides of the stage. Instead of playing traditional musical instruments, such as Dholak, Kartal, Tabla, Harmonium, Clarinet, and Banshi (flute), the musicians played an electronic synthesizer, electronic drum pads, and clarinet. Nonetheless, the melody enhanced the operatic and theatrical texture exclusive to Jatra. This performance is a great example of how Jatra acquired the Europeanist proscenium style, and therefore a hybrid identity (Sen, 2020: 97-100).

Reflecting upon Jatra's vulnerable position since the arrival of the public stage in colonial Kolkata, it becomes evident that on the one hand, the deconstruction of the open-air Jatra stage into the proscenium arch was a systematic transformation regulated by imperialist perception. On the other hand, the characteristic adjustments expanded and urbanized Jatra as a performance form in a way that matched the transformation of Bengali society under British governance. In this hierarchical social environment, the Anglicized babu class was hybridizing urban Bengali theatre by mimicking the colonial, proscenium style stage configuration, on the other hand through their newfound modern performance aesthetics, they restructured or "modernized" the traditional Jatra stage from an open-air to a proscenium style. In this scenario, transitioning from an open-air stage configuration to the proscenium arch restores the colonizer-colonized dichotomy embedded in the concept of progress introduced by the colonizers to enlighten the colonized, which in turn is responsible for the formation of the "native" hybrid and ambiguous identity. The reconstruction of Jatra by the Bhadrakol of colonial Kolkata contributed to its first hybrid and ambivalent identity formation ratified by the socio-economically virtuous class. This ambivalence also demonstrates the absence of a connection between the rural and the urban Bengali culture.

The babus are the urban Anglicized natives who misappropriated Jatra by projecting their own distorted understanding of the form, not as anticolonial and liberatory, and sacred and poetic, but a form that is subservient, profane, and exotic (Sen, 2020: 102-106).

During the last decades of the 20th century, producers began to control Jatra; they represent and even sometimes create the 'culture' of rural Bengal. Bhairab Ganguly's later Jatra-Gandhari

Janani (1983), Bhagaban Babu (1984), Koli Yuger Bou (1985), Thanay Jachhe Chhoto Bou (1992) followed populist ideologies because of the choice of the spicy theme, use of colloquial language and proverbs. Bhairab Ganguly set the tone for the populist Jatra which aimed to reap commercial benefits for the producers, actors and organizers. In the meantime, the rural Bengali imagination got the taste of the silver screen; the legendary Bengali actor Uttam Kumar began to mesmerize the audience with his elegant grace and presence and begin to imitate his hit numbers. Swapan Kumar took all the popular cinema of Uttam Kumar on the Jatra stage. He staged *Saptapadi*, (adapted by Biru Mukhopadhyaya) *Sanyasi Raja* (adapted by Satya Prakash Dutta), *Stree* (by Kunal Mukhopadhyay), etc. Nowadays, the story of popular Bengali movies and television serials is enacted on the open stage of Jatra. Also, in terms of accommodating the style of the 1970s and 1980s Jatra, the traditional lyrical dialogue was replaced by local dialect; the number of songs was reduced, and electric lights replaced the kerosene lights. Organizers began to levy entry fees ranging from rupees 50/- to 200/- per entry for the audience, and Jatra became a rural 'entertainment industry'. Then in the 1990s, several TV and cinema artists from Tollywood and Bollywood took their entries in the Jatra. The inclusion of these Tollywood actors created a brand value and hierarchy among the Banner (producing agency) namely Mega Star, Super Star and Star. Original Jatra actors were marginalized by the organizers because these Tollywood actors are considered crowd pullers. The theme, plot, message, and organizers are now being sidelined by the actors and their star value. Usually, the local clubs organize Jatra in their areas and spend around 25 thousand to 5 lacs per show depending on the star value of the banner. Along with the change of organizational approach, modern electronic gadgets like a tape recorder, stereophonic sound, and Western dance troops now accompany this folk form (Ghatak, 2020: 192-194). We can see in Figures 7 and 8a&b, the Chitpur Jatra posters, where Tollywood actors are at the forefront.

These changes not only occur in the taste of the audience but also emphasizes ambivalence and 'hybridity' in the Jatra culture. Erin Mee noted that the ticket sales emphasized theatre as a commodity, making it available to a smaller, and wealthier, group of people (Mee, 1997: 1).

Habermas also makes this point about the music industry. In the 18th century European context, admission for payment turned the musical performance into a commodity (Habermas, 1962: 39). Inclusion of star casting, ticketing system, political propaganda, and organizational setup have transformed and invoked the folk form to recreate and reinvent within.

observe here, that the Jatra is evolving and does not promise a fixed identity. The continued survival of the form in the liminal spaces supports my statement. The hybrid space is an ambiguous and expressive space that activates a heterogeneous identity (not exclusive) necessary for the survival of a potentially progressive, political, and ever-adaptive form such as Jatra.

Therefore, 'hybridity' destroys the rural-urban dichotomy. The trajectory of the evolution of Jatra from the early 16th century until today, displays its persistence as a 'hybrid' form that is traditional yet modern in its construction.

4.2. Transition of Jatra in the Wake of Commercialization, Modernization and Urbanization

According to Pravat Kumar Das (2014), the socioeconomic status of Jatra actors has changed over the years. Some of them are not only respected in society for their work but also for their affluence. Now, Jatra actors also own their own Jatra companies. Although hopeful, Das also mentioned during our conversation that despite the growing popularity of Jatra, the form is experiencing a crisis due to increased commercialization, while competing with other, more commercially viable forms of entertainment. It was primarily for the folks from the rural communities and the common

people. For example, the farmers were the main Jatra audience. At this time, cinema and theatre were not available in rural society; thus, Jatra was the primary entertainment for them, even though there was no electricity in the villages in the 60s. Jatra's construction as a performance form was pragmatic considering the limitations. Because there was no electricity, *hajak* lamps were the only source of light for visibility. The lamps needed "breathing intervals" or needed to be refueled by pumping to increase the air pressure for the longer run, which would last for three hours. During those intervals, the machine-generated loud noise. During those specific moments, there would be a song-dance sequence and the orchestra would start playing the instruments to conceal the loud noise. This practice would help the audience to stay in the moment despite the loud noise and distraction. Those who consider Jatra to be undeveloped and unsophisticated, don't consider the skill and practicality of the presentational style of Jatra (Das, 2014: 49).

Historically in Bengal, most of the cultured men celebrated Jatra as a performance form. Rabindranath Tagore appreciated Jatra and therefore constructed a modern version of theatre inspired by Jatra's structural properties and aesthetics. Tagore envisioned a minimalistic stage like Jatra, which can be performed anytime at any place. At the time, there was already a professional theater in our country. This time around, Girish Chandra's friend Motilal Roy transformed Jatra much closer to the style of theater in an attempt to popularize Jatra. During this time, Jatra faced a huge shift. Since then, we noticed a number of favorable changes to Jatra. After going through so many transformations, today's Jatra is completely different. I believe that today's Jatra can be identified as a "modern" Jatra that eliminated all the characteristics of traditional Jatra and created an ambiguous and confusing state. Thus, this version has no connection with traditional Jatra (Das, 2014: 89-95).

Modern themes of Jatra in the rural side of Bengal now show the space of urbanization, where the creation of modern institutions like old age homes, orphanages, child care centers, etc. are very much evident. One can see the Jatra posters in Jatra locales like "*Bridhhashrome knadche ma baba*" (Mother and father crying in an old age home), "*Pother dhare akla sishu*" (A lonely child at the roadside), which is for resisting the urban culture of intolerance and features of modern institutions. We can see, that at the end of the day, the people of rural Bengal have no entertainment medium, and limited access to audio-visual equipment and the internet, participating in Jatra not only for entertainment means but also to envisage themselves within it. They also possess their ancestors' oral traditions of telling stories of many kinds through this medium. Through these oral narratives, they actually situate some sort of old mythical and religious stories; spontaneously the 'voice' of these masses established from the ages. These active plays are very much enmeshed with those people as they are envisioning themselves with these stories always from generation to generation. I want to argue here, we can see this changing scenario in Kolkata and suburbs areas, where from the 19th Century Bengali Bhadrakol were dismantling this raw theatre culture (raw here signifies open and mass-produced), because of their colonial education and thoughts possessed through the British Raj.

My argument is that the narratives passed down by oral transmission are termed 'folklore'. So, the 'Voice' of the masses, which was transmitted through Jatra culture for many generations, is a kind of folklore tradition; are now in some sort of cultural realm, especially at the heart of the city and suburban areas because of the continuous of defamation of Jatra culture from the 19th Century 'Bhadrakol' culture and later, in the stage of globalization, where technology, internet, information and communication change the mediation of narratives and themes in another form of entertainment. A vast market economy and cultural divide are happening in the wake of technological innovation

and the emergence of new media (social). Cultural capitalism is also another phenomenon, where capital is mitigated through cultural revivalism, happen since our independence.

4.3. Emergence of New Media and Potential Threat for the Folk Theatre

It is generally visible, that the production and distribution of Jatra are not limited to its live performances. It has now expanded to modern mass media. Jatra is disseminated through TV serials, YouTube, and CDs and given the hybrid cinematic form. Despite the long-run success of the Bengali film industry and TV serials, Jatra reaches out to a larger audience across the region. This cultural and political economy of Jatra fits into the proposition of Paul DiMaggio's cultural production systems, in which popular culture is generated through a distinct form of organization. It is a mixture of mass-cultural production and pluralistic systems, which is presenting similar kinds of materials to a wide range of audiences (DiMaggio, 2002: 160). To Bourdieu, there is a nexus between the political economy of this art form and the construction of the ideology of popular narratives. Pierre Bourdieu asserts, that such cultural reproduction is intimately linked with the process through which one can internalize the culture of their society, which plays in this stability (Bourdieu, 1993: 101).

Cultural Anthropologist Kees Epskamp asserts, that "the influence of the 'big media' such as TV and press increasingly threatens the cultural identity of large sections of Third World peoples and indigenous culture, partly because form and content of the programmes are imported from other and more dominant cultures" (Epskamp, 1984: 47).

One of the very significant threats to the Bengali folk theatre tradition has been the emergence of regional cinema produced in Bengal for local audiences have become more popular when television comes to everyone's attention as part of the dominant culture. One can see, that cinemas like 'Chaitanya Mahaprabhu', 'Baba Taraknath', 'Joy Ma Tara', 'Joy Santoshi Ma' etc. are all blockbusters at that time. So, the medium of television and cinema has been some way or other, take a good place instead of Jatra. Recently the trends of Bengali TV serials like 'Anthony Kobiyal', 'Sanyasi Raja', 'Mira', 'Bahkter Bhagoban Sri Krishna' are capturing the sense of imaginative ties with this kind of popular themes of Jatra have been shown as daily drama in the house. These transformations of the medium are very crucial to shifting the 'voice' of the masses through electronic media instead of folk culture, which is a significant threat. On another side, I must say, that TV serials and web series are a more continuous process of actor and spectator relationship. Therefore, Jatra in the place of serials and web series is not very popular in city and suburban areas. People create their bonding with all the characters not just once in the Jatra stage but gradually in everyday series of scenes.

Every day it is routinized ourselves to make these serials and web series important. But, the rural masses are enmeshed with the Jatra actors, their acts and overall with the Jatra parties. Jashodhara Sen (2019) emphasized, that apart from the peasants, the working-class people are more Jatra-prone and buy a ticket for long night entertainment. Sometimes they want shortened Jatra to be more precise because of their all-day long work and taking rest for the next day.

5. Challenges, Adaptation and Reinvention

Folk forms of theatre had managed to survive even when Indian theatre as a whole was changing. The assumption that the assimilation of the scientific worldview would lead to the demolition of traditional values and institutions is only partly correct. This assumption primarily affected the instrumental cultural forms, but could not make an impact on the fundamental values that individuals and societies cherished. However, Folk theatre has managed to survive even with the advent of modernization because of its adaptive quality.

Yogendra Singh (2012) argues, that traditional Indian institutions successfully adapted their traditional mode of thinking and institutional practices to bring them in tune with the demands of modernization. This is also a reason why folk forms of theatre have managed to survive even with the advent of modern Indian theatre, film, and television. The folk tradition as an alternative discourse of knowledge became primarily redundant to most aspects of social change that are characterized as modernization. Despite this shrinkage in space for folk culture and oral tradition in India, it retains its resilience in several areas of culture like graphic and plastic art forms, music and theatre (Patgiri, 2019: 39-41).

Modern Jatra has transformed much since then. It is a commercial venture, whose “mantra” is entertainment based on sentimental/ melodramatic episodes from social life, for which most often television and cinema stars get in for attracting audiences and for cash profits. Against this wave of commercialization and popular entertainment, the question arises here, is this form of folk theatre have any social value and contribute in any form to emancipatory impetus? How much it has been changed in its interface? Is it adapted to a new form? How can we locate it in this age of technological advancement, new media (social), and liberal democracy?

Utpal Dutta says, “The most important teachers of Jatra are the spectators. It is the Jatra actors who understand what the spectators want. Since they have to stand again and again before the spectators and pass the fire test, they become socially aware quite quickly.” He remarks that after he brought direct political themes into Jatra, many such plays were being written. Before this, Dutta says, “...the way in which politics was coming into Jatra, was a hesitant step as if it was shy. The Jatra writers were afraid of writing clearly about politics.”

Keeping in mind Jatra’s popular appeal and mass reach, Dutta remarks, “We don’t have another medium like the Jatra. It is much more powerful than the theatre, a medium which reaches out to much more people. Therefore, we should also keep on fighting [politically] with Jatra” (as cited in Saha, 2005: 245-246).

The potential of the Jatra as a form that can reach out to the people, especially in villages and small towns made Dutta realize that it could be used to propagate the political message of mass revolt, anti-colonial resistance, class struggle, etc. The Jatra and the street theatre remained engaged in the mission of building a “revolutionary theatre” that could represent to the masses the history and saga of people’s revolution from various parts of the world as well as India. His mission of inspiring and informing the masses and engage them in a political sphere that had engaged with the history of mass revolution. The political content of Utpal Dutta’s Jatra has added a new historic dimension to this enduring popular folk form of India and made it critically rich. Many Jatra Palas which have addressed contemporary historical/political issues like terrorism and Osama Bin Laden, the Iraq war, etc., are a follow up of Dutta’s realization of the form for political engagements, instead of limiting it to conventional religious/mythological content. Dutta’s complexity of art form and richness of text/content is hard to match and something amiss in contemporary Jatra (Deb Barman, 2014: 186-191).

We can see, that the South Asian performing arts in general have been changing as ‘authentic’ folk traditions are either declining or being revived as hybridized cultures in the age of modernity. Unlike many other practices and their patronage systems, Bengal Jatra has witnessed shifts and transformations in dramatic techniques, patronage and consumption patterns from the last century. The fusion of cinema, theatre and Jatra was successfully accomplished to produce a hybridized form in the post-Independence period. This is led to the Jatra as a regional ‘culture industry’. The transformations of Jatra from ‘Loknatya’ (folk theatre) to ‘Gananatya’ (mass theatre). The reproduction

and legitimization of gender inequalities, caste hierarchy and traditional power structures in everyday life is evident in popular narratives. Jatra absorbs new tastes and trends through constant de-codification of its conventions by patrons, performers and spectators, engaged in the process of reforming, preserving and revitalizing their own culture. It thereby creates new spectacles in the countryside by producing a cinematic-hybrid culture in terms of social relations and identities in contemporary society.

In the 21st century, traditions of Indian folk theatre have been facing continuous challenges of survival and loss. In South India, mythology-based performing arts like- Kathakali, Kutiyattam, Theyyam and Yakshagana still thrill their audiences, whereas in northern and eastern India, forms like- Lilas, Danda Natas, Leto, Tappa, Khyamta, Kheur, Kavigan are rapidly disappearing. Despite denigration from the urban intelligentsia as 'cheap entertainment', hundreds of modern Jatra companies have thrived since the 1990s in rural Bengal. The 'liveness' of the performances is a valued addition. Through social media like- Facebook, YouTube, and WhatsApp, Jatra can reach out to the vast rural masses.

6. Jatra: is it a 'Mass' Theatre or the Tool for Political Mobilization?

We can see, that the 'folk' culture in the modern age has come to be known as an industry of entertainment on a medium scale for its production and transmission in an expanded market structure. It is located socially and produced materially. The transformed version of Jatra is not an exception. The production and distribution of Jatra are located in a wider network of social relations that reconfigure the art form and its internal structure. Jatra, an artistic production, is consumed by a large audience and is mediated through the mechanisms of the capitalist market now. With their tendency to be revived and altered, these entertainers have a promising future. Demand for entertainment can lead to the creation of an industry. By responding to the social-cultural forces, it has expanded its cultural consumption, production and participation. After the abolition of the zamindari system and princely kingship for nearly two decades (1950- 60) Jatra parties were left either in penury or powerless. The Jatra poets became weaker and socially disconnected. The transition from sponsored patronage to the patronage of common masses through a ticketing system was executed by the new business class or the existing rich Jatra troupes who later took up other businesses. These developments took place due to a changing economic pattern. As the larger processes of state formation increased, the political independence and rapid commercialization of the economy in the state; the power of local elites and merchant class began to take up Jatra as a business activity (Chhotaray, 2013: 49). Businessman of fishing and fisheries of Sunderban area and the coal miners of Asansol and Raniganj area are very much invested their money in this art form. Kees Epskamp (1984) rightly observes, that the Jatra performances have an 'air of wealth', and recent demands of commercialization of it, enacted in urban theatres by professional groups. The same groups are invited into the area of rich landowners, who wish to add to the splendour of their celebrations and are willing to pay good money for it. This is a standing tradition now. However, this splendid form of popular folk theatre and its manner of production, distribution and consumption, invoke it to have immediate associations with the local elites. It is, as it were, influenced by the aura of the landlords.

Due to growing business interests, Jatra is changing its aesthetics by accommodating the contemporary taste of a popular class. We can see the historical transition in the field, from its amateur status, where the artists were rewarded and offered hospitality. This art form is dominated by the businessman now, who offers direct monetary exchange for a specific artwork. This resulted in the emergence of the specifically instituted artist. Some of the Jatra makers created their own

genres through realistic plays, modern dance and songs, technical innovations (stage machinery) and spectacles; followed by a number of commercial Jatra troupes in creating a space for the institutionalization and modernization of this art form. By recognizing Jatra as a powerful medium, Balakrishnan Hariharan (2008) suggests, that “maybe it is time that government wakes up to its potential, recognizes it as an industry and takes advantage of this medium for information, education and sensitization of society in its own enlightened self-interest.” Therefore, the collective urge for its status as an industry and its potential for social development is still a matter of concern. The Jatra association, however, is no longer interested in the issue of the status of the industry. Maybe, it is because of their inconsistent profit or no profit that results in the instabilities of their business. The proprietors are mostly dependent either on their personal business or on the profit, they make from Jatra business annually. However, the monetary success of Jatra cannot be the sole answer to its popularity and resilience. There is a nexus between the economics of the form and the construction of the ideology of the popular narratives. The emerging market of the Jatra industry coincided with the intention of modern playwrights to create Jatra plays with popular appeal in which tradition and modernity are portrayed as both dichotomy and continuity. The newly emergent hybridized Jatra serves the growing middle class well. The synthesis of cinematic technique and traditional play structure presents a combination of styles of film, television, modern theatre and the existing repertoire. Such resilient traditional performances rooted within human and social contexts animate the life worlds of societies, past and present, and transmit a gamut of meanings. The existing structures continue assimilation, acculturation and adaptation of new imported modes and values (Chhotaray, 2013: 49-50). In a similar way, Jatra as a highly mobile theatre form is moving between cities, small towns, and villages, containing extensive rural or folk elements; it fosters social solidarity and collective memory and imagination.

In a similar way, Jatra is an expression of the common Bengalis who produce, perform, mediate, enjoy, share their experience of the form and incorporate newness into it. The mediation between the performers and the spectators offers a space to communicate and accentuates the narratives through the performance. Jatra makers in a way produce ‘mass’ theatre to reinvent the tradition, supply excitement, pleasure and relief to its audiences like peasants and artisans after their long day of strenuous work; also produce narratives that have a strong resonance in social and cultural processes. To rejuvenate their audiences, Jatra parties include drama with songs, dances and comic interludes and many more things to cater to the need for total entertainment. Yogendra Singh (1973) asserts, that the transition from one stage to other would mark the growth of new forms of social structure and new levels of moral and cultural patterns takes place.

Patronized by Bengali Kings, zamindars and administrative officials, mythological Jatras appealed to a diverse audience and the form was eventually known as a theatre of the masses. Combining thrilling, suspenseful and action-based stories with modern techniques such as lights, sounds, music, record dances, multiple stages, etc., Jatra continues to have a spectacular level of success. Such live performances have been supplying amusement to its spectators, who have grown up with this folk-art form. The advent of modernity resulted from the adoption and incorporation of theatre and cinema techniques in Jatra and its fusion created a hybridized form. The reproduction of mythological tales in a secular story in the 21st century has entertained the audience and created a new urge in rural areas by producing a ‘hybrid’ culture. Rich businessmen and politicians seek to promote contemporary Jatra to gain social prestige and also propagate their ideologies (Chhotaray, 2013: 67-72).



Fig. 1: Stage and overall scenario of Jatra Pala. (Source: www.youthkiawaaz.com)



Fig. 2: Staging the mythological Jatra Pala. (Source: www.anandabazar.com)



Fig. 3: Traditional Jatra, acted by Jatra parties. (Source: www.feminisminindia.com)



Fig. 4: Contemporary Jatra, acted by the Bengali film actors. (Source: www.Drexel.edu)



Fig. 7: Chitpur Jatra para (locales) in Kolkata. (Source: Arpita Ghatak, 2020)



Fig. 8a: Chitpur Jatra Posters in 2018-19. (Source: Arpita Ghatak, 2020)



Fig. 8b: Chitpur Jatra Posters in 2018-19. (Source: Arpita Ghatak, 2020)

HIGH-VOLTAGE THEATRE OF POLITICS			
Name of Jatra	Theme	Duration	
Mamata-r Daake Dilli Cholo	How Mamata plans to occupy the corridors of power in Delhi	2hr 30min	
Bhalo Manusher Bhat Nei	Demonetisation and how Mamata fought against the Narendra Modi govt	2hr 40 min	
Banglar Khamutai Ebar Mamata	How Mamata Banerjee is the main power point of Bengal	3hr	
Didi Tomar Jabab Nei	Mamata Banerjee's political career and development schemes	3hrs	
Chapadanga-r Eou	How the voice of protesters is being muzzled	3hr	

Fig. 9: Contemporary Political Jatras subjected upon present West Bengal C. M. Mamata Banerjee. (Source: www.m.timesofindia.com)



Fig. 10: Jatra poster of 'Banglar Khamutai Ebar Mamata', subjected upon present West Bengal C. M. Mamata Banerjee. (Source: www.m.timesofindia.com)

We can see, that the standing Government of West Bengal, ruled by Trinamool Congress doing the same since their upliftment victory. Several Jatras are performed in the rural side of Bengal to cater to their needs of vote politics and popular their many well-planned 'Prakalpa' (development schemes) in the need of political interest. Many Jatras are also present only to evoke the charismatic figure of Mamata Banerjee, presently Chief Minister of West Bengal and Supremo of Trinamool Congress. Jatras like- 'Mamatar Dake Dilli Cholo' depicts how Mamata plans to occupy the corridors of power in Delhi, 'Bhalo Manusher Bhat Nei', performs Demonetization and how Mamata fought against the Central Government, 'Banglar Khamatay Ebar Mamata', depicts how Mamata Banerjee is the main power point of Bengal, 'Didi Tomar Jabab Nei', performs Mamata Banerjee's political career and development schemes and many more performs every day in the rural areas of Bengal to foster the political ideologies of Trinamool Congress and Vision of Mamata Banerjee. It hardly talks about the factual truth of education and health sector facing tremendously in this Government and foreshadows these to the people by presenting this kind of performance. For reference see Figures 9 and 10.

Conclusion

Jatra, a self-contained and reinvented form of theatre, has transformed itself through modernization and commercialization. Old theatrical traditions were skillfully adapted to the modern world, revitalizing traditional theatre and entailed the need for radical changes in the processes of production, distribution and consumption. To Hansen (1992), the aesthetic transformation of Jatra from pre-colonial to colonial and post-colonial periods depicts a complex transition molded by social groups, changes in political and economic structures and altered the pre-modern cultural fabric for technological advancement. Jatra has been transformed from its classical 'folk' theatre identity into a 'mass' theatre by adopting modern techniques and technology with its traditional form. The changes are incorporated into and reinforced by the new market venturing economy in the production and consumption of contemporary Bengali Jatra.

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Book Review

Vickers, Tom 2020: *Borders, Migration and Class in an Age of Crisis: Producing Workers and Immigrants, Global Migration and Social Change Series*, Bristol: Bristol University Press, pp. 244+ix (Paperback)

Increasing cross-border flow of people is an essential characteristic of globalization. However, there are different patterns of migration in different continents of the world. The impact of globalization is varying with class structure of a given society. European societies have experienced immigration of workers and refugees from different parts of the world which has implications for their social structure, economy and polity and cultural milieu. Global Migration and Social change Series initiated a dialogue on the nexus between migration, citizenship and social change. The book under review is a part of this series. The focus of the research undertaken is on the crises of migration within crises of capitalism. The book consists of seven chapters.

In the introductory chapter, the author presents the conceptual framework of his analysis in terms of the aims of the book, applying of Marxism today, research methods and the structure of the book.

Chapter 2 entitled "Imperialism, Migration and class in the 21st Century" presents an analysis of contemporary capitalism in order to frame the ensuing discussions of immigration and welfare crisis following a Leninist analysis of imperialism and engages with other writers and argues that Leninist approach represents a distinctive contribution to understanding how international movement of capital, commodities and labour interact with national divisions to structure the working class.

Chapter 3, "Deconstructing Migration Crises in Europe", focuses on British immigration policy and practices in relation to the changing needs of British imperialism since the 1990s and traces the proliferation of British borders both internally as well as externally. Here he also considers re-articulation of the 'migrant crisis' through the praxis of social movements and campaigns.

In the chapter 4 entitled "Deconstructing Welfare Crises", the author examines the process by which politicians transformed the narrative about the global financial crisis, and the massive transfer of wealth in financial institutions that followed a narrative about high welfare spending as a justification for austerity. Anti-austerity narratives are also critiqued. Changes to state welfare and implications for mobility are discussed, focusing on housing, health care and social care, and benefits. The last section of the chapter explores re-articulations of the welfare crisis in terms of discussion of social movements and campaigns organizing around demands for decent housing and against cuts to local state services.

Chapter 5 entitled "Mobility Power and Labour Power in the crises of Imperialism", argues that the changes to border and welfare practices help in creating conditions for 'precarity', associated with the growth of various forms of labour-related and social insecurity. This can be understood as an intensification of labour-discipline, reducing workers' control over their mobility and often involving enforced patterns of movement or stasis. The chapter also examines these ideas in an empirical

situation of North-East England and conceptualized multiple 'dynamics of 'precarity' as ways of understanding differential conditions for exploitation.

Chapter 6 entitled "Deconstructing migrant/Worker categories in Britain discusses the ways in which state-endorsed divisions within the working class have been reflected and reinforced at a discursive level. The author argues that ideological categories position workers in multiple, shifting and often in contradictory ways within 'common-sense' narratives that justify and reinforce capitalist exploitation by given empirical evidence from three British Television documentaries.

In the concluding chapter (Seven), the author proposed two possible trajectories for Britain: First of remaining within capitalism, with increasingly antagonistic relations the migrant-native divide that are enforced with increasing violence, legally, physically and discursively, and reduced mobility power for the majority, leading to deepening exploitation; Second of radically breaking from capitalism to find a social form that can move beyond its inherent crises and divisions, afford people material security, and enable them to realize their creative potential.

The book presents a deep analysis, both at the theoretical level as well as at the empirical level, of the crises of capitalism and its inseparable nexus with imperialism right from the colonial period to the present era of global economy from Marxian perspective. The analysis and arguments forwarded by the author are quite convincing. But there are little chances that the present leadership of the Britain will adopt a radical path. The crises presented by Covid-19 and Russia- Ukraine War and the active engagement of Britain with European Union has deepened the crises further. The book is highly useful to understand the implications of global capitalism for the class structure, mobility power and migrant-natives divide in the contemporary British society. This kind of analysis can be extended to other societies experiencing the consequences of globalization.

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