

Postcolonial Capital Accumulation & Unorganised Labour Migration: Resituating Subaltern Theory and the Neo-Subaltern

Mursed Alam
Gour College, Malda, India.

&

Seema Ahmed
Institute of Development Studies Kolkata

This paper basically deals with the issue of capital accumulation under neo-liberal policy reforms in a postcolonial country like India and its implications for Subaltern Studies. For this, the paper would advance a four-fold argument. First, it would address the question of accumulation, both the existing capitalist accumulation by expansion and primitive accumulation in this neo-liberal conjuncture. Secondly, it would deal with the new subaltern domains capital accumulation has created in contemporary India. It would take up one such subaltern group, the unorganized migrant labour as a domain of exclusion/ exploitation in the triumphant march of capital. To substantiate our argument we would do an ethnographic study of labour migration from select villages of Malda district of West Bengal. Thirdly, while dealing with capital accumulation and newer areas of subjugation in neo-liberal times, the paper would critically engage with the theoretical formulations of Kalyan Sanyal and Partha Chatterjee on the 'reversal of primitive accumulation' or its 'effects' via welfarist governmentality. Finally, the paper would deal with the new areas of engagement these domains of subordination by capital have thrown up for Subaltern Studies and what future road-maps Subaltern Studies can think about. Taking up the criticisms of *Subaltern Studies* from various quarters and the recent Partha Chatterjee - Vivek Chibber interface,

our argument would be that Subaltern Studies needs to re-engage with the material conditions of subordination of the neo-subalterns of global capital to reclaim the subaltern/democratic politics of counter narrative of resistance, something we seldom can see under neo-liberal postcolonial capitalism.

The Arrival of Neo-Liberal Capital

Although the demand for reforms was already growing in the 1980s, it is in the 1991, with the union government's decision to open the market that the Indian economy goes global. The various reforms, under the structural adjustments demanded by IMF and the World Bank, had far reaching consequences on the industrial policy, finance flow, tariff deregulation etc. The Indian economy was integrated in the global capitalist order enunciated in the Washington consensus. Let us very briefly rehearse the story here. In industrial policy, the 'license raj' is completely done away with. This with the subsequent amendment in the Monopoly and Restrictive Trade Practices Act made way for huge private investment and expansion. State monopoly of the public sector was significantly reduced to allow private sector to enter in areas hitherto reserved for the state such as capital goods, public utilities, telecommunication etc. This is coupled with the disinvestment of some of the public sectors by selling shares to private companies. As for foreign investment the government moved away from the previous regime's control on foreign trade and investment, which was followed to save the interests of the domestic companies, and made changes in the tariff to attract FDI. Most importantly, the Indian finance sector was incorporated within the world finance system which meant a massive flow of foreign capital in India with huge ramifications for Indian political economy. Along with these changes, the subsidies to various public sectors were either withdrawn or significantly reduced.

So, what we see is that post- 90s there has been a massive restructuring of Indian economy with deregulation, trade liberalization, financial sector reforms and privatization. As a result there has been the rise to hegemony of the international finance

capital through this globalization. The priority to attract investment and to capture capital flight led to a race among states for attracting capital via concession. The consequences of this are captured brilliantly by Prabhat Patnaik:

The essence of these changes lies in a reduction in the strength of the workers and peasants. The fact that state policy tends to focus on appeasing finance capital entails a withdrawal of the state from its role in supporting and protecting petty production against the onslaughts of big capital. This exposes petty producers (such as peasants, craftsmen, fishermen and artisans), and also petty traders to a process of expropriation. Such expropriation occurs both through a direct take over by big capital of their assets, like land, at a throw away prices, and also through a reduction in their “flow” incomes, and hence their capacity to survive, i.e. to carry on with “simple reproduction”. The disposed petty producers throng urban areas in search of work, adding to the number of jobseekers. (Patnaik: 2014, p 40)

So, what we see is that capital accumulation under neo-liberal regime continues in both forms, accumulation by expansion and as primitive accumulation. The existing industrial capitalist accumulation continues unabated by extracting ‘surplus labor’ via job cuts, income deflation of the working class aided by the introduction of newer technologies in production (Patnaik:2014). Alongside this, primitive accumulation, often facilitated by the state, has taken various forms, such as accumulation by dispossession, encroachment and coercion. Let us see the features and dynamics of these two accumulative processes in neo-liberal India:

1. There has been massive expropriation of land and natural resources by finance capital. Primitive accumulation has encroached on the ‘new commons’ i.e. forests, minerals, fisheries, sand, ground water etc. (Adnan: 2014). The creation of new enclosures such as SEZ by the foreign and domestic corporate investors is massive source of capital accumulation.

2. The blatant disregard of the institutional and legal safeguards in dismantling the tribals from their mineral rich habitat /habitus is another testimony of unabashed postcolonial accumulation of capital.
3. The mode of postcolonial development in its neo-liberal avatar has sharpened the division between urban and rural India. While affluent mega cities like Delhi, Mumbai, Pune, Bangalore, Chennai, and Nagpur are browbeating for their economic growth, a careful analysis will make it clear that it is the flow of the casual labour from other underdeveloped states of India that functions as the catalyst behind their massive change.
4. The 'jobless growth' of Indian economy has created a huge sector of self-employed worker. There is also the casualisation of worker under this neo-liberal growth story. The job cuts, wage deflation and eviction of slum dwellers for city planning and urban development are some of the interconnected areas of primitive accumulation in contemporary India.

However, this march of capital has not been a smooth one. The onslaught on the peasants, the workers, petty producers and others led to antagonistic protest movements. These include the protests against the land grabs for SEZ as in anti-Posco movement in Orissa, the movement against TATA plant in Singur, the protest against the seizure of mineral rich tribal lands in Chattishgarh, social movements against large scale displacement by various infrastructural as well as other projects such as hydro power projects, worker protests such as Maruti workers' protest, protests by slum dwellers against eviction, opposition by retailers against shopping malls. These protests have been of two types, within the legal constitutional norms such as petitioning and demonstrations as well as violent protests against the state such as the Maoist insurgency in Chattishgarh and other parts of India. The Government response to these violent protests have resulted in

counter insurgency operations such as Operation Green Hunt, often backed by private vigilante force like Salwa Judum.

Neo-Subalterns

So, what we are witnessing is that the process of postcolonial capitalism both in its advanced and primitive accumulative form is throwing up newer domains of subalternisation and domination, such as the forceful dislocation and eviction of a huge number of people because of various developmental projects, the expulsion of the adivasis from their mineral rich habitus, the de-peasantisation because of the agricultural crisis. This however has not led to proletarianisation of the work force because of lack of intake capacity of the formal capitalist sector which on the contrary went for casualisation of workers. This has pushed a significant chunk of people to the precarious and subhuman condition of work as unorganized labour, a huge informal sector of subsistence labour engaged in daily 'need economy'. The outflow of people from rural areas in search of work is expanding the horizon of the 'planet of the slums'. However, these processes and the subsequent subalternisation of people are not new. But the scale and intensity of these processes have risen exponentially under neoliberal regime of primitive accumulation. It is to locate and characterize this phenomenon that we are applying the term neo-subaltern of neo-liberal capital. In the subsequent section we would be dealing with one such category of the neo-subaltern namely the unorganized migrant labourers.

Field Work on Unorganized Migrant Workers of Malda

In this section our objective is to probe into the dynamics of the phenomenon called labour migration. After analyzing the reasons behind the migration of labourers as well as their working and living condition at work place, we would like to suggest that the migrants have emerged as the new subalterns of this new India. For this, we have done a field work of three villages of Malda district, a district of West Bengal which sees a great number of unorganized

migrant labourers engaged in work in various sectors across the country.

A district of North Bengal Malda has a population of 3,997,970 according to the 2011 census report. Malda is a Minority Intensified District (MID) and according to the Human Development Index (Human Development Report 2004) Malda ranks 17th out of the 18 districts of West Bengal. The district consists of two subdivisions that are Malda Sadar and Chanchal. The selected villages for our study are Satghoria, Babupur and Budhia and belong to the Malda Sadar subdivision. The numbers of households in these three villages are 232, 510 and 450. From Malda town these villages are 11-13 km away. These villages basically have agrarian economy and huge number of people work out of West Bengal as daily wage labourers.

The method of study that has been implemented to fulfill the work is field based data collection using sampling method. Data collection was done with the help of semi-structured interview schedule containing both open and close ended questions. Both quantitative and qualitative data were collected by using the semi-structured questionnaire as well as interviews. A sample of 90 households is taken (30 from each village) from three villages. The method of cluster sampling has been followed. Several indicators are selected to highlight the nuances of labour migration. To capture more in-depth information two focus group and few case studies were conducted.

Socio-Economic and Demographic Profile of the Migrants

The migrants are mostly illiterate or semi-literate. Our survey shows that they migrate at an early age. Land possession is a very vital indicator to assess the reasons for migration. 50% of the respondents have some portion of agricultural land and 50 % do not have any kind of land. This very 50% of the have nots (in respect of land) have to depend entirely on migration to sustain their family. Even among the land holders every person does not possess the same amount of land. To capture the reality five

categories are selected – 1-5 katha, 5-10 katha, 10-20 katha, < 5 Bigha and > 5 Bigha. 46.67% of the migrant labours belongs to the first category, 15.56% to the second, 20% to the third, 17.78 % to the fourth, and only 2.22% to the last category. Majority of them possess a very little amount of land. This category is equal to the no land holding category. Their miseries are same. Migrants from second and the third categories also do not find any huge difference between them and the first category. Migrants, those who have <5 bigha and >5 bigha land also migrate. According to them cultivated land provide only their food, sometimes not even for the entire year. To do any extra thing, apart from food consumption, they need liquid cash. But their land does not provide that much profit. To fulfill other basic needs like building house, children's education, and health expenditure i.e. to have the minimum quality of life, they often prefer to send their young ones or they themselves migrate outside the state.

Reasons for Migration

There are several reasons for migration:

Scarcity of job opportunity in village- 90% of the workers said that there is limited job opportunity in village. There is seasonal work opportunities such as work related to paddy cultivation, mango sorting, packaging and transportation etc. There is no industrial work.

Irregular work – Jobs in a village are mostly irregular in nature. Short term work puts the workers under constant stress. It is often tough to sustain their families by providing with the basic needs.

Low wage rate- The rate of wage in a village is low. This low wage is insufficient for a worker to maintain his family.

Agriculture not Profitable –Those who have some portion of land also opt for migration. With the increase of price of fertilizers, diesel and other accessories, agriculture has become very costly. But the price of grains is not enough. So

there remains no scope for money making/profit. The cultivated rice often does not last for the entire year. Workers have to buy rice for the rest of the time. Those who have land are doing the agricultural work of their own and hire minimum labour so that they can minimize the cost of production. Often they migrate leaving the task of cultivation to their wives and small children which affect the education of the children. This is again leading to less work opportunity for those staying at village.

Deficiencies of MGNREGA - MGNREGA could have been a deterrent. However, as the respondents pointed out that MGNREGA has several deficiencies, such as irregular work, low wage, complex and lengthy procedure of getting job cards, irregularity of payment etc. which lead them to migrate instead of seeking work at their villages.

Working Condition

We have focused on the following aspects to understand the working condition of the migrants:

Duration of work: In case of tower construction (for electric transmission) usually work starts (for a new comer) with fetching water from places 2-10 km away in case of completely unskilled workers. Many start working from the second level that is base maker. After some experience the semi-skilled labourers are engaged in the erection of the tower. It is only the skilled workers who work as fitters. The official duration of work is 8 am -4 pm. But the fact is that the workers often have to work till 9 pm to complete the project early.

No overtime/Extra payment: They do not even get any extra payment for that. There is no option for over time in tower-construction work.

Dadon/Bond Labour: With the passing of time the dynamics of dadon has changed. The type of work has also

changed. But the bitter working condition has remained the same. Two labourers said that the tower work has taken the form of bonded labour/ dadon as the labourers are often hired with a payment of one or two months.

A focus group discussion (with 10 workers from Budhia) on the working condition of the labourers highlighted the high risk and severe working condition of the migrant workers.

Living condition at work place

Train Journey – Suffering of the workers start from the beginning. Journey by train in the general compartment is the most depressive event at the starting of their career. There is also the harassment at the hands of the police.

Housing – The quality of house depends on the location of the project. If it is situated in a town there is option for room in rent. If it is situated in a remote place they have to stay in a bamboo/tent. They have to sleep on the ground without any pillow or much place to move over. 10-12 persons are usually cramped in a tent.

Food - In most cases they have to cook themselves. Company does not provide any food or cost for it. To save money they do not usually take proper nutritious food. In case of bonded labours, they are provided with a very low quality of food.

Sanitation - The location determines the type of sanitation. If in a town, there is the facility for proper sanitation system. But in an interior location, they have to opt for open defecation. For this they often have to face harassment from the locals (land owners whose lands workers use for defecation).

Threat from the local- ‘Foreigners are snatching out the locals’ jobs’ – is the dominant thinking among the locals of the project area. This often leads to violence. Another form

of local threat often comes from the land owners whose land is used directly or indirectly for the project. Often the workers have to face the brunt of this. Some of the respondents have complaint of beating at the hands of the locals.

Risk of Work

Tower construction implies more risk in every aspect. Though every migrant labour is registered and insured at the very beginning of their arrival at the work place, risk follows them everywhere. There are different facets of risk such as:

- I. **Risk of Life** – Death is the cruelest form of risk that haunts them. It is told that they are asked to use all possible kinds of safety measures but they often do not use all those to complete the task as early as possible, which is the demand of the gang leader / contractor. Usually fitters are at highest risk. In most of the cases, there is no ‘safety officer’ to check the activities. In case of tower, safety measures are not followed properly. So, accident is very common.

The following table shows the number of death cases in the last 5 years in the three selected villages.

Table 1 (No of Dead Workers in Three Villages)

<u>Selected Villages</u>	<u>Satghoria</u>	<u>Babupur</u>	<u>Budhia</u>
No of Dead Workers	7	8	16

- II. **Uncertainty of Payment**- This is also a common phenomenon. If a worker gets the job directly from the company there are chances of fair payment. But usually the recognized company offers them less wage than the gang leader or contractor. The contractor, in order to secure profit, wants to finish the work at the earliest and proposes to pay the worker more than the usual for the extra time and

effort on the part of the workers. Therefore workers usually want to get the job through a gang leader or a contractor. Here lies the danger. Many times, after the completion of the project, the contractor runs away leaving the labours unpaid. A huge number of workers take advance money from the gang leader to meet their family's expenditure. After working the gang leader would pay him the remaining amount. At the time of hiring, the gang leader promises him a certain rate. However, the gang leader decreases the amount as there remains no officially written document. The worker has to come back with very little amount of money.

III. Stoppage of work - Due to the threat from the local land owner the company has to stop their project in the middle. As the company faces loss the workers also suffers.

IV. Uncertainty in getting insured money at death

A case study has been conducted on this. Habibur Rahman died five years back while working in tower construction. Although he was insured, his family received no money except the carrying cost of the dead body. The family contacted the local labour union at Malda to find ways to collect money but the labour union demanded 50000 in advance. They hired a middle man and went at the construction site and met the authority and the legal bodies. But they did not receive any money. On the contrary they had to bear the entire cost of the travel

Plant-workers face less risk compared to the tower/transmission workers. Safety measures are strictly maintained. However when any accident happens the authorities try to hush up the matter to avoid legal and financial burden.

Resistance:

If any labourer protests against the pathetic condition of work the gang leader or the contractor asks him to leave the job as he can easily replace the labourer because there is a huge 'reserve army' of labourers at the village.

Above we have tried to show the unorganised migrant workers as the neo-subalterns of neo-liberal capital. Although here the suffering of the labourers is not the direct outcome of displacement and dislocation of various capitalist developmental projects, the agrarian crisis under various neo-liberal reforms has led to de-peasantization and the shrinking of job opportunity in the villages. This coupled with high inflation and the need to survive has forced many from the villages to migrate seasonally, and in many cases for a much longer time. The inhuman condition of workplace, the life risk and at times the loss of payment notwithstanding they continue to migrate for work. The failure to properly implement the various laws makes them more vulnerable to the rapacious mechanism of greed of the companies and their contracting agents.

Discourse of Governmentality and Subaltern Politics of Negotiation

So, how are the people coping with this ongoing march of capital both in its expansive form as well as primitive form? Kalyan Sanyal in *Rethinking Capitalist Development* interestingly draws our attention to the question of governmentality to explicate the nature of postcolonial capitalist accumulation in neo-liberal India. Under the pressure of global developmental discourse and local electoral democracy the state takes up various counter measures to primitive accumulation. Drawing on Foucault's views on governmentality, Sanyal points out that 'the outside of capital'- the poor peasants, petty producers and the mammoth informal sector, who bear the brunt of primitive accumulation - needs to be politically managed. The political and ideological justification of capital accumulation can be achieved by transferring some of its gains to this 'need economy' which harbors a huge number of self-employed labourers. It is the 'taking care of its castaways' that guaranty the peaceful march of capital in postcolonial India. Sanyal writes-

The arising of capital leaves in its wake a surplus population- those who have lost their access to the means of labor but are unable to sell their labor-power as a commodity. They constitute a space outside capital's own

realm, the space of poverty, and although capital is economically self –subsistent, its political and ideological conditions of existence depend on how this space is negotiated.... This requires that a part of the capitalist surplus be transferred from the domain of capital for implementing anti-poverty programs; development now means a reversal of primitive accumulation. (Sanyal:2007, p 175)

So, the governmental techniques, by giving entitlements to the poor and productive resources such as credit, inputs and technology to constitute the need based production activities to the informal sector, attempts to reverse the process of primitive accumulation. This logic of governmentality is endorsed by Partha Chatterjee with slight modification as he talks about the ‘reversal of consequences of primitive accumulation’, instead of reversal of primitive accumulation per se.

However, the theorization of Sanyal has been questioned variously. As primitive accumulation is not merely the quantitative transfer of resources from the non-capital to capital, Sanyal’s theorization of ‘reversal of primitive accumulation’ without the reversal of concomitant social and class structures is insufficient (Adnan:2014). And empirically we know that after neo-liberal reforms the state has withdrawn many of its subsidies instead of enforcing them. Jean Dreze in some of his recent articles in *The Hindu* (and many others elsewhere) has questioned the mythologies of overburden of subsidies to the poor on the Indian economy by pointing out that the Indian government’s expenditure on various social welfare schemes are significantly lower than many of the developing states and also draws our attention to the subsidies to the corporate sector given in the name of tax cuts (Dreze: 2014). This ‘enlightened view of a well-meaning state’ taking up ameliorative steps to provide the livelihood options to the people does not take into account the comprador nature of democracy under the hegemony of finance capital in which the state appears more as a facilitator to the global capital and in doing that can even reduce those opposed to the complicity to ‘bare life’. Arundhati Roy has sufficiently drawn our

attention to these mechanisms of the state machinery where the state itself resorts to illegal and draconian means to suppress the questioning voices, when democracy becomes ‘demon-crazy’ (Purakayastha and Das: 2012).

So, what kind of radical politics the subaltern can come up with? What are the options available to them? Partha Chatterjee in recent writings draws our attention to the implications of economic transformation and the role of democracy in India after neo-liberal reforms. He thinks that while neoliberal capital is gaining unparalleled legitimacy among the elites of civil society, the unprecedented reach of the administrative functionaries of the state in the hitherto un-accessed subaltern domains leaves nothing outside the state. The externality of the state against which the subaltern struggle was pitted is no longer a valid analytical tool. Subaltern politics needs to be re-thought via governmental discourse. Therefore, the politics subalterns are engaged with is the ‘politics of the governed’- the politics of negotiations with the administrative bodies for survival benefits. But, can politics of governmentality offer the subalterns with any space for radical change of their status? Can negotiatory politics cumulatively and incrementally bring about any change to the existing structures of inequality as its advocates are suggesting? Or it is acting as a kind of ploy/ a tactical strategy on the part of state and capital to keep them in their existing condition so that they do not question the ongoing socio-political and economic hierarchies? If it is so, what alternative ways of politics can be thought of? Can *Subaltern Studies* in its existing analytical paradigm offer that emancipatory politics? Or a re-theorisation of the subaltern question is necessary?

Listening to the Grasshoppers: The Postcolonial Predicament and Materialist/ Praxial Subaltern Politics

In a recent article in EPW, Partha Chatterjee talked about ‘new projects’ to address the questions raised by *Subaltern Studies* which he thinks are still relevant and points out the need of new concepts and methodologies for the ‘new times’. However, the new areas he locates as possible fields of engagement are engagement with

popular culture, history by visual sources such as calendar art, a turn towards ethnography-towards the 'practical, the everyday the local', etc. These proposed sites, though important for their own reason, does not take us beyond the culturalism by which *Subaltern Studies* has come to be characterized and are inadequate to address the question of the new subalterns of contemporary neo-liberal capital. Our argument is that Subaltern Studies or a 'new project' needs to re-engage with the material conditions of subordination of the neo-subalterns of global capital to re-energise the subaltern/democratic politics of counter narrative of resistance, something we seldom can see under neo-liberal postcolonial capitalism. It has to listen to the grasshoppers of Indian democracy and offer emancipatory politics for substantive justice. Ranabir Samaddar draws our attention to the postcolonial predicament which he thinks is marked by dialectics in three main areas, such as the postcolonial imprint on knowledge formation in which the postcolonies appear merely as translator of their real life specificities to the metropolitan centers for theory formation on that, the salience of primitive accumulation even when the postcolony develops and the emergence of precariat and immaterial labour. The 'near permanent condition of primitive accumulation' has forced a vast number of people to a primitive and precarious condition of work. This precarious labor/immaterial labour however is managed by the creation of 'durable inequality' via welfarist governmentality. This 'unequal situations' can only produce 'ineffective citizenship politics' which only exacerbates the predicament:

'The predicament increases because the market does not efface inequality, but accept the frame of durable inequality to effect transactions and helps capital to realize the surplus.'(EPW, 2013, p 47)

What is the way out then? Samaddar talks about the emergence of the multitude out of the precariat which will work towards a praxis and democratically transformative society. For a radical political roadmap, we propose, Subaltern Studies (or a new project) has to come up with materialist and praxis-oriented political optics and

strategy. The existing paradigm of culturalism needs to be replaced or supplemented, if not rejected outright, with a materialist approach that addresses the newer forms of inequality and subjugation that are coming up along with the existing inequalities. Politics of governmentality or political society can be one way the subalterns do their daily politics of negotiations over livelihood means. But that does not exhaust subaltern politics. And politics of political society can at times be detrimental to those at the margin. As Ajay Gudavarthy shows in his field study of the protest movement against industrial pollution of the villagers of Kazipally that under the repression of the state and financial elites the collective solidarity of the villagers are fragmented in interest based groups and individuals and generate perpetual insecurity for the vulnerable. Moreover, the politics of political society cannot bring about any radical structural change in social inequality. On the contrary it can perpetuate it. The contentious politics and widespread popular resistance has many a times checked the march of primitive accumulation and also made significant impact on governmental institutions and governance. There is ample evidence of the social and political movements ((one can think of the anti-SEZ and other social movements) in India making impressive strides in securing the rights of the subalterns. This oppositionary politics also needs to be highlighted.

Subaltern Studies emerged as a voice of justice by re-orienting the academic / public discourse towards the subjugated and unheard voices of history. The contemporary public discourse/ public sphere is pre-occupied with the aspirational middle class who dream of being a super power. In all these there is no room for the neo-subalterns of this 'new India'. Who will then talk about the subalterns? The 'new project' that Chatterjee talks about can play an important role here. It has to address the existing forms of inequality and also the emerging ones. The enchantment with democracy in India needs to be questioned and the rights of subalterns need to be emphasized. The existing loopholes, the aberrations and pathologies of democracy need to be highlighted. The liberal idea of democracy, thus, needs to be constantly

problematized, questioned, and kept in check so that a balanced and fuller form of democracy can emerge one day. A 'new project' thus needs to respond to this call by re-energising the debate over public reason by including the question of the neo-subaltern for a just and fair republic. For doing this it has to take materialist and paraxial approach rather than continuing only with the culturalist framework.

Note: Following Dipesh Chakrabarty in his 2013 EPW article, we are using the term *Subaltern Studies* (in italics) to refer to the series of publication initiated by Ranajit Guha and which is now over and the term Subaltern Studies (not in italics) to refer to the field of study in the life and politics of the subaltern classes inspired by Subaltern Studies which Chakrabarty thinks is very much alive.

References:

Adnan, S (2014): Land Grabs, Resistance and Livelihoods in Neoliberal India: Distinctive Features of the Mechanisms and Dynamics of Primitive Accumulation. Paper presented at conference on The Return of the Land Question: Dispossession, Livelihoods and Contestation in India's Capitalist Transition, held at IDSK4-6 March 2014

Basu D and Das D (2009) Political Economy of Contemporary India: Some Comments. *Economic and Political Weekly* XLIV (22):157-159

Chakrabarty D (2013) Subaltern Studies in Retrospect and Reminiscence. *Economic and Political Weekly* XLVIII (12): 23-27

Chatterjee P (2012) After Subaltern Studies. *Economic and Political Weekly* XLVI (35): 44-49

- (2013) Subaltern Studies and Capital. *Economic and Political Weekly* XLVIII (37): 69-75

Chibber V (2014) Revisiting Subaltern Studies. *Economic and Political Weekly* XLIX (9): 82-85

- (2013) Postcolonial Theory and the Specter of Capital. London: Verso

Kairos, the Journal of Critical Symposium Vol. I No 1 (January 2016)

Dreze J (2014) On the Mythology of Social Policy. *The Hindu* (July 8): 10

Gohain H (2012) Subaltern Studies: Turning around the Perspective. *Economic and Political Weekly* XLVII (39): 74-79

Gudavarthy A ed. (2012) Reframing Democracy and Agency in India: Interrogating Political Society. UK & USA: Anthem Press

Gudavarthy A and Vijay G (2007) Antinomies of Political Society: Implications of Uncivil Development. *Economic and Political Weekly* XLII (29): 3051-3059

Guha R (1994) Subaltern studies I. Delhi: Oxford University Press

Ludden D ed. (2013) Reading Subaltern Studies. Delhi: Permanent Black

Mukherjee Sanjeeb (2010) Civil Society in the East, and the Prospects of Political Society. *Economic and Political Society* XLV (5): 57-63

Patnaik P (2014) Neo-liberalism and Democracy. *Economic and Political Weekly* XLIX (15): 39-44

- (2008) The Accumulation Process in the Period of Globalisation. *Economic and Political Weekly* XLIII (26-27): 108-113

- (2007) Re-Envisioning Socialism. *Economic and Political Weekly* XLII (44): 41-48

Purakayastha A S and Das S S (2012) Absolutist Democracy Homo Sacer and the Resistance of Bare Life. *History and Sociology of South Asia* 6(2): 111-121

Purakayastha, A S (2014) Postcolonial Theory and the Specter of Capital. *Journal of Postcolonial Writing* 50(3): 369-370

Rajan, I S ed. ((2011) Migration, Identity and Conflict: India Migration Report 2011. New Delhi: Routledge

Roy, A (2005) *An Ordinary Person's Guide to Empire*. New Delhi: Penguin

- (2009) *Field Notes on Democracy: Listening to Grasshoppers*. New Delhi: Penguin

Samaddar R (2009) Primitive Accumulation and Some Aspects of Work and Life in India. *Economic and Political Weekly* XLIV (18): 33-42

- (2011) The Material Expansion of Capital. *Economic and Political Weekly* XLVI (16): 34-35

- (2012) What is Postcolonial Predicament. *Economic and Political Weekly* XLVII (9): 41-50

Sanyal K (2007) *Rethinking Capitalist Development*. New Delhi: Routledge

Sen A (2010) From Rescue Measures to Fuller Democracy. *Economic and Political Weekly* XLV (15): 51-57

Vanaik A (2013) Powerful Critique of Postcolonial Theory. *Economic and Political Weekly* XLVIII (28): 27-31 ■