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Introduction

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This volume is a collection of papers based on those presented at the 7th INDAS International Conference, "Structural Transformation in Globalizing South Asia: Comprehensive Area Studies for Sustainable, Inclusive, and Peaceful Development" held December 19–20, 2015 at the National Museum of Ethnology.

The purpose of Contemporary India Area Studies (INDAS) at Japan's National Institutes for the Humanities (NIHU) is to foster comprehensive understanding of the dynamism of contemporary India and South Asia, and to establish academic perspectives and methodologies providing a vision for the future. INDAS also aims to develop an academic network and environment enabling researchers to conduct nationwide and cross-border collaborative studies. Having successfully completed its first phase from FY 2010–14, INDAS began its second phase in April 2015 through a network of six centers: Kyoto University (the central hub), the National Museum of Ethnology (the secondary hub), The University of Tokyo, Hiroshima University, Tokyo University of Foreign Studies, and Ryukoku University. As the inaugural conference of the second phase, we organized the aforementioned international symposium.

Recent South Asian economic growth is unique as it has been realized under more or less democratic regimes in mostly subtropical or tropical climate zones. However, this sustained economic development is insufficient to overcome deep-rooted problems, such as social and regional economic disparities, social and political discrimination, and threats of terrorism and violence. In some senses, economic growth has actually aggravated such problems. Resource and environmental constraints also jeopardize further development. Whether this region, with nearly one-quarter of the world's population, can achieve steady development utilizing its own environmental conditions and civilizational wisdom is critically important for the fate of the world beyond.

The conference aimed to evaluate South Asian politico-economic developments after the 1990s from a historical perspective. It also considered the conditions for and problems inhibiting a durable development path for South Asia, including the optimal

distribution of development among its people, through synthetic and interdisciplinary debate. It was organized as a preparatory conference for the subsequent conferences on "sustainable development" (FY 2016), "peaceful development" (FY 2017), and "inclusive development" (FY 2018).

Accordingly, we organized three sessions that each considered one of the three major topics. To introduce this volume, we summarize here the objectives, background, and key points of the contributed papers for each session.

1. Sustainable Development

Sustainable development combines concern for the carrying capacity of natural systems with the social, political, and economic challenges faced by humanity. Having first appeared in a UN organization's publication in 1980, awareness of the concept became more widespread after the action plan "Agenda 21 for sustainable development" was declared at the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED), also known as the Rio de Janeiro Earth Summit, in 1992.

In the context of South Asia, including India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, Nepal, Bhutan, and the Maldives, the major issues on sustainable development, from our perspective, can be summarized as follows.

First, one of the key issues when we consider sustainable development is population. Historically, South Asia has had a huge population, like China and neighboring East Asian countries. Understanding how the region has been able to feed such a large population over a long period is a major question, especially as it is mainly located in the tropics or sub-tropics. Besides, along the same line of consideration, we need to predict South Asia's demographic changes in the future by analyzing all kinds of determinants, such as social norms and customs, people's perceptions, government policies, etc. At the same time, however, it is now indispensable to consider "quality of life," rather than just population size. Challenges to achieving better quality of life, such as in health, education, gender equity, etc., must be especially addressed as South Asia continues to lag behind East Asia in its people's quality of life.

Second, the major part of South Asia belongs to the semi-arid climate. Water stress has been a major constraint upon agricultural development at latest since the early 20th century in various parts of the region. The Green Revolution in rice and wheat after the late 1960s would not have been realized without efficiently tapping groundwater through electricity or other fossil energies. No other global area depends on groundwater resources for agriculture to the same extent as South Asia. Since the overexploitation of groundwater and the resultant declining water table jeopardize the sustainability of food production, especially in the major food-producing areas such as Punjab, the water issue is among the most critical for sustainable development in South Asia. It should also be emphasized that the energy issue is closely related to the water supply issue for sustained food production in the region.

Third, after the mid-1990s, when South Asia largely overcame its food problem thanks mainly to the dissemination of new agricultural technologies, the region's

economy largely shifted from labor-surplus to labor-shortage. Concurrently, the traditional rural social system, in which the lower classes (such as the Dalits) were subordinated to the upper classes, started to rapidly break down. These factors are mainly attributed to the difficulties in maintaining tanks and other common-pool resources in the region, which also endangers sustainable agricultural production.

Fourth, global warming-induced climate change seems likely to influence agriculture in South Asia, as in other global areas, to a great extent in the medium- to long-run. How to combat or adapt to climate change is a critical issue.

Fifth, with the recent rapid progress of urbanization, some serious environmental issues have emerged in urban and semi-urban areas in South Asia, such as transport congestion, air pollution, and water contamination.

Sixth, besides the aforementioned issue of energy (electricity and other fossil energies) for agricultural production, the demand for energy has been increasing sharply in South Asia due to accelerated industrialization and urbanization. How to stably and sustainably supply electricity and other energy is another major issue for overall sustainable development in the region.

As noted earlier, it was decided that the INDAS 2nd phase program would include three major international conferences, addressing "sustainable development," "peaceful development," and "inclusive development" as the main topic in FY 2016, 2017, and 2018, respectively. With regard to the topic of sustainable development, it was planned to organize two preparatory international conferences before the main conference at Kyoto University in December 2016. The first preparatory conference was held at the National Museum of Ethnology in December 2015; the second (two-day) conference was held at Tamil Nadu Agricultural University, Coimbatore, India, in March 2016.[1]

Regarding the INDAS international conference on sustainable development, mainly due to constraints on the availability of Japanese experts, we decided to focus mainly on the first four issues of the six aforementioned issues, namely: population, water, land, energy as far as it is concerned with agriculture, and climate change. Of course, as these issues are interrelated, our task is to analyze the complicated topic of sustainability in as holistic a manner as possible.

We now move our focus to session 1 of the international conference at the National Museum of Ethnology in December 2015. The session comprised five papers, each addressing a key sustainable development issue. The papers were not organized by specific objectives or topics as the session was convened to prepare for the main conference in December 2016. The outline of each paper is as follows.

The first paper concerns the impact of climate change on rice yield in India's major rice-producing regions. As a group, the authors have been conducting systematic research on this topic, on which they have already published (Palanisami et.al. 2011; 2014). However, their conference paper is more focused on macro-level issues, rather than the specific river basins on which they have already published research. The paper estimates the impact of climate change on rice yield for 2021–50 and 2071–2100 under the two scenarios of medium and high emissions. It separately estimates the impact for India's

five regions: southern (Tamil Nadu, Andhra Pradesh, and Karnataka); central (Madhya Pradesh and Maharashtra); eastern (Bihar, Odisha, Chhattisgarh, and West Bengal); western (Gujarat); and northern (Punjab, Haryana, and Uttar Pradesh). One of the paper's contributions is estimating climate change's impact (in terms of maximum temperature, minimum temperature, and rainfall) on not only mean rice yield but also rice yield variability. The major results are summarized as follows.

A positive impact was observed in southern India: the simultaneous impact of a 1% increase in maximum temperature, minimum temperature, and rainfall will result in an 11–34% increase in mean rice yield and a 9–101% decrease in rice yield variability. Relatively minor and mixed impacts were observed in eastern and western India. The same climate changes described above will result in a 1–2% increase in mean rice yield with a 34–139% increase in rice yield variability in eastern India, compared to a 1–4% decrease in mean rice yield with a 106–314% decrease in rice yield variability in western India. Conversely, negative impacts were estimated for northern and central India. The same climate changes will result in a 11–31% decrease in mean rice yield with a 4–61% increase in rice yield variability in northern India, compared to a 14–50% decrease in mean rice yield with a 183–667% increase in rice yield variability in central India. Regarding the impacts of climate change, one of the important findings is that the risk (high variability of rice yield) will increase in eastern and central India, but decrease in southern and western India.

The second paper considers another critical issue: the declining groundwater table's differential impact on Punjab's different farmer classes, in terms of the size of their holdings. It presents detailed empirical evidence using data recently collected from two central Punjab villages. The major findings are as follows.

Both the study villages experienced a declining water table due to the overexploitation of groundwater for agriculture, especially for rice production in *kharif* season, which started from the 1970s. Accordingly, after the first decade of the 21ˢᵗ century, farmers were obliged to convert centrifugal pumps to submergible ones; at the time of the survey in 2011–12, almost all of the tubewells had already been converted in one village, while only 60% had been converted in the other. Considerable investment, roughly equivalent to the annual income from two acres of land under rice and wheat cultivation, is necessary to convert the pumps, which is a great burden for farmers, especially small farmers with less than 2.5 acres (1 hectare) of land. Therefore, many farmers, especially those with small holdings, either borrowed from moneylenders to convert their pumps or, rather than investing in pump conversion, started purchasing water from neighboring farmers with submergible pumps. The paper, thus, clarifies the declining water table's impact in transforming the Punjab's agrarian structure.

The third paper considers the development paths of rural areas with poor water resources under the semi-arid climate of Tamil Nadu, where agricultural activities have historically been sustained with water reserved in tanks. A problem arose in the lower river basin as deteriorating management of the tanks reduced water flow from the upper basin. In the lower river basin, this resulted in increased fallow land (abandonment of cultivation) and the intrusion of weed trees called *Prosopis juliflora*. However, as the

paper reports and analyzes, following enactment of the Electricity Act in 2003, small-scale biomass power plants flourished by utilizing the Prosopis as fuel, generating substantial income for farmers in the lower river basin, which reduced the migration of farmers to other areas. The paper estimates that cutting and transporting Prosopis and making charcoal provides 210 days of employment per hectare of land; on an assumption that Prosopis is harvested every three years, the average annual employment generation per hectare of Prosopis-intruded fallow land is 70 days, which is slightly more than the 63 days generated annually by sorghum cultivation. The paper suggests the possibility of reducing poverty in semi-arid tropics without securing additional irrigation water, when some appropriate institutions and technologies are in place and work.

The fourth paper explores the recent demographic changes in India, focusing especially on the status of women. Improvement in women's status is one of the biggest challenges in India and other South Asian countries. The paper first shows the recent trends in India's demographic changes, especially its regional disparity at district levels, utilizing geographical information system (GIS) technology. The indicators used here include sex ratio, child mortality rate, total fertility rate, female labor force participation rate, and marriage practice, particularly the practice of dowry, with data for 1981, 1991, and 2001. Finally, the paper contributes to evaluating the impact of women's empowerment on household welfare (school attendance of children), by substituting "subjective" indicators on women's participation in decision-making to "objective" ones.

Finally, an additional paper on power-energy issues in India was presented at the conference, although it is not included in this volume (See Fukumi 2016).

The paper considers India's power sector reforms, especially the impact of power utilities' financial status on power supply quality, using state-level data on enterprises collected by the World Bank in 2014. Its major conclusion is that the financially weak utilities fail to provide good-quality services, even in the states where they receive huge subsidies to support their operations. This implies that improving the financial status of the State Electricity Board (SEB) should be prioritized in power sector reforms. The paper also reveals that the most economically and socially backward states, such as Bihar and Uttar Pradesh, tend to be losing ground in the power sector reforms. In other words, the interstate disparity in economic and social development is widening through these reforms.

Although the five papers address different issues on sustainable development, each contributes to deepening knowledge and insights into their respective important topics.

2. Inclusive Development

In recent years, developing countries have been shifting from pursuit of economic growth, and the resulting trickle-down effect, to more direct poverty reduction. This change has occurred because conventional economic development, although beneficial to particular people and/or regions, has not sufficiently improved the living conditions of the poor or yielded satisfactory results in eliminating disparities. Inclusive growth is an approach rooted in the capitalist market economy. It focuses on improving the living

conditions of the poor and socially vulnerable, and achieves a socio-economic reality in which no groups are excluded from the benefits of growth. To this effect, measures have been implemented in various countries, including India, to reallocate resources and provide social services.

India's immense impoverished population is one reason the country strives for inclusive growth. The proportion of India's population living below the poverty line (the poverty rate) has shown a yearly decline, from 37.2% in fiscal 2004 to 21.9% in fiscal 2011. However, in absolute terms, a staggering 270 million people remain stuck in poverty, the largest number globally. Improving this situation has become a national priority. India's poverty has deep ties to regional and social factors. From the regional perspective, while the urban poverty rate is limited to 13.7%, the rural poverty rate is 25.7%. As 68.9% of the population lives in rural areas, approximately 80% of India's poor are rural residents. While the poverty rate dips below 10% in certain states, it exceeds 30% in others. In states with high poverty rates, the rural areas' backwardness is more serious. For example, in Bihar with a poverty rate of 33.7%, rural residents account for approximately 90% of the poor. Socially, in fiscal 2011, the poverty rate for the forward castes was only 12.5% but it was 20.7% for OBCs (Other Backward Classes), 29.4% for SCs (Scheduled Castes), and 43.0% for STs (Scheduled Tribes) (Panagariya and More, 2013). To eliminate poverty, it is essential to empower the lower classes and improve rural conditions.

India's national development strategy is presented in successive five-year plans, on which budget allocations are based. The 11th Five-Year Plan (FY 2007–2011) was the first to incorporate inclusive growth as a basic philosophy. Its central vision was "to build on our strengths to trigger a development process which ensures broad-based improvement in the quality of life of the people, especially the poor, SCs/STs, OBCs, minorities and women." Thus, improving quality of life for the economically and socially vulnerable became a strategic goal, along with positively maintaining economic growth. To achieve this goal, the plan targeted seven inter-related components: 1) rapid growth and poverty reduction, 2) creation of employment opportunities, 3) access to essential services, 4) social justice and empowerment, 5) environmental sustainability, 6) gender equality, and 7) improvement in governance. However, it should be noted that these components were introduced prior to the 11th Five-Year Plan. Previous plans also included components for reducing poverty, providing basic social services, expanding opportunities, and correcting disparities. Thus, India's previous development policies also broadly targeted inclusive growth. In India, strong economic growth has widened the gap between the haves and have-nots since the beginning of this century. Against this backdrop, the adoption of inclusive growth in the 11th Five-Year Plan could be interpreted as a political slogan targeting national consensus in the world's largest democracy.

A noteworthy project launched during the 11th Five-Year Plan was the Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme (MGNREGS). This scheme was preceded by the National Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme (NREGS), started in 2006 by the United Progressive Alliance (UPA), headed by Manmoham Singh of the Indian National Congress Party. MGNREGS provided at least 100 days of guaranteed

wage employment in each financial year to every household whose adult members voluntarily perform unskilled manual work. The scheme initially covered 200 districts and was subsequently expanded to all districts nationwide. Though other past initiatives had targeted job creation in rural areas, the scale of MGNREGS was unprecedented, at 157 million person-days annually (FY 2014). Consequently, the scheme had a significant impact on rural areas, including the expansion of employment opportunities and greater consumption.

The 12th Five-Year Plan (FY 2012–2016) under the second Singh administration maintained the course of the 11th Five-Year Plan, under the philosophy of "Faster, More Inclusive and Sustainable Growth." Its key contents were as follows: develop economic infrastructure to encourage faster growth; guide inclusive growth by improving basic social services and rural productivity; combine these to generate employment; and aim for sustainable growth considering the environment and health. However, in the 2014 general election, the administration changed from the Congress-led UPA, which had promoted inclusive growth, to the Bharatiya Janata Party under current Prime Minister Narendra Modi. PM Modi's economic views lean toward neoliberalism, and he has argued for a small government. As such, the trend of his development policies was in focus after he took office. In fact, in January 2015, he dissolved the Planning Commission, the drafting committee of the five-year plan, and replaced it with the National Institution for Transforming India (NITI Aayog), a think-tank-like organization in which state chief ministers participate. PM Modi has also announced that the five-year plans will end after the 12th, signaling a major turning point for the status of India's development strategy.

Thus far, we have outlined inclusive growth in India mainly from a development perspective. How can we approach this topic from area studies' standpoints? The first approach is to gauge the degree to which an inclusive economic society has been realized. A good starting point is to analyze changes in the status of the socially vulnerable – lower castes, tribes, and religious minorities – as well as in gender disparity, urban-rural disparity, disparity within cities, educational disparity, and interstate disparity, recognizing their inter-relationships. In addition, such disparities have aspects rooted in traditional values, the structure of economic regions, and social and cultural frameworks. If disparities have not narrowed, it may be necessary to interpret the true nature of the problem in light of these factors. In contrast, if disparities have narrowed, we need to consider the influencing policies, the route through which change has been achieved, and the prevailing circumstances. We also need to question the types of benefits that inclusive growth has brought to Indian society as a whole.

The second approach considers where improvements in socioeconomic indicators create other problems, which should also be identified. For example, the increase in industrial investment was expected to generate employment opportunities. In fact, several industrial sectors have experienced steady employment growth. The increase in industrial investment may, thus, be deemed to have driven inclusive growth, but how should we evaluate the situation if growth was mainly in temporal employment? Answering this question requires both qualitative and quantitative evaluation. In addition, we should

explore disparities within states. As a beneficiary of various central government incentives for new industrial investment in the 2000s, the special category state of Uttarakhand has experienced high economic growth. However, industrialization has been confined to districts with flatlands and favorable conditions, and the mountainous districts have not benefited. Consequently, intrastate economic disparities increased. Therefore, research on geographical situations is also inevitable.

The third approach is to observe the impact of a change in government. How will the Modi administration shape inclusive growth? PM Modi has been pursuing economic policies, such as promoting the manufacturing sector ("Make in India") and developing the business environment ("Start-up India"), through structural reforms. There is also focus on financial inclusion projects supporting the poor and rural residents to open bank accounts. Projects targeting rural areas, such as MGNREGS, which was boosted by the previous administration, are currently continuing. However, the future of these projects is unpredictable in terms of budget allocation. In contrast, the current administration has declared "smart cities" as one of its priority policies, hinting at potential focus on urban development. Should this transpire, whether these smart cities will become spaces that exclude or include the poor and socially vulnerable will warrant attention.

We expect a full debate on the three approaches described above at the 2018 INDAS-South Asia international symposium on inclusive growth. In preparation, this session featured four academics presenting on various aspects of inclusive growth, aiming to raise awareness of the current challenges for India and South Asia.

First, Kazuo Tomozawa (Hiroshima University) discusses the shift to non-regular employment in the Indian automotive industry. This industry has developed steadily since 2000, and India is now the sixth-largest vehicle-producing country globally. The industry's scale of employment is also increasing proportionately; however, the fact that most workers are supplied by contractors as non-regular labors is very concerning. Through his survey of non-regular workers residing in a village adjacent to IMT Manesar, the largest industrial estate in Haryana, he examines the workers' attributes, including their educational background, birthplace, entry routes into the labor market, and economic life, as well as the contractors' functions. He finds that the shift to non-regular employment has created the "contract workers' belt," spreading from Uttar Pradesh to Bihar. It is of great interest whether expanding employment opportunities through the shift to non-regular employment can be considered "inclusive growth."

Second, R. B. Singh (University of Delhi) focuses on the smart city concept as a solution to various issues facing India. According to Singh, due to the problems of poverty and low agricultural productivity, it is difficult for rural India to accommodate larger populations; thus, population migration to cities is becoming essential. However, Indian cities also have various environmental and hygiene problems; at present, they cannot accommodate further population migration. To overcome this situation, he emphasizes the necessity of "spatially, socially, economically, and ecologically sustainable; inclusive; and peaceful" urban development; he also indicates his approval of the Modi administration's creation of smart cities. The smart village concept is also considered, along with questions over developing settlement system networks for India's

future.

The focus of the third and fourth papers shifts to social aspects of "inclusiveness." Maya Suzuki (Tokyo University of Foreign Studies) discusses a new trend found in the Dalit movements, based on fieldwork she conducted within Delhi's Balmiki community. Balmikis, as sweepers, are the most despised Dalit community. Their relative deprivation among Dalit communities is clearly evidenced by statistical data regarding literacy, graduate education level, and job mobility. She critically analyzes two cases in which the "broom," an implement traditionally connected with Balmikis, was utilized symbolically: by Prime Minister Modi and the Aam Admi Party, respectively. Her main interest lies in the Balmikis' recent efforts for self-assertion, relying upon the judicial system (public interest litigation). These activities are led by educated and white Balmikis, especially lawyers. According to Suzuki, in demanding the revision of their reservation quota, the Balmiki community seems currently to be emphasizing their "exclusive" entitlements.

Against the background of the enactment of the Right of Children to Free and Compulsory Education Act 2009 (REA), Janaki Nair (Jawaharlal Nehru University) revisits the experiments of alternative schools for the poor and the experiences of Dalits who attended government schools in the 1970s and 1980s. Each of these alternative schools was started individually to cater for those ignored by the official educational system. She presents extracts from interviews with former students, recounting their joy of learning, and the freedom and confidence they acquired. She simultaneously points out that such education necessarily enhanced their life choices. Dalit autobiographies provide a glimpse of the hardships and opportunities of Dalit students in multi-class/caste schools. Interestingly, students were first exposed to caste discrimination when they joined public schools, where universal values such as equality and freedom are supposed to be taught. Suzuki finds it ironic that REA has been introduced with privatization already deeply rooted. Her paper raises the fundamental question of what role education should/could play in liberalizing India.

These four papers show that actualization of inclusive development should be pursued from multiple and varied perspectives, which is a daunting challenge.

3. Peaceful Development

Independent India, alongside other south Asian countries, has devoted tremendous efforts to achieving peaceful development in circumstances of extraordinary diversity, in terms of religion, caste, language, ethnicity, race, etc. We define "peaceful development" broadly as the condition for preserving or strengthening social stability or development, not by violent compulsion but rather by interactive negotiation of the interests and intentions of society's members and/or stakeholders. Such social mechanisms and/or processes are not only found in modern western democracy but also in South Asian thoughts and practices.

This theme can be approached from various standpoints in a range of disciplines. First, different kinds or levels of agents and groups – from individuals and various social groups and communities through to states and international organizations – can pursue or

contribute to constructing and maintaining the aforementioned peaceful condition. Second, there are diverse mechanisms – from institutional systems to everyday spontaneous practices – to restrain the violent unilateral compulsion of various agents' intentions and desires, and to enforce mutual understandings and negotiations for peaceful coexistence and conflict resolution. Finally, we can learn from various thoughts and philosophies, from the ancient past to modern times, the ideals for order, justice, tolerance, and peace.

Our final goal is to form a synthetic view of the conditions for and obstacles to south Asian peaceful developments, accounting for all the above-mentioned aspects. The 2015 conference was a stepping stone toward that synthesis, and we invited scholars of various disciplines and interests to lay the foundations for future development of this theme, focusing especially on the strife and coexistence of different religious traditions in India. Indeed, religious communities of Hindus, Muslims, Buddhists, Sikhs, and Christians, each numbering between tens and hundreds of millions, have coexisted for a long period in South Asia. These communities exert varying influence in the politics, economy, and culture of each state. Realizing peaceful coexistence among religious communities and ensuring each community has a voice in the democratic system are essential requisites for peaceful development in South Asia. However, in each South Asian state today, the right to a voice and/or even the right to live of minority religious communities have become threatened.

Since Indian independence, the so-called "Indian model of secularism," under which the state respects each religious community equally, has been advocated. However, a political party whose leaders consider Muslim and Christian minorities as "second-grade citizens," and openly proclaim that they should follow the wishes of the Hindu majorities, has acquired hegemony in the central parliament and several local legislatures. The party's leaders and followers have made various attempts to suppress religious minorities, such as prohibiting propagation of minority religions and attempting to segregate the living zones of different religious communities. Both suppression by the majority and the minority's resistance thereto often involve intense violence. Globalization of terrorism and the international trend of one-sidedly labeling resisting minority groups as "terrorists," thereby justifying suppression by states, compounds these matters. Indian secularism is on the verge of crisis, and violent confrontations between major and minor religious communities are causing serious fissures in states and in local society.

On the other hand, different religious communities have not always violently opposed each other. In many regions, followers of different religions have long coexisted peacefully. Furthermore, rather than solely opposing one another, religious communities have been stimulated by the thoughts of other faiths to develop their own systems. To overcome the present crisis, it is especially necessary to elucidate the wisdom of different religious communities' coexistence in considering the subcontinent's peaceful development.

Akamatsu's paper, "Doxography and Perspectivism in Premodern India," is a fine reminder that at least some traditional religious thoughts in India have developed to promote tolerant understanding of others' premises and arguments, rather than aggressive

rejection of different religious thoughts. His paper follows the trajectory of neutralism in the Jain philosophy in premodern India, successfully elucidating their endeavor to calmly understand other religious and philosophical schools' arguments, even though they might not be suspicious about their own school's superiority over others.

Could we not develop wisdom of the tolerance or coexistence of wider varieties of religions based on premodern India's philosophical tradition? Is it not worthwhile researching how premodern Indian thoughts reacted against Islam and/or Christianity? Could these thoughts extend their capacity of tolerance or neutralism against such religious traditions with apparently different cultural backgrounds and worldviews?

According to Akamatsu, although there aroused some interesting episodes of interaction between premodern classical Indian religions and foreign ones, seemingly serious development of neutralism, inspired by encountering different religions, did not occur. Conversely, we do know that there were several notable Indian religious thinkers, such as Kabir, who sincerely explored the truth-transcending difference of religions, from the medieval period. It seems worthwhile to continue researching the Indian philosophical genealogy of neutralism, tolerance, and transcendence over difference, from premodern to modern times.

How do today's ordinary Indians coexist with (or oppose) followers of a different religious faith in their everyday lives? Though their papers could not be included in this volume, two scholars approached this issue from their own perspectives.

Anne Bigelow (South Carolina University) presented a paper on religious practices in shared sacred spaces, where followers of different faiths worship their own god(s) or saint(s) and maintain their own religious meanings. Bigelow compared a couple of such shared sacred spaces in Karnataka, one in crisis, verging on ceasing to be a shared space, while the other remains well kept as such today.

One of the key concepts here is secularism. India's official secularism does not refer to the separation of religion and the state; rather, it is a constitutional requirement that all religious communities be equal recipients of the state support necessary to maintain and propagate their faiths, languages, and cultural practices. However, not all Indians agree that this secularism, as envisioned by the Indian state and its agents, is universally equitable in practice. Some of them have been claiming that the state has preferentially treated certain religious communities. In particular, Hindu nationalists extensively portray religious minorities as disproportionately benefiting from India's secularism policies. They have also long claimed that state protection of minority religions is, in effect, unequal appeasement, with the majority Hindus suffering political, economic, and social disadvantages. Hindu nationalist political parties have regained their majority in the central parliament and in several state-level parliaments.

In the first of Bigelow's cases, the discourse supporting Hindu nationalism has been gathering momentum, leading to the once-shared sacred space becoming Hinduized. The co-existing Islamic elements have become marginalized, and a Muslim religious leader is even prohibited from entering this space. Conversely, in Bigelow's second case, the concept of secularism is peculiarly interpreted by users of the shared sacred space to mean interreligious engagement in general, which is regarded as the most important

discipline. Against this background, encounters between a Hindu goddess and a legendary Muslim saint are peacefully and splendidly celebrated through interaction, mutual recognition, and interreligious devotion of people of different faiths. These encounters are interpreted as "secular" in nature.

Bigelow pointed out that the concept of secularism is indeed ambiguous. The official structures of secularism include constitutions, courts, legislatures, and academia; to varying extents, these macro-level discourses do shape the micro level: using the representational language they provide, actors filter understandings of what it means to be a citizen of the secular Indian state. However, on a day-to-day basis, individual practices and grassroots interactions heavily influence how people define and experience the multi-religious realities they inhabit, giving substance to the concept of secularism. Whether deemed positive or negative, these exchanges produce spiritual languages at least partially autochthonous to many people's religious worlds, helping to form what Indian secularism truly means, both practically and spiritually.

Bigelow's paper offered an interesting counterpoint to the resurgence of Hindu nationalism in today's India, observing how the coexistence of different religious traditions is maintained in their practices under the concept of "secularism." However, it remains somewhat obscure how deeply these spaces of religious coexistence can impact contemporary Indian politics and society. How and to what extent can this kind of religious practice be effective in pursuing peaceful development? There have been numerous ethnographical reports on the sharing of sacred spaces by different religions in India. Concepts for theoretical understanding of this kind of practice, such as syncretism, hybridity, liminality, polytropy, etc. have also been suggested by scholars based on their own ethnographical studies. However, the consistent logic behind concrete examples of religious sharing or co-existence throughout south Asia awaits a theoretical formulation. What kind of indigenous logic or wisdom underpins such religious practices? Are these practices temporary and transitional in nature? Or are they more long-standing, rooted in everyday lives far beyond specific religious institutes or sites? Why are these practices, as Bigelow shows, sometimes disrupted by violence and/or religious identity politics? These themes should be investigated, paying close attention to cases not only in India but also in other states and regions throughout south Asia.

Followers of different faiths not only share sacred spaces but also live together as neighbors in villages and wards of towns. How do these neighbors coexist? What mechanisms generate cohesive neighborly relations? Raheel Dhattiwala (University of South Australia) addressed these questions in the symposium, based on her experimental sociological survey in three wards of Ahmedabad, each inhabited by mixed religious followers (Hindus, Muslims, and Christians). Despite Ahmedabad's infamy as one of the worst cities for Hindu-Muslim violence in independent India, the three studied wards preserved a comparatively peaceful ambience. Through questionnaires and interviews, she found that most of these wards' inhabitants consider friends or relatives of their own faith (even those living distantly) as their optimal neighbors, rather than their physically nearest residents. Conversely, religiously heterogeneous neighbors living alongside one another try to maintain friendly relationships, at least at a superficial level. According to

Dhattiwala, this superficial friendliness among proximate residents ensures the survival or collective efficacy of these neighborhoods. She also suggested that, by implication, superficial neighborly relations serve to assuage antipathy, offering a means of survival in mixed neighborhoods facing imminent violence, rather than being explained by the occurrence of violence itself. In Ahmedabad, the administrative authorities are implementing segregation of living areas by religious identity. However, Dhattiwala's paper suggested that the mixture of religiously heterogeneous people is more effective in deterring violent conflicts. This implication is undoubtedly interesting, but further investigations comparing her findings with those for other wards or cities are necessary to generalize her argument.

Miharu Yui contributes a paper to this volume that also seeks to describe and analyze peace construction processes in religiously heterogeneous neighborhoods. Yui's paper is based on her research in Mumbai, another infamous venue for violent conflicts between Hindus and Muslims. She reports that a scheme of collaboration between the police and voluntary citizens has been introduced in several wards in Mumbai, under which various activities serve to generate mutual trust between Muslims and Hindus, thereby deterring violence. Her paper is also suggestive in contemplating concrete measures for peaceful development in Indian society. However, not all community policing is successful in peacekeeping. Careful comparison between cases of success and failure should be the next step in identifying the conditions for effective community policing.

Due to time and space limitations, we could not explore the issues of more institutional schemes for religious coexistence in the symposium and this volume. Such issues as Indian secularism (other than its vernacular interpretation) and religion should be considered in the following symposium series.

Of course, the problem how democratic process functions in which as much as various people can righteously participate in negotiation and decision making of their own good is vitally important for consideration of peaceful development. However, this is another issue we were unable to consider in the symposium and this volume. We will tackle this problem in the 2017 symposium, focusing attention on conditions in other south Asian states. At that symposium, we will consider peaceful development in south Asia from various perspectives, including such issues as peaceful religious coexistence, terrorism and citizens, the south Asian way of democracy, etc.

In the final paper of this volume, Takenori Horimoto considers international security in south Asia, which is another important issue for peaceful development. After lucidly summarizing India's post-independence foreign policy, he examines the relationship between India and China in the foreseeable future, as one of the key factors for south Asian international security. According to Horimoto, India's "Thucydides Trap" – describing the phenomenon of a rising power provoking fear in a status quo power, leading ultimately to mutual conflict – does not loom large at present as China's national power greatly exceeds that of India. However, he warns that when Indian economic growth accelerates to reach parity with China's, there arises some possibility of war between the two states. The most important issues would be the control over the Tibetan

Plateau and its vast water resources, which will be vital factor for both states' economic growth and population. Horimoto's argument is explicit and reminds us that factors other than the economy, such as the environment and population, are fundamental for international security. The relationship between India and China is doubtless important for international security in south Asia. However, it is also apparently important for peace between India and China to be incorporated into a multipartite international scheme, for which purpose it would be necessary to take other states' perspectives into consideration. It is also important to examine how international security in south Asia is linked to global security, given the region's ever-growing presence in global economic, environmental, and nuclear issues.

Based on our overall scheme, another INDAS-South Asia international conference on "sustainable development" has been already organized at Kyoto in December, 2016 and the next conference on "peaceful development" will be held at Kathmandu in early January, 2018. The collection of papers of each conference will also be published subsequently.

Even though, we hope that this collection of papers provides reference points of the subsequent development of discussion and argument, furthering the overall goals of the INDAS research project.

Notes

1) The program can be found at: http://www.indas.asafas.kyoto-u.ac.jp/event/20160301.

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