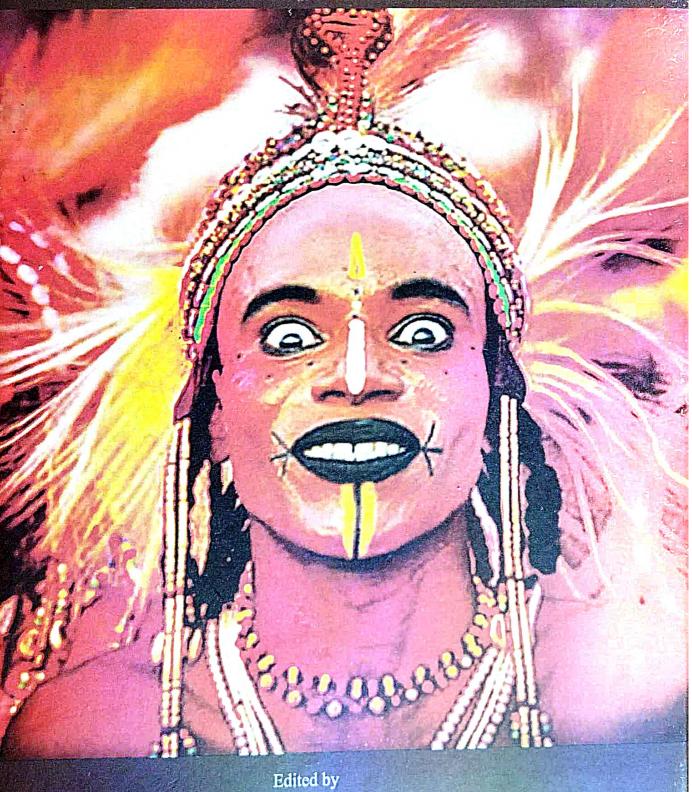
Homogeneity in Heterogeneity

Memory, Culture, and Resistance in Aboriginal Literatures from Around the World



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Why Aboriginal Studies Matter?

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Long before literature in print media became popular, oral narratives or folk songs catered to the needs of human beings – both physical and emotional. It is the oldest mode that largely gave expression to human beings and their cultural sensibility. Craig Womack writes about the timelessness and continuum of oral and tribal literature in the American context which is equally true of other contexts: "Tribal literatures are not some branch waiting to be grafted onto the main trunk. Tribal literatures are the tree, the oldest literatures in the Americas, the most American of American literatures" (6). These would not only discuss in a poetic strain the heroic exploits of local warriors emerging victorious while fighting with other neighbouring tribes but also celebrate local legends, and common local rituals/festivals. Various tribes would thus keep alive not only their distinct cultures but also immortalise their heroes. This tradition is so rich that it survived even long after the arrival of the printing press/media. It is indeed the printed word that lent more agency/authority to tribal experiences than the oral word. Literature, thus, came to keep alive what earlier existed in oral form. The oral thus largely informed the written and the two became inseparable. Joy Porter stresses the importance of orality in Native American literature:

Oral traditions involve more than just what is spoken, they are a living dynamic practice that includes an interactive and spiritual relationship to specific places that is expressed and perpetuated through forms of ritual and ceremony with the power both to

heal and cause harm. Integral to this is a transformative power of language, symbol, and thought. (43)

The literature in the present has moved beyond the narrow confines of controlling agencies. Nowadays, it is no longer the privilege of a few but everyone's right. It no longer remains the property of a few countries in the West that dominated the literary scene earlier but also, those on the margins or under the rule of the dominated have come up with their own narratives to strike at the hitherto dominating ones. David Damrosch writes in his Introduction to World Literature: "Whereas in past eras works usually spread from imperial centres to peripheral regions (from China to Vietnam, from London to Australia and Kenya, from Paris to almost everywhere), an increasingly multipolar literary landscape allows writers from smaller countries to achieve rapid worldwide fame" (1-2). This percolation/shift from the centre to the margin has produced a wide range of literature and mostly in first person narratives, leading to not only a proliferation of cross-cultural dialogues but also various kinds of counter-narratives destabilising totalising tendencies. teresist hadrelt Marco income

World Literature and its purpose, as the term shows, is to bring together various literatures of the world to understand not only various cultural practices but also enlighten curious/starving minds. Along with it, World Literature also underpins significant issues of translation, authenticity, essence, and language. While a literature written in a national language carries with it "the unquenchable spirit of the nation" (Damrosch 4); for a literature to travel abroad, it needs to be brought out in a translated form. As is evident, with globalisation, literatures have crossed boundaries with considerable ease; but it has, at the same time, given rise to serious debates over the distinct identity of a national and local literature. The relationship between world language, national language, and local language, may be largely governed by dominance and may undermine what is at the heart of literature written in a local language. This question still occupies a significant place in literature, especially of the colonised. Therefore, Boubia in his "Universal Literature and Otherness" claims that World Literature

"takes otherness into account and, consequently, the particularity and identity of peoples" (81). John Pizer, while discussing Goethe's formulations over literature in his essay "The Emergence of Weltliteratur: Goethe and Romantic School" (2006), explains Goethe's universal vision:

Goethe's belief that translation in its highest, third, stage must approximate the rhythmic and grammatical nuances of the original language demonstrates that Goethe's paradigm sets as its highest ideal the movement of the self toward the other, not a dominion over the other or a levelling of the other. This embrace of alterity, grounded in a unique principle of estrangement that forces the self to become foreign to itself, serves the twin causes of intercultural dialogue and respect for the foreign. (28)

Rabindranath Tagore (1861-1941) in his essay "World Literature" makes a holistic statement that attempts to bring to the fore his humanistic concerns when he discusses the necessity of bringing diverse cultures together. He writes: "Whatever faculties we have within us exist for the sole purpose of forging bonds with others. We are true and we achieve truth only through such bonds. Otherwise there is no sense in saying 'I am' or 'something is'" (48). This 'forging of bonds' between human beings and a sense of solidarity for achieving the all elevating ideals of humanity remains the primary concern of liberal minded writers and scholars. Such attempts, however, stand thwarted in the face of mounting pressure in the name of religious, ethnic, racial supremacy/conflicts. Tagore further avers that "we are uncivilised in respects where each one of us is totally autonomous, where the one is isolated from the rest" (51). It is this self-centredness which is at the heart of all violence and the interplay of power relations between the powerful and the powerless. A sense of unconcern for fellow human beings and the natural and cultural plundering of the one for gleaning everything to become rich has resulted in the misery/wretchedness of the dominated, be it the native, tribal/aborigine or a common human being.

Tribals or aborigines in various parts of the globe usually survive on either forest or sea: the major forests and seas provide

them with food. Their economic life has a close relationship with the natural life. More importantly, their life is not governed by the motif of profit but a strong sense of bonding and sharing gets them going. Thus, their life is at diametrical variance from mainstream society where avarice dominates all other considerations especially humane ones. Tribals throughout the globe "obtain their numerous requirements from the area they inhabit with the help of most simple implements and without any technological aid from outside" (Vidyarthi & Jain 99). However, it is sad that their very foundations of survival stand largely threatened due to large scale industrialisation. Colonisation exerted a great blow to the tribals by eroding their natural habitats and means of survival. As the natives were thought to be savage and ignorant, the task of colonisation came to be called as "The White Man's Burden", as Rudyard Kipling (1865-1936) termed it, and it was deemed to be a white man's responsibility to send their 'best born' to these societies to enlighten the dark minds. The result was the plunder of the natural and cultural resources and a 'whitening' of the so-called uncivilised minds. The very basic fabrics of aborigines, land and nature, were thus ironically whitened/devastated.

Natives bore the brunt of contact with Europeans as their culture and identity, and their very life became a commodity. While after the Columbus's arrival in 1492, attempts were made to devalue and deny everything pre-Columbian as heathen or pagan, in countries like Australia also, no history of Aborigines as such was recognised and the land came to be categorised as terra nullius. While earlier studies revealed that the Native Americans were living in America for some two-three hundred years, "estimates grew to 5000 years in the 1990s . . ." (Porter 41). More recently, it has been found that their presence was there since 28000 BCE. (Porter).

Land is of central concern/importance for all the aborigines/tribals all over the globe. It is sacred to them, and the natives have their own protocols of using it. Australian Aborigines think of their land as having been brought to existence by their ancestors who walked there some 40000 years ago, known as the Dreaming. They believe in collective ownership of land and the

modern notions of private property which Rousseau (1712-1778) abhors in his Discourse on the Origin of Inequality (1755) are unacceptable to them. Rousseau opines that when men started building huts and began to feel jealous of each other's achievements, it marked the first step toward private property as it "established and distinguished families, and introduced a kind of property, in itself the source of a thousand quarrels and conflicts" (43). This is why Australian natives felt confused and perplexed when Europeans tried to own their land, as for them sharing was more important than owning. In America also, natives have close affiliation with nature as they think that there is a cycle of birth and death and the one who dies is reborn again as they believe that their bodies are "formed of the dust of their forefathers' bones" (Bear qtd. in Porter 32).

Apart from land, plants and animals also bear special totemic significance for aborigines. It speaks volumes about the love that they have for flora and fauna. Jack Davis (1917-2000) in his play Honey Spot (1985) shows how a bee is referred to as his totem by Tim. an Aboriginal boy and does not sting him. Moreover, in many cases they name their children after the names of such plants and animals. Similarly, in India, the Santhal and Kharia tribes "have clans named after plants or animals or material objects" (Vidyarthi & Rai 243). It results in their respect for their totem plants and animals and do not kill or destroy them. On the contrary "a totemic object found in a condition of disease is nursed back to health and let free" (Vidyarthi & Rai 243). It is this mysterious relation with natural objects and creatures that makes them worship and protect it.

It is but natural that the tribals resisted the attempts of the colonial settlers in America, New Zealand, Africa and Australia to drive them from their natural shelter in the name of civilising mission. Similarly, in India, the rise of the Naxalism is the direct result of encroachment on their rights. The construction of the dams, which Arundhati Roy vociferously attacks in her nonfictional writings, has led to the displacement of people. Narmada Bachao Movement by Medha Patkar is an agitation that focuses on one such displacement. Many tribes have been at the receiving end due to such constructions in the name of development. The Romantics have attributed great qualities to rustics claiming that Romantics have attributed great qualities to rustics claiming that being closer to nature, they are innocent and pure by heart and know nothing of the negative feelings of jealousy, hatred, and ambition. But unfortunately, the advocates of colonialism thought the same people to be brutish due to living in a primitive state and proclaimed it to be their avowed object to 'civilise' them, or rather replace their civilisation with a western civilisation, by uprooting them from their sheet anchors of strength, i.e. forests and nature. Literature of the tribals addresses such issues of colonial usurpation of their land and hence, there is a need to speak from the perspective of the subalterns.

As far as the emergence of aboriginal/tribal literatures in many parts of the globe is concerned, it is interesting to note that they came quite late. In Australia, Aboriginal writing came rather from 1960s onwards. Oodgeroo Noonuccal's (1920-1993) first volume of poetry We are Going in 1964 and Mudrooroo Narogin's (b. 1938) first Aboriginal novel Wild Cat Falling in 1965 were the two major publications from Aboriginal writing in Australia. Oodgeroo's We are Going "ended a period of white deafness by bringing a powerful Aboriginal voice into earshot of large, mainstream audience both in Australia and overseas" (Toorn: 2000, 24). It was after the publication of this collection that Aboriginal voices began to be heard. In America Indigenous writing came comparatively early though only after America had become independent. Jane Johnston Schoolcraft, (1800-1841) was the first indigenous American woman to write poems in The Literary Voyager. John Rollin Ridge follows with his only anthology of poems titled Poems (1868). E Pauline Johnson's The White Wampum (1895), Canadian Born (1903) and Flint and Feather (1912) are another three volumes of poetry that have come from a native pen (Wilson 145-47). Similarly, in New Zealand and Canada, aboriginal writing made its first forays quite late. Similarly, the filtering of native works through white owned media always checked whether the native works conformed to white norms. It is for this reason that

Mudrooroo Narrogin terms the earliest Aboriginal writings as "writing for Governor's pleasure" (qtd. in Toorn 24). It presents a dismal sight for the aboriginal writer as what reached the public was not always authentic but compromised. Even when the well-intentioned white editors or translators collaborated in making Aboriginal writers more visible, there were gaps. Gilian Whitlock writes that the textual construction of autobiographic self, negotiated between editor, author, and implied reader, is "not a place where the desire to speak is liberated unconditionally, but rather a site of multiple constraints and negotiations of meaning" (qtd. in Jones 157). It is for this reason that writing needed to be freed from such prejudiced formulations.

Maori indigenous literature of New Zealand also underpins colonial concerns. The colonisation of New Zealand and the subsequent colonial exploits rendered the indigenous people vulnerable. The urge for self-determination began to gain ground and it was the Treaty of Waitangi (1840) that gave some "inalienable rights to indigenous peoples" (Mullaney 59) though colonialism continued to tamper with the spirit of these rights. Selfdetermination and autonomy remain the central concerns of the above mentioned Treaty but the complete denial of this led to the establishment of the Waitagi Tribunal in 1975 that found serious anomalies in the observance of the terms of the Treaty. It is in this Maori literature becomes that indigenous scenario meaningful. Writers like Patricia Grace, Witi Ihimaera and Hone Tuwhare have responded to these colonial forms from 1970s onwards when the movement known as Maori Renaissance was "informed by the galvanising influence of a range of indigenous cultural movements aimed at reversing and depredations of land rights, language and culture" (Mullaney 59).

Aboriginal writings from the colonies came out to strike back, or to write back. It has many purposes. Recuperation of history and salvaging the past from prejudice is at the heart of this never ending, consistently questioning project. Frantz Fanon writes:

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There is a fact: White men consider themselves superior to black men.

There is another fact: Black men want to prove to white men at all costs, the richness of their thought, the equal value of their intellect. How do we extricate ourselves? (1967, 10)

The centrality of authentic experience and the rescuing of African past is what Frantz Fanon discusses in his seminal works. His chapter titled "Colonial War and Mental Disorders" delves deep into situations that caused the mental breakdown of both natives and colonists. He considers war as "the breeding ground for mental disorders" (182). The ascribing of negative identity as "born criminal" or "savage" to natives is what native writers want to contest by speaking from subjective, authorial identity positions. The sense of being wronged and to contest stereotyped presentation is at the heart of aboriginal writing.

Denying the original inhabitants their past was the first major blow that the European colonists levelled at/exerted on the natives. In America, for instance, Columbus's arrival was thought of as the beginning of the history of America and denying the Native Indians' existence of many centuries. Past is not something static or fixed but it is what impinges on the consciousness in the present and informs it. It keeps sailing to the present and if it is distorted/denied/overlooked by an external agency, it makes the present more miserable. The way native societies and people were depicted in the works of colonial writers is what native writers write against/to. Joseph's Conrad's (1857-1924) much discussed novel Heart of Darkness (1902) brands Africans, says Chinua Achebe, "as cannibals, having no speech, as a mass of whirling savages indulging in unspeakable rites" (qtd. in Innes 40). Daniel Defoe's (1660-1731) Robison Crusoe (1719), often considered as the first English novel, projects Friday as a savage to be taught, like Caliban in Shakespeare's (1564-1616) The Tempest, (1611) in the master's language. Despite being intruders on the islands, both Crusoe and Prospero take it as their right to enslave its inhabitants by virtue of being whites. Such binary projections of superiority and inferiority,

master and slave, civilised and savage was to justify to the world at large the primitivism of natives and hence to bring to them the so called light of civilisation. History or past of the natives was thus completely truncated or distorted to serve colonial ends. Indeed, what C.L. Innes speaks about Africa and its historical negation by the colonists is true to most colonial situations: "A recurring view of Africa was that it is a place which has no history, and that history does not become significant there until the European comes on to the scene" (8). This Eurocentric view was largely accountable for dismantling the native structures that provided strength to people in terms of their folk cultures. It is for this reason that Fanon stresses the need of not only reclaiming past but also its very pastiness: "Colonisation is not satisfied merely with holding the people in its grip and emptying the natives' brain of form and content. By a kind of perverted logic, it turns to the past of oppressed people and distorts, disfigures and destroys it" (1963, 149).

As soul is the essence of body and as it leaves, the body dies, similarly, culture of a nation/community/tribe is its essence without which it lapses into vacuum. Tribal literature is particularly rich as it is infused with the ethos of a race. Its spiritual aspects lend it more vivacity and make it more enriched. Painting the body for performing corroboree is one such aspect in aboriginal literatures especially of Australia. However, for the whites these cultural symbols came to symbolise inferiority of a savage race and hence everything native or aboriginal was thought to be a sign of backwardness. Pramod K. Nayar writes about the colonial project of cultural binaries of superiority and inferiority: "In the cultural realm, colonialism subverted established traditions by interfering with local customs, setting up norms of conduct, rejecting native beliefs as superstitious and finally, ensuring that the native himself believed all this through the medium of Western education" (2008, 39). We find native writers ruing the loss of their cultural forms as Derek Walcott (b. 1930) in one of his poems "Sea is History" laments "Where is your tribal memory?" and similarly the famous white Australian writer Judith Wright (1915-2000) writes in her poem "Bora Ring" about the disappearance of native cultural forms

as a result of clash with the colonial culture: "The song is gone/The tribal story lost in an alien tale/ The hunter is gone; the spear/Is splintered underground" (Wright Poemhunter.com).

However, despite the onslaught of colonialism, aborigines have been able to keep their cultural forms alive. The echoes of the reggae in the third world cinema that Stuart Hall talks about in his article "Cultural Identity and Diaspora" bears testimony to this. Similarly Australian clapstick dance (performed by a dancer adorned with leaves and paint) in Jack Davis's *The Dreamers*, or the projection of Aboriginal cultural forms like didgeridoo as a national symbol are a few examples that show the survival of the Aboriginal culture. The painting of the body by Aborigines during corroboree performance also connects them with their ancestors as they travel through the memory route to the Dreaming time.

Autobiographical writings from the colonised countries have become a powerful genre as it is the self which becomes the pivotal or starting point of reference. Speaking from the first person subjective position, autobiographies lend more validity to experience. Woven into the personal experience is also the communal that makes the whole community alive. It is for this reason that Olney considers African autobiography "less an individual phenomenon than a social one" (Olney viii). Autobiographical novels such as C.L.R. James's (1901-1989) Mint Alley (1936), George Lamming's (b. 1927) The Castle of My Skin (1953) explore themes of colonial racism and "mental colonisation" (Innes 61). Poetic autobiographies like Kamau Braithwaite's (b. 1930) X/Self (1987) and Derek Walcott's (b. 1930) Another Life (1973) also made significant contributions in voicing indigenous concerns. In Australia women's autobiographies in particular spearheaded the resisting voices of stolen generations. Margaret Tucker's (1904-1996) If Everyone Cared, (1977) Ella Simon's (1902-1981) Through My Eyes (1978); and Marnie Kennedy's (1919-1985) Born a Half-Caste (1985) are a few notable autobiographies. In 1987, Sally Morgan's (b. 1951) My Place "was a watershed publication in being the first Aboriginal authored best seller" (Toorn 36). Being a seminal autobiographical work, it vehemently records the sexual

exploitation of women during colonial rule and the pain of forced separation of a baby from its mother. The personal life-stories that followed My Place are Ruby Langford Ginibi's (1934-2011) Don't Take Your Love to Town (1988), Glenyse Ward's (b. 1949) Wandering Girl (1988), Ellie Gaffney's (b. 1932) Somebody Now (1989), Doris Pilkington's (1937-2014) Caprice: A Stockman's Daughter (1991), Mabel Edmund's No Regrets (1992) and Evelyn Crawford's Over My Tracks (1993). "In their different ways, these stories tell of endurance and extraordinary heroism" (Toorn 36).

Questions centring language and its institutionalisation remain at the forefront of aboriginal/native literatures across the globe. Terming the native languages as 'gibberish', the colonists projected their own languages as superior and hence a sense of humiliation that natives themselves felt in using their own languages. Gilbert and Tompkins write:

Indigenous children in Canada and Australia were frequently taken from their parents to be educated in colonisers' languages and customs. Prevented from speaking their own languages and severely punished if they disobeyed, these children often refused to pass on their languages to their own children in an attempt to prevent the repetition of such punishments. (1996, 164)

For this reason the use of native words becomes important in the documents written in colonial English. By not completely rejecting the English language and also by employing native words, the aboriginal writers serve the twin purpose of education and protest, though Thiongo rejected English altogether and wrote The Devil on the Cross (1982) in his native tongue Kikuyu.

As noted earlier, with the dawn of democracy or independence of natives from the colonial political sovereignty, native voices began to be heard. African societies began to gain independence from the fourth decade of the twentieth century onwards. Liberia. Ethiopia, Egypt, Libya, Sudan, and Morocco were free by 1960s. while Kenya got freedom in 1962 after the Mau Mau rebellion. Zimbabwe and Namibia got independence in 1980 and 1990 respectively. There is a significant connection between democracy and the flowering of native literatures as the former paved the way for the latter. This independence of these countries did not come like the Glorious/Bloodless Revolution of England in 1688 but in the aftermath of violence and bloodshed. It is at the same time that attempts were made by native intellectuals to free the native mind from willing mental capitulation and the web of European ideological apparatus spread by colonists. The politics of language in pedagogy is at the centre of Ngugi wa Thiongo's seminal work Decolonised the Mind: The Politics of Language in African Literature (1986), wherein he stresses the need of literature in English rather than English literature in school/university curriculum. Looking for a pre-colonial pristine culture, the native writers strive to focus on native language as it is the bearer of their community consciousness. The foregone discussion highlights thus the importance of studying aboriginal literatures and cultures.

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The research articles in this volume encompass a wide range of areas. Bruce E. Johansen's "The Challenge of Researching Aboriginals" relates the personal experiences of the author while researching on how the Native Americans were a formative influence on the founding fathers of the American constitution. Describing a period of forty years, the author speaks of why he decided to work on the topic, and also highlights the challenges he faced, ending the paper with an acknowledgement of the mutual give and take of communities all around the world. Melville Thomas in the well-researched article "Aboriginal Resistance to Imperialistic and Nationalistic Ideologies in the United States and Australia" shows how discourses of nationality and imperialism have deliberately ignored the rights of indigenous people, especially in North America and Australia, through various measures, including the doctrine of discovery. The paper points out such measures, while asserting the need for stronger international laws that would, at least now, give indigenous people their due.

Jerome. K. Jose in his article "Lived Reality' and the Love Songs of Muduvans: New Dimensions of Tribal Oratures" shows that there are several tribes in India, with their own distinct dialects. One such dialect is the 'Muduvan' dialect of the tribe on the Kerala-Tamil Nadu border. While anthropological studies have been undertaken on this dialect, the language has never been considered fit for literary study, because of the oral nature of the texts. This paper examines the love songs of the Muduvan dialect, arguing for its inclusion in the literary canon. "English Studies and Literatures from the Margins: A Study of Political Representations and Poetic Imagination of Kevin Gilbert and Wole Soyinka" by Ishmeet Kaur is a study of resistance in the works of the Australian aboriginal writer Kevin Gilbert and the Nigerian writer Wole Soyinka. While Gilbert's poems, using colloquial expressions, are rebellious and attempt to shame the oppressors, Soyinka uses Nigerian myth to express discontentment at the treatment of blacks. The paper shows how both writers subvert Standard English to put their message across.

Vinay Mohan Sharma in "Soyinka's Theatre of Ritual and the Yoruba Metaphysics" claims that one of the most effective ways of offering resistance is to go back to one's roots. In the case of Nigerian writer Wole Soyinka, a return to his native Yoruba culture makes his writing effective. The paper examines how Soyinka uses Yoruba myths in his plays to comment on social issues, issuing a strong message that the individual can stand strong against injustice. Subhash Verma in his article "Pre/Postcolonial Homogeneities in the First Nations of Canada and the Aboriginal Australians" shows that the process of colonisation by Britain led to the exploitation of natives and their resources in several nations. Two such regions that share a similar past and present are the First Nations of Canada and the Australian aborigines. The paper maps the similarities between the two, in terms of lost traditions, exploitation of lands, faulty assimilation policy, etc.

Vikram K. Koshal in "The Red in Black-and-White: The Native American and Momaday's House Made of Daw" gives an account of the history of North American native writing, speaking of both writing by whites as well as by native writers, N. Scott. Momaday's House Made of Dawn is selected for detailed study,

where the themes of alienation and search for home make the novel a poignant statement regarding the position of Native Americans. Priyanka Shivadas's "The Bone People of New Zealand: Identity Politics in the South Pacific" is a study of *The Bone People*, written by Keri Hulme, who has her roots in the Maori tribe of New Zealand. The paper, while focusing on how the novel is about white supremacy over the people of the Pacific, also argues that narrative models can remap areas fraught with racial discrimination.

Anand Mahanand's "Representation of Women in Tribal Literature" reflects that Adivasi, or tribal literature is as concerned with social issues, as mainstream literature. This paper tries to provide a background to Adivasi literature, and its stance on regard, the paper studies C.K. In this autobiographical writing The Mother Earth and Rose Kerketta's short story "Bhanwar" or "The "Whirlpool." Nanditha Rajaram Shastry's "'The Forest is My Wife': Self and the Other in Easterine Kire's When the River Sleeps" looks at how the increasing gap between the 'self' and the 'other' is bridged by the tribal way of life in Easterine Kire's When the River Sleeps. Shastry's article shows how the customs of the various tribal communities, along with the native's/ tribal's own beliefs, succeed in making even the supernatural a part of the self. Vanshika Sharma in "Identifying Home: Confronting Marginalisation in Temsula Ao's These Hills Called Home- Stories from a War Zone" highlights how the problems of the North-Eastern tribes of India are seldom spoken about, as they are all homogenised into a single unit. The insurgency affected the tribes of Nagaland, in the manner in which violence was used. The paper examines Temsula Ao's collection of short stories, These Hills Called Home- Stories from a War Zone, which deals with individuals, both in the centre as well as on the margins, whom war affected.

Bruce E. Johansen in his article "Native America's Radio Active Legacy" shows the various ways in which Native America is adversely affected due to 'civilisation. It chronicles a history of abuse in Canada and North America, where nuclear waste, radioactive waste, etc., are dumped by industries or nuclear plants, even without informing the citizens. KBS Krishna's "Whither

Civilisation?: The Tragedy of Homogenising Heterogeneity" is about how diversity, which is a natural phenomenon, is sought to be homogenised in the name of 'civilisation'. Using examples from texts from different parts of the world, the article seeks to understand how such homogenisation results in the loss of aboriginal culture. Further, the article concludes the volume by investigating if it is indeed possible to effect homogenisation without tragic results and if so by what means.

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