Endnotes

Introduction

1 The evidence is complex because it entails multiple disciplines such as: archeology, linguistics, art history, textual evidence (mostly oral), etc. Many scholars have provided arguments against the Aryan Invasion Theory on linguistic and archaeological grounds. Some have even proposed that the homeland of the Indo-European language family is India, a theory known as Out of India Theory.

2 (Malhotra 2016, 20)

3 For her background: 'Deepthi Rao'. LinkedIn. Retrieved on April 30, 2022 (https://www.linkedin.com/in/deepthirao05)

4 For her background: 'Deepthi Rao'. LinkedIn. Retrieved on April 30, 2022 (https://www.linkedin.com/in/deepthirao05)

5 (Shafer 2016)

6 (Kumar 2020)

7 (Hindu Students Council 2021)

8 See: 'General Assembly Unanimously Adopts Texts on Combating Islamophobia, Protecting Rangelands, Tackling Difficulties for Widows, Bicycles as Public Transportation'. United Nations. Retrieved on April 30, 2022 (https://www.un.org/press/en/2022/ga12408.doc.htm)

1. Dismantling the United States of America

1 The authors are indebted to the following two books for providing important insights that have helped in this chapter: 1) (Pluckrose and Lindsay 2020); 2) (Boghossian and Lindsay 2019).

2 Gramsci introduced the concept of cultural hegemony in the Marxist framework. It refers to the dominance of a diverse society by the ruling class who manipulate the culture of that society—the beliefs and explanations, perceptions, values, and mores—so that the worldview of the ruling class becomes the accepted cultural norm. Thus, the socio-economic and political status quo are misrepresented as being natural, inevitable, and beneficial to all classes, rather than being contrived for the exclusive benefit to the ruling class.

3 Gramsci proposed a *strategic distinction* between two kinds of war. The war of

position is an intellectual and cultural struggle to create a proletarian culture whose native value system counters the cultural hegemony of the bourgeoisie. Class distinctions are emphasized, changing the academic discourse and revolutionary organization. Then, in the war of manoeuver, popular and political support are mobilized for social revolution.

4 (Horkheimer, Critical Theory Selected Essays 1982, 244)

5 (Marcuse 1964, 8)

6 (Marcuse 1964)

7 (Butcher and Gonzalez 2020)

8 (Marcuse 1964, 256–57) and (Horkheimer and Adorno 2002, 106)

9 A big difference between the postmodernist deconstruction and Vedanta or Buddhism is that Vedanta and Buddhism also deconstruct binaries, the ego, the ideas we have of truth which are based on our own ego and our own language, etc. The difference being that Vedanta has a deeper absolute reality after one has transcended the relative reality. So, the relative reality of *Nama Rupa* is false, but that doesn't mean there is nothing else of a higher level, whereas in the case of Postmodernism, there is no higher reality, there is no ultimate, absolute reality, and once you deconstruct the reality as constructed by human power and social discourse, there is no other higher reality which would be of a universal kind. One ends up with identities, with their own separate realities, fighting each other and replacing one set of hegemony with another hegemony.

10 See: 'Critical Legal Theory'. Cornell Law School. Retrieved on April 30, 2022 (https://www.law.cornell.edu/wex/critical_legal_theory); (Kennedy and Klare 1984)

11 (Butcher and Gonzalez 2020)

12 (Delgado and Stefancic 2017, 3)

13 Richard Delgado and Jean Stefancic as cited in (Pluckrose and Lindsay 2020, 115)

14 (K. Crenshaw 1989)

15 (Collins 1990)

16 (Collins and Bilge 2016, 2)

17 (Beshara 2019)

18 (Malhotra, Open letter to Senator Cory Booker 2022a)

19 (NBC News@NBCNews 2021)

20 (Tamari 2009)

21 (Bowyer 2021)

22 (Abelove, Barale and Halperin 1993, 149) Gayle Rubin has taken an *extreme position on pedophilia*. She refers to pedophilia as one of these 'essentialized categories' and she adopts a position of moral relativism. She wants us to sympathize with pedophiles, writing: 'It is harder for most people to actually sympathize with boy-lovers. Like communists and homosexuals in the 1950s, boy-lovers are so stigmatized that it is difficult to find defenders for their civil liberties, let alone for their erotic orientation'. (Abelove, Barale and Halperin 1993, 147)

23 (Butler 1993, 2)

24 Dismantling Childhood Innocence: Julie C. Garlen explains: '...The construct of childhood innocence is a powerful social myth that structures children's social relations and culture and informs their rights and status in society. ... By examining the emotional investments and social tensions that have shaped concepts of childhood, which define who is entitled to innocence and what it means to "belong" with/in childhood, I reveal how *the doctrine of innocence has operated to maintain White supremacy*'. She considers childhood innocence as something unnatural and blames White supremacy. This innocence is built by parents through 'the magical childhood moments' they want the child to remember forever, such as 'bedtime songs and stories, lunch box love notes, kiss attacks, fort building, catching bugs and fireflies, bonfires, snowball fights, shoulder rides, gardening, cooking, organized adventures, and readily available art, music, and cultural experiences'. The parental goal is to implant memories of a happy childhood 'filled with music, laughter, exploration and sun'. Vacations, she says, are 'happiness anchors' that will later 'lighten the burdens of adulthood'. This parenting is fake, she maintains, because the goal is to 'Curate extraordinary adult memories for their children by creating a mythical period of wide-eyed wonder and magical moments'. Parents protect their children from natural things like sadness and stress by censoring topics such as sexuality, death, violence, and poverty. They want to regulate 'children's sexual agency' along with regulating race relations by producing a particular "childhood" that perpetuates White supremacy'. Garlen says that this amounts to the 'Conflation of innocence with conservative Christian values'. She feels that toys, games, video games and TV shows that depict violence are considered threats to innocence because they are a direct assault on Christian values. Gender fluidity is a threat to the parents' agenda to produce childhood innocence. The definition of innocence is incorrect as the need to protect children from adult knowledge of sexual desire, consumption, violence, and immorality. This presupposes that adult culture is corrupt and children need to be protected from it. Garlen challenges the adult-child binary. She explains the structural problem: 'The prioritization of childhood innocence reinforced the superiority of White elites who would serve as the models of the new Christian piety and emphasized the role of women as the primary nurturers of good Christian children. At a time when the morality of human enslavement could no longer be justified, the doctrine of childhood innocence also offered a sort of absolution by proxy for White Americans.' Her stated goal is to dismantle the traditional notions of innocence 'to advance conditions of social justice'. (All quotations from: (Garlen 2018)).

25 (Ramaswamy 2021, 216)

26 (Ramaswamy 2021, 231)

27 (Mitchell 2019)

28 (Mitchell 2019)

29 (Ramaswamy 2021, 258-59)

30 (Dougherty 2018)

31 An example of this was the encounter between a Yale professor, Nicholas Christakis, and students in a public courtyard in 2015. This video illustrates the dogmatic quality, and gang-like intimidation of free thinking: (Gravitahn 2017)
32 (Jay 1996, 69)
33 (Jolivette 2015, 5)
34 (Nanda 2001, 165)
35 (Riley 2008, 109)
36 See: 'Professor Argues Against "Truths and Knowledge"; Says Math=White Privilege'. *The New American*. Retrieved on April 30, 2022 (https://thenewamerican.com/professor-argues-against-truths-and-knowledge-says-math-white-privilege)
37 (Dougherty 2018)
38 Herbert Marcuse, 'Repressive Tolerance', in (Wolff, Moore, Jr. and Marcuse 1969, 110)
39 (Bell 1995, 893, 902) Also, quoted in (Butcher and Gonzalez 2020)
40 (DiAngelo, *White Fragility* 2011)
41 (Soave 2020). She used to charge fourteen thousand dollars per speech in 2020 and has now increased her fee to between thirty thousand to forty thousand dollars for speeches. According to media reports, she made '$728K a year' apart from the 7.5 percent in royalties from her best seller'. See: (Eberhart 2021)
42 (Sensoy and DiAngelo 2017, 20,23,24)
43 (Sensoy and DiAngelo 2017, 15)
44 (Sensoy and DiAngelo 2017, 84-85)
45 (DiAngelo 2011, 55-56). She gives a specific example of White fragility: 'A cogent example of White Fragility occurred recently during a workplace anti-racism training I co-facilitated with an inter-racial team. One of the white participants left the session and went back to her desk, upset at receiving (what appeared to the training team as) sensitive and diplomatic feedback on how some of her statements had impacted several people of color in the room. At break, several other white participants approached us (the trainers) and reported that they had talked to the woman at her desk, and she was very upset that her statements had been challenged. They wanted to alert us to the fact that she literally "might be having a heart-attack." Upon questioning from us, they clarified that they meant this literally. These co-workers were sincere in their fear that the young woman might actually physically die as a result of the feedback. Of course, when news of the woman's potentially fatal condition reached the rest of the participant group, all attention was immediately focused back onto her and away from the impact she had had on the people of color'. (DiAngelo 2011, 64-65)
46 (Applebaum 2010, 108)
47 (Applebaum 2010, 188-89)
48 (Bailey 2017, 880)
49 (Grey 2013)
50 (Perna 2018)
51 Ironically, the same logic is not applied when they attack the *Manusmriti*. To be

consistent, they must say that the *Manusmriti* cannot be assumed as a reliable source for understanding caste.

52 (Schofield 2021)
53 (Schofield 2021)
54 (Élysée 2020)
55 (Élysée 2020)
56 (wzgrl 2008, 00:02:08)
57 (Bonilla-Silva and Dietrich 2011)
58 "Our Constitution is color-blind, and neither knows nor tolerates classes among citizens. In respect of civil rights, all citizens are equal before the law" See: 'Plessy v. Ferguson, 163 U.S. 537 (1896)'. US Supreme Court. Retrieved on April 30, 2022 (https://supreme.justia.com/cases/federal/us/163/537). Also see: 'Parents Involved in Community Schools v. Seattle School Dist. No. 1 (6/28/07)'. US Supreme Court. Retrieved on April 30, 2022 (https://www.supremecourt.gov/opinions/06pdf/05-908.pdf)
59 (Apfelbaum, Norton and Sommers 2012)
60 See: 'Ibram X. Kendi defines what it means to be an antiracist'. Penguin. Retrieved on April 30, 2022 (https://www.penguin.co.uk/articles/2020/june/ibram-x-kendi-definition-of-antiracist.htm)
61 (VI-Control 2007)
62 (Bonilla-Silva and Dietrich 2011)
63 (Bonilla-Silva and Dietrich 2011)
64 (Coates 2015)
65 (Bonilla-Silva 2003)
66 (Dean 2013)
67 (Bonilla-Silva and Dietrich 2011)
68 (Bonilla-Silva and Dietrich 2011)
69 (Bonilla-Silva and Dietrich 2011)
70 (Crenshaw, et al. 2019, 128)
71 (Crenshaw, et al. 2019, 128)
72 (Ferlazzo, 2019)
73 'CRT questions the very foundations of liberalism, including equality theory, legal reasoning, Enlightenment rationalism, and neutral principles of constitutional law'. (Delgado and Stefancic 2017, 3)
74 (Ramaswamy 2021)
75 (Annenberg Public Policy Center 2021)
76 Address by Abraham Lincoln before the Young Men's Lyceum of Springfield, Illinois, as it appeared in the *Sangamo Journal*, February 3, 1838. Reprinted from (Basler 1953). See also (The Journal of the Abraham Lincoln Association 1984).
77 (Koop 2020)
78 See: 'About SHRM'. SHRM. Retrieved on April 30, 2022 (https://www.shrm.org/about-shrm/pages/default.aspx)
79 (DiAngelo, *White Fragility* 2018, xiv)

80 (Kendi 2019, 163)
81 (Ramaswamy 2021, 2)
82 (Ramaswamy 2021, 3)
83 (Ramaswamy 2021, 135)
84 (Ramaswamy 2021, 139)
85 (Ramaswamy 2021, 143)
86 (Ramaswamy 2021, 19)

2. The Americanization of Caste

1 (Malhotra and Neelakandan 2011, 11)
2 (Wilkerson 2020)
3 (Wilkerson 2020, 273)
4 (The New York Public Library 2020)
5 See: 'Isabel Wilkerson'. Isabel Wilkerson. Retrieved on February 15, 2022 (https://www.isabelwilkerson.com)
6 See: 'Caste and the Durban conference'. Ministry of External Affairs: Government of India. Retrieved on February 15, 2022 (https://www.mea.gov.in/articles-in-indian-media.htm?dtl/18479/Caste+and+the+Durban+conference)
7 (Wilkerson 2020, 176)
8 (Wilkerson 2020, 17)
9 (Wilkerson 2020, 24)
10 (Wilkerson 2020, 18)
11 (Wilkerson 2020, 19)
12 (Wilkerson 2020, 19)
13 (Wilkerson 2020, 26)
14 (Wilkerson 2020, 29)
15 (Wilkerson 2020, 25)
16 (Wilkerson 2020, 29)
17 (Wilkerson 2020, 74)
18 (Wilkerson 2020, 104)
19 (Wilkerson 2020, 268)
20 See: 'Africans in India: From Slaves to Generals and Rulers'. New York Public Library. Retrieved on February 15, 2022 (https://www.nypl.org/blog/2013/01/31/africans-india-slaves-generals-and-rulers). Also see: 'Indian Ocean and Middle Eastern Slave Trades'. Oxford Bibliographies. Retrieved on February 15, 2022 (https://www.oxfordbibliographies.com/view/document/obo-9780199846733/obo-9780199846733-0051.xml) and 'The story of East Africa's role in the transatlantic slave trade'. *The Conversation*. Retrieved on February 15, 2022 (https://theconversation.com/the-story-of-east-africas-role-in-the-transatlantic-slave-trade-43194)
21 (Levi 2002) When I first saw the PhD dissertation of Scott Levi being done at

University of Wisconsin-Madison, I did not notice any mention about slavery in India before the Muslims. The dissertation was about slavery during Islam in India, and it was based on archives of that period available in the former USSR. But then a warning was issued by academic scholars that his work would play into the hands of "Hindu activists" like me. The published version was adapted with a preamble saying that slavery pre-dates Islam in India because it is mentioned in the Vedic literature. However, that claim is incorrect because it is based on mistranslating the Vedic Sanskrit term "dasu" as "slave", which is an incorrect translation.

22 See: 'Caste Among Indian Muslims Is a Real Issue. So Why Deny Them Reservation?' *The Wire*. Retrieved on February 15, 2022 (https://thewire.in/caste/caste-among-indian-muslims-real-why-deny-reservation) and also 'Islam And Caste Inequality Among Indian Muslims'. Indian Dalit Muslims' Voice. Retrieved on February 15, 2022 (https://dalitmuslims.wordpress.com/2009/07/13/islam-and-caste-inequality-among-indian-muslims)

23 See: 'Debates on Muslim Caste in North India and Pakistan: from colonial ethnography to pasmanda mobilization'. *HAL Open Science*. Retrieved on February 15, 2022 (https://hal.archives-ouvertes.fr/hal-02697381) and also 'India's Muslim community under a churn: 85% backward Pasmandas up against 15% Ashrafs'. *The Print*. Retrieved on February 15, 2022 (https://theprint.in/opinion/indias-muslim-community-under-a-churn-85-backward-pasmandas-up-against-15-ashrafs/234599)

24 Spanish caste system: 'Spanish Caste System'. Nuestra Verdad Publicación. Retrieved on February 15, 2022 (https://www.nuestraverdad.com/post/spanish-caste-system); Latin American caste system: 'Figure 1 - uploaded by Hector Y Adames'. ResearchGate. Retrieved on February 15, 2022 (https://www.researchgate.net/figure/Latin-American-Social-Caste-Pyramid-LASCP_fig1_262107699); Pakistan's caste system: (Barth 1956); China's urban caste system: (Tang and Yang 2008); Japan's caste system: "Japan's hidden caste of untouchables." *BBC* News. Retrieved on February 15, 2022 (https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-34615972).

25 (Wilkerson 2020, 76)

26 See, for example, Cox's 1948 book that caste is not race. 'Caste, Class, and Race'. Global Social Theory. Retrieved on February 15, 2022 (https://globalsocialtheory.org/concepts/caste-class-and-race)

27 (Wilkerson 2020, 106)

3. Indian Americans Equated With White Racists

1 (Equality Labs 2018a)

2 (North Star Fund 2017)

3 See: 'Dr. T.S.S. Rajan MD'. *U.S. News*. Retrieved on April 30, 2022 (https://health.usnews.com/doctors/tss-rajan-1225010)

4 See: 'Thenmozhi Soundararajan'. Virginia Tech. Retrieved on April 30, 2022

(https://ccc.ipg.vt.edu/Programs/forum/Thenmozhi.html)

5 (Equality Labs 2018a)

6 (Equality Labs 2018b). See p.39 of the Full Report.

7 (Badrinathan, et al. 2021)

8 (Badrinathan, et al. 2021)

9 (Metcalf and Rolfe 2010)

10 (Equality Labs 2018b)

11 See: 'A Historic Congressional Hearing on Caste in the US'. *The Wire*. Retrieved on February 15, 2022 (https://thewire.in/caste/a-historic-congressional-hearing-on-caste-in-the-us)

12 (R. Rao 2021)

13 See: 'Who We Invest In'. New Media Ventures. Retrieved on February 15, 2022 (https://www.newmediaventures.org/investments). See also: 'Equality Labs has 1 Investor, New Media Ventures'. *Crunchbase*. Retrieved on February 15, 2022 (https://www.crunchbase.com/search/principal.investors/field/organizations/num_investors/equality-labs). And: https://mobile.twitter.com/by2kaafi/status/1247926029319987206. This tweet, which has been deleted, stated: 'New Media Ventures (NMV) is one Angel Investor in EqualityLabs. NMV has many investors of which one name is recognizable – Omidyar Network'.

14 (Equality Labs 2018b)

15 See: 'Thenmozhi Soundararajan'. Atlantic Fellows. Retrieved on April 30, 2022 (https://racialequity.atlanticfellows.org/fellow/thenmozhi-soundararajan); Also see: 'The Atlantic Institute'. *Rhodes Trust*. Retrieved on April 30, 2022 (https://www.rhodeshouse.ox.ac.uk/about/the-atlantic-institute)

16 See: 'Describing a system of oppression is not a slur'. *Scroll.in*. Retrieved on February 15, 2022 (https://scroll.in/article/902949/describing-a-system-of-oppression-is-not-a-slur-creator-of-smash-brahmanical-patriarchy-poster)

17 See: 'HAF Legal Team Writes to CDE to Investigate Assault Allegations'. HAF. Retrieved on February 15, 2022 (https://www.hinduamerican.org/press/haf-legal-team-writes-cde-investigate-assault-allegations)

18 See: 'Why We Must End Caste Oppression'. *Reappropriate*. Retrieved on February 15, 2022 (http://reappropriate.co/2018/05/why-we-must-end-caste-oppression/)

19 See: '2020.06.30 DFEH v. Cisco Systems, Et Al. Civil Complaint – FILED'. *Scribd*. Retrieved on February 15, 2022 (https://www.scribd.com/document/467774912/2020-06-30-DFEH-v-Cisco-Systems-Et-Al-Civil-Complaint-FILED)

20 (Rising Up With Sonali 2020). Timestamp: 8:01

21 (Rising Up With Sonali 2020). Timestamp: 9:05-9:41

22 See: 'Protecting Our People'. Cisco. Retrieved on February 15, 2022 (https://blogs.cisco.com/news/protecting-our-people). The case was dismissed in October 2020. But Cisco's defense included statements like the law doesn't say you can't discriminate based on caste!

See: 'California dept dismisses employee harassment case against Cisco'. *The Times*

of India. Retrieved on February 15, 2022 (https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/business/india-business/california-dept-dismisses-employee-harassment-case-against-cisco/articleshow/78760768.cms)

23 (Mukherji 2021)

24 See: 'India's engineers have thrived in Silicon Valley. So has its caste system'. *The Washington Post*. Retrieved on February 15, 2022 (https://www.washingtonpost.com/technology/2020/10/27/indian-caste-bias-silicon-valley/)

25 BAPS stands for Bochasanwasi Akshar Purushottam Swaminarayan Sanstha.

26 See: 'Why Is Caste Inequality Still Legal in America?' *The New York Times*. Retrieved on February 15, 2022 (https://www.nytimes.com/2021/05/25/opinion/caste-discrimination-us-federal-protection.html)

27 See: 'American Colleges as beginning to recognize caste as a protected class'. *Quartz India*. Retrieved on February 15, 2022 (https://qz.com/india/2081765/us-universities-like-uc-davis-ban-indian-caste-system-on-campus/)

28 See: 'Companies Have Promised $35 Billion Toward Racial Equity. Where Is the Money Going?' *The Wall Street Journal*. Retrieved on February 15, 2022 (https://www.wsj.com/articles/companies-have-promised-billions-toward-racial-equity-where-is-the-money-going-11608570864)

29 See: 'The Unfinished Business of Office Diversity Training'. *The Wall Street Journal*. Retrieved on February 15, 2022 (https://www.wsj.com/articles/the-unfinished-business-of-office-diversity-training-11608512401)

30 See: 'Diversity Has Become a Booming Business. So Where Are the Results?' *Time*. Retrieved on February 15, 2022 (https://time.com/5696943/diversity-business)

31 See: 'EEO Data Collections'. The U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. Retrieved on February 15, 2022 (https://www.eeoc.gov/employers/eeo-data-collections)

32 See: 'Statement on the Interpretation of Caste Within the Brandeis Nondiscrimination Policy'. Brandeis University. Retrieved on February 15, 2022 (https://www.brandeis.edu/human-resources/policies/discrimination/caste-statement.html)

33 See: 'UC Davis quietly added caste to its antidiscrimination policy. Will it cause others to do the same?' *San Francisco Chronicle*. Retrieved on February 15, 2022 (https://www.sfchronicle.com/california/article/UC-Davis-quietly-added-caste-to-its-16626845.php). Also see: 'California University Board unanimously votes to recognise protection from caste discrimination'. *The Hindu*. Retrieved on February 15, 2022 (https://www.thehindu.com/news/international/california-varsity-board-unanimously-votes-to-recognise-protection-from-caste-discrimination/article38328354.ece)

34 For Colby College, see: 'Maine's Colby College bans discrimination based on caste'. *AP*. Retrieved on February 15, 2022 (https://apnews.com/article/asia-education-discrimination-maine-south-asia-a4934667f35e70733e4986474a5021b0)

35 (Tejeda and Chahal 2021)

36 (Tejeda and Chahal 2021)

37 (Tejeda and Chahal 2021)
38 (Tejeda and Chahal 2021)
39 (Tejeda and Chahal 2021)
40 (R. Rao 2021)
41 (County of Santa Clara 2020)
42 (County of Santa Clara 2020)
43 See: 'Minutes'. County of Santa Clara Human Rights Commission. Retrieved on February 15, 2022 (http://sccgov.iqm2.com/Citizens/FileOpen.aspx?Type=12&ID=8723&Inline=True)
44 (Diya TV 2021). Timestamp: 05:28:20. The speaker identified herself as Nikhila Lakshmana.
45 (Ambedkar King Study Circle USA 2021)
46 See: 'Subject: Caste Based Discrimination in the United States'. County of Santa Clara. Retrieved on February 15, 2022 (http://sccgov.iqm2.com/Citizens/FileOpen.aspx?Type=4&ID=213125)
47 (Borgonjon 2017)
48 (Equality Labs 2020)
49 See: 'A Muslim student levelled false allegations against 3 professors at Dartmouth College in the USA just because they are Hindus: Details'. *OpIndia*. Retrieved on February 15, 2022 (https://www.opindia.com/2021/10/muslim-student-made-false-allegations-against-hindu-professors-in-usa)
50 (End Forced Arbitration 2022). Timestamp: 30:43-32:11.
51 (King 2018)

4. Attacking Meritocracy at the Indian Institutes of Technology

1 See: 'South Asia Without Borders Seminar Series'. The Lakshmi Mittal and Family South Asia Institute at Harvard University. Retrieved on April 30, 2022 (https://mittalsouthasiainstitute.harvard.edu/event/south-asia-without-borders-seminar-series)
2 (Subramanian 2019, 23)
3 (Weber 1905)
4 See: 'Christianity's Meritocratic Dilemma: Reflections on Sandel's The Tyranny of Merit'. *Providence Magazine*. Retrieved on February 15, 2022 (https://providencemag.com/2021/11/christianitys-meritocratic-dilemma-reflections-michael-sandel-tyranny-of-merit/)
5 (Sandel 2020)
6 See: 'Michael Sandel: "The populist backlash has been a revolt against the tyranny of merit"'. *The Guardian*. Retrieved on February 15, 2022 (https://www.theguardian.com/books/2020/sep/06/michael-sandel-the-populist-backlash-has-been-a-revolt-against-the-tyranny-of-merit)

7 (Subramanian 2019, 27)
8 (Subramanian 2019, 28)
9 (Subramanian 2019, 31)
10 Unlike Britain, the mental and manual aspects of technical work are integrated in Germany, and students are expected to do intellectual, conceptual, abstract work along with physical tasks like carpentry and metal work. German engineering, in fact, prioritizes technique over theory. The engineer is first and foremost trained as a skilled technician.
11 (Subramanian 2019, 26)
12 (Malhotra, The Peer-Review Cartel 2022b)
13 This is a slightly edited version from the article: (Malhotra 2022b)
14 (Sambara 2021)
15 Larry Summers, president of Harvard, became controversial for saying that men and women had different kinds of aptitude. See: 'Why women are poor at science, by Harvard president'. *The Guardian*. Retrieved on February 15, 2022 (https://www.theguardian.com/science/2005/jan/18/educationsgendergap.genderissues)
16 (Sindwani 2020)
17 (Subramanian 2019, 260)
18 (Subramanian 2019, 268)
19 (Subramanian 2019, 293)
20 (Subramanian 2019, 299)
21 (Sambara 2021)
22 (Ambedkar King Study Circle USA 2020). Timestamps: 03:54 and 9:54.
23 (Sambara 2021)
24 (Ambedkar King Study Circle USA 2020). Timestamp: 20:28.
25 (Ambedkar International Center (AIC) 2021)
26 (Ambedkar International Center (AIC) 2021)
27 (Ambedkar International Center (AIC) 2021)
28 (Sambara 2021)
29 (Subramanian 2019, 304)
30 (Subramanian 2019, 305)
31 (Kodaikanal International School 2021). Timestamp: 00:00:43-00:00:51.
32 (Subramanian 2019, 314)
33 (Subramanian 2019, 303)
34 Subramanian shows her true colors when she starts supporting the Kashmir separatists, Maqbool Bhatt and Afzal Guru, who were charged for the 2001 terrorist attack on the Indian Parliament. It is interesting that her criticism is echoed in the reports by the US Commission on International Religious Freedom labeling India as a Country of Concern because it allegedly suppresses religious freedom. Positioning herself with the USCIRF, she accuses Modi of violent attacks on Muslims and Dalits, the arrest of civil and human rights activists, and the killing of journalists. She does not believe that such things ever happened under previous governments. She also criticizes the Modi government for celebrating Sanskrit and establishing

separate facilities for vegetarians and non-vegetarians, as though that is something contrary to lower caste interests.

35 (Subramanian 2019, 321)
36 (Sambara 2021)
37 (Sambara 2021)
38 (Higgins 2021)

5. The Rise of the Afro-Dalits

1 See: 'Suraj Yengde - Perspectives on Race and Caste in the U.S. and India Speaker Series on Global Racism'. Loyola University Chicago. Retrieved on February 15, 2022 (https://www.luc.edu/asianstudies/events)
2 See: 'As we debate Floyd and systemic prejudice, the power and need for such a moral force couldn't be more relevant today'. *The Indian Express*. Retrieved on February 15, 2022 (https://indianexpress.com/article/opinion/columns/george-floyd-us-india-dalit-advisasi-6479505)
3 (Leung 2021)
4 (*The Wire* 2021). Timestamp: 30:57.
5 See: 'Caste among the Indian Diaspora in Africa'. *Economic & Political Weekly*. Retrieved on February 15, 2022 (https://www.epw.in/journal/2015/37/notes/caste-among-indian-diaspora-africa.html)
6 (Yengde 2019)
7 (D'Souza 2020). Timestamp: 19:36-21:20.
8 (Hindu American Foundation 2019). Timestamp: 01:19:26.
9 (Hindu American Foundation 2019). Timestamp: 01:14:05.
10 (Hindu American Foundation 2019). Timestamp: 01:07:29.
11 (Yengde 2021)
12 (Samyak Chetna 2021). Timestamp: 24:19.
13 (Samyak Chetna 2021). Timestamp: 26:25.
14 (Samyak Chetna 2021)
15 (Samyak Chetna 2021). Timestamp: 07:08.
16 (Bangalore International Centre 2019). Timestamp: 01:07:29.
17 (JharGov TV 2021)
18 See: 'Adivasis were never Hindus, they never will be: Jharkhand CM'. *The Indian Express*. Retrieved on February 15, 2022 (https://indianexpress.com/article/india/adivasis-were-never-hindus-they-never-will-be-jharkhand-cm-7199096)
19 (Samyak Chetna 2021). Timestamp: 35:58
20 See: 'This ugly head dumpster—Shankaracharya is responsible for crimes such as this. The terrorists caste terrorism in India. Yet to come across proud bamans and Hindus who promote social harmony via inter caste marriages. The youngsters need to make a choice'. Twitter. Retrieved on February 15, 2022 (https://twitter.com/surajyengde/status/1368201526028697601)

21 (Samyak Chetna 2021). Timestamp: 36:22.
22 (Hindu American Foundation 2019). Timestamp: 01:20:23.
23 (Samyak Chetna 2021). Timestamp: 43:06.
24 (Samyak Chetna 2021). Timestamp: 43:48.
25 (Samyak Chetna 2021). Timestamp: 45:14.
26 (Samyak Chetna 2021). Timestamp: 37:13.
27 (Samyak Chetna 2021). Timestamp: 35:00.
28 (Samyak Chetna 2021). Timestamp: 40:51.
29 (*The Wire* 2021). Timestamp: 06:05.
30 (*The Wire* 2021). Timestamp: 03:50.
31 (*The Wire* 2021). Timestamp: 21:30.
32 (*The Wire* 2021). Timestamp: 25:50.
33 (*The Wire* 2021). Timestamp: 07:25.
34 (*The Wire* 2021). Timestamp: 13:55.
35 (Bangalore International Centre 2019). Timestamp: 09:18.
36 (*The Wire* 2021). Timestamp: 20:00.
37 (Bangalore International Centre 2019). Timestamp: 22:27.
38 (Bangalore International Centre 2019). Timestamp: 09:00.
39 (D'Souza 2020). Timestamp: 26:30.
40 (D'Souza 2020). Timestamp: 26:50.
41 (Asoka TV Channel 2017). Timestamp: 21:20.
42 (D'Souza 2020). Timestamp: 36:24.
43 (Bangalore International Centre 2019). Timestamp: 01:22:00.
44 (Bangalore International Centre 2019). Timestamp: 01:22:05.
45 (Bangalore International Centre 2019). Timestamp: 01:28:01.
46 (D'Souza 2020). Timestamp: 45:40.
47 (*The Wire* 2021). Timestamp: 09:40.
48 (*The Wire* 2021). Timestamp: 16:30.
49 (Rodrigues 2020)
50 (Bangalore International Centre 2019). Timestamp: 01:20:25.
51 (Bangalore International Centre 2019). Timestamp: 01:25:20.
52 (Asoka TV Channel 2017). Timestamp: 42:33.
53 (Bangalore International Centre 2019). Timestamp: 00:39:00.
54 See: 'Send 10,000 Dalit students every semester to foreign universities: Suraj Milind Yengde'. *The Economic Times*. August 14, 2016. Retrieved on February 15, 2022 (https://economictimes.indiatimes.com/opinion/interviews/send-10000-dalit-students-every-semester-to-foreign-universities-suraj-milind-yengde/articleshow/53690113.cms)
55 See: 'Reservation is the most important state policy we have and we can't give up on that'. *The Kathmandu Post*. Retrieved on February 15, 2022 (https://kathmandupost.com/interviews/2019/07/09/reservation-is-the-most-important-state-policy-we-have-and-we-can-t-give-up-on-that)
56 (Hindu American Foundation 2019). Timestamp: 01:25:10.

57 See: 'RSS = Brahmin supremacy. AAP = Bania supremacy. Welcome to the Brahmin-Bania Raj'. Twitter. Retrieved on April 30, 2022 (https://twitter.com/surajyengde/status/1506530077412151300)
58 (Najar 2017)
59 (Rodrigues 2020)
60 See: 'The Brahmin, Bania, Kshatriya caste academics should invest in researching about their caste and subcastes. Stop anthropologizing Dalits like museum objects and pass disastrous judgments on their lives. Need greater scrutiny of Dalit studies done by non-Dalits'. Twitter. Retrieved on February 15, 2022 (https://twitter.com/surajyengde/status/1377266791513198598)
61 (D'Souza 2020). Timestamp: 08:42.
62 (D'Souza 2020). Timestamp: 10:39.
63 (Yengde 2020). Timestamp: 00:05:31.
64 (Yengde 2020). Timestamp: 00:49:35.
65 (Yengde 2020). Timestamp: 00:57:42.
66 (Yengde 2020). Timestamp: 00:49:20.
67 (Children Of Mahad 2020)
68 (Yengde 2020). Timestamp: 00:21:54.
69 (Yengde 2020). Timestamp: 00:11:46.
70 (Yengde 2020). Timestamp: 00:11:05.
71 (Yengde 2020). Timestamp: 00:16:03.
72 (Yengde 2020). Timestamp: 00:47:05.
73 (Yengde 2020). Timestamp: 00:19:00-00:20:30.
74 (Yengde 2020). Timestamp: 00:07:40.
75 (Yengde 2020). Timestamp: 00:14:40.
76 (Yengde 2020). Timestamp: 00:21:17.
77 (Children Of Mahad 2020)
78 (Yengde 2020). Timestamp: 00:55:48.
79 (Yengde 2020). Timestamp: 01:04:30.
80 (Yengde 2020). Timestamp: 00:17:11.
81 (Yengde 2020). Timestamp: 00:24:42.
82 (The Fletcher School 2021). Timestamp: 49:20.
83 See: 'Parents are the first casteist teachers. They are responsible for damaging their child's mind. When youngsters ask me how to get rid of caste I tell them to disown their casteist parents. If they can do it then we can talk about next steps'. Twitter. Retrieved on February 15, 2022 (https://twitter.com/surajyengde/status/1366737360646524930)
84 (D'Souza 2020). Timestamp: 35:00.
85 (Yengde 2020)
86 (Yengde 2020). Timestamp: 00:36:38.
87 (Yengde 2020). Timestamp: 00:06:50.
88 (Children Of Mahad 2020)
89 (Yengde 2020). Timestamp: 00:59:28.

90 (Yengde 2020). Timestamp: 00:38:40.
91 (Yengde 2020). Timestamp: 00:46:30.
92 (Hindu American Foundation 2019). Timestamp: 00:06:35.
93 (Yengde 2021)
94 (The Lakshmi Mittal and Family South Asia Institute at Harvard University 2018a)
95 (The Lakshmi Mittal and Family South Asia Institute at Harvard University 2018a)
96 (The Lakshmi Mittal and Family South Asia Institute at Harvard University 2018a)
97 (Yengde 2021)
98 (Yengde 2021)
99 (The Fletcher School 2021). Timestamp: 54:00-56:30.
100 (The Lakshmi Mittal and Family South Asia Institute at Harvard University 2018a)
101 (Yengde 2019)
102 (Yengde 2019)
103 (Yengde 2019)
104 (Yengde 2021)
105 (The Lakshmi Mittal and Family South Asia Institute at Harvard University 2018a)
106 (The Lakshmi Mittal and Family South Asia Institute at Harvard University 2018a)
107 (Leung 2021)
108 (The Fletcher School 2021). Timestamp: 38:57.
109 See: 'Chetna Association of Canada'. chetna.ca. Retrieved on February 15, 2022 (https://chetna.ca)
110 (Outlook Web Desk 2021)
111 (Outlook Web Desk 2021)

6. A Response: History of Indian Social Organization

1 (Ahuja 1993, 287)
2 (Ahuja 1993, 286)
3 (Ahuja 1993, 287)
4 (Ahuja 1993, 288)
5 (Ahuja 1993, 288)
6 (Ahuja 1993, 292)
7 Examples are Kavasa of *Rig Veda* and Mahidasa of *Aitreya Aranyaka*.
8 (Majumdar 2001, 546-47)
9 (Aiyangar 1934, 55)
10 (Law 1943, 350)
11 (Jaiswal 1998, 15)
12 (R. S. Sharma 1998, 58)
13 (Majumdar 2001, 548)
14 (U. Singh 2013, 168-69)
15 (Eraly 2007, 166)
16 (Eraly 2007, 166)

17 (Ambedkar, Who were the Shudras? 1979, 22)
18 Sharma, R.S. *Sudras in Ancient India,* p. 29, Motilal Banarsidass, New Delhi,1958 as cited in (A. Sharma 2000, 142)
19 See: 'The *Brihadaranyaka Upanishad* | Swami Krishnananda'. Retrieved on February 15, 2022 (https://www.swami-krishnananda.org/brdup/Brihadaranyaka_Upanishad.pdf p. 39)
20 (A. Sharma 1996)
21 *Rg Veda* V 60.5. Translated by (Pandurangi 1999, 3)
22 (Radhakrishnan 1953)
23 (A. Sharma 2000, 136)
24 As quoted in: (A. Sharma 2000, 165)
25 (Gupta 2000, 190)
26 (Saha 2020)
27 (Saha 2020)
28 For many examples, see: (A. Sharma 2000, 132-80).
29 *Apasthambha dharmasutra* may have supported untouchability, but it is rarely read by practicing Hindus. It seems to be read mainly by those looking for ways to attack Hinduism. Most Hindus have never heard of it. And many other better known *dharmashastras* differed, 'Badari espoused the cause of the shudras and propounded the view that all (including shudras) were entitled to perform Vedic sacrifices.' See: '*History of Dharmashastra (Ancient and Medieval Religions and Civil Law in India). Volumes I-V'.* Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Pune. Retrieved on February 15, 2022 (https://indianculture.gov.in/indian-culture-repository?search_api_fulltext=History%20of%20Dharmasastra&f%5B0%5D=parent_library_ic_repository%3AArchaeological%20Survey%20of%20India). And Ambedkar mentions that though the *Dharmashastras* says in one place that a Shudra is not entitled to upanayana, the text *Samskara Ganapti* explicitly declares Shudras to be eligible for it. He also shows that Jaimini, the author of *Purva Mimamsa*, said that Shudras could perform Vedic rites. Ambedkar cites *Bharadwaja Srauta Sutra* (v. 28) and *Katyayana Srauta Sutra* (1 & 5) to show the eligibility of shudras to perform Vedic rites. See: 'Shudras and the Counter Revolution' in (Ambedkar, Writings and Speeches. Vol. 3 1989a, 423)
30 (Olivelle 2005, 124)
31 (Olivelle 2005, 185)
32 (Olivelle 2000, 359)
33 (Chattopadhyaya 2014, 95)
34 (Olivelle 2000, 361)
35 (Ahmad 1988, 236)
36 (Olivelle 2000, 69)
37 (Olivelle 2005, 103)
38 (Kane 1941, 161)
39 (Kane 1941, 170)
40 (Kane 1941, 170)

41 (Kane 1941, 168)

42 (Kane 1941, 173-76). Similarly, the *Smrtyarthasara* states that no problem occurs upon physical contact on public roads leading to a market, in religious processions, in temples, during festivals, in sacrifices, at sacred places, in calamities or invasions of the country, on the banks of large sheets of water, in the presence of great persons, or when there is a fire or other calamity.

43 Also, *Apastambha Dharmasutra* says that Shudras may cook food for the masters of the higher castes. (Datta 1944, 27)

44 (R. N. Sharma 1977, 55)

45 *Rig Veda* (X.45.6). These included four from each varna and a fifth who was outside the varnas, i.e., a Dalit. Yaska in his Nirukta (VI.7) says this. See (Mookerji 1969, 52).

46 (R. S. Sharma 1958, 63)

47 (R. S. Sharma 1958, 68)

48 (McClish and Olivelle 2012, lxiv)

49 (Datta 1944, 30)

50 For instance, the *Baijavapa Grhya Sutra* says that seven samskaras are allowed to the Shudra from *garbhadhana* to *caula*. The view of lawgiver Apararka appears to be that the eight samskaras from garbhadhana to caula were meant for all the varnas, including the Shudras. According to the *Madanaratna*, *Rupanarayana* and the *bhashya* of Harihara as quoted in the *Nirnayasindhu*, the Shudras were entitled to perform six samskaras and the five daily mahayajnas. (Kane, History of Dharmashastra 1941, 198)

51 See: 'Lingayat SCs, OBCs may not welcome minority tag'. *The New Indian Express*. Retrieved on February 15, 2022 (https://www.newindianexpress.com/states/karnataka/2018/mar/23/lingayat-scs-obcs-may-not-welcome-minority-tag-1791248.html)

52 For example: In the *Sigala Jataka*, Buddha denounces a man from a low varna for wanting the hand of a Kshatriya girl. In the *Simhakotthuka Jataka*, a monk of inferior birth wants to recite the religious texts monks born in higher varnas were reciting, but Buddha rebukes him saying that the monks born in superior varnas were like lions while he was like the offspring of a jackal. He is likened with the ass who wants to acquire the status of a lion by wearing the lion-skin. (Goyal 1987, 283)

Also, in the *Kannakathalasutta* Buddha says, 'There are these four varnas – Kshatriyas, Brahmins, Vaishyas and Shudras, of these four varnas, two – the Kshatriyas and the Brahmins are given precedence in salutation, homage and obeisance'. (Datta 1944, 177)

53 (Goyal 1987, 285)

54 For example: Buddhist masters like Sariputra, Maudgalyayana, and Mahakashyap were all Brahmins. In the later Buddhist order, the intellectual stalwarts in philosophy, logic, ethics, poetry and drama were almost entirely from the Brahmin varna. Buddhist exemplars like Ashvaghosha, Nagarjuna, Aryadeva, Asanga, Vasubandhu,

Dignaga, Dharmakirti, and Dharmottara were born in Brahmin families, educated in Vedic lore, and reared in the orthodox Vedic tradition. They were intellectual giants that produced erudite works on dialectics and logic that established many of the core tenets of Buddhist philosophy. (Goyal 1987, 271-72)

55 (Goyal 1987, 392)
56 (Goyal 1987, 392)
57 (Goyal 1987, 419)
58 (Goyal 1987, 392)
59 (Goyal 1987, 397)
60 (Siddiqui 2014, 80)
61 (Siddiqui 2014, 80)
62 (Kapur 2010, 195)
63 (Biswas 2016)
64 (Biswas 2016)
65 (Biswas 2016)
66 (Biswas 2016)
67 (EWTN Global Catholic Network 2003)
68 See: 'Maneesha Panchakam". Chinmaya Mission. Retrieved on February 15, 2022 (https://www.v0.chinfo.org/images/userupload/Reflections/05_Manisha_Panchakam.pdf) and "manIShApanchakam". Sanskrit Documents. Retrieved on February 15, 2022 (https://sanskritdocuments.org/sites/snsastri/Manishapanchakam.pdf)
69 See: 'Sanskritisation' in (Srinivas 1971)
70 For example, one of the earliest Vedic texts, *Satapatha Brahmana,* refers to a Shudra king performing an important Vedic *yajna.* (Eggeling 1900, 397); Satapatha Brahmana (XIII.5.4.6), (Olivelle 2000, 131)
71 (Ambedkar, Who were the Shudras? 1979, 114)
72 (Roy 1923, 137)
73 (Ambedkar 1979, 119-22)
74 (R. S. Sharma 1958, 241)
75 See (Jayaswal 1934, 3) and (Jayaswal 1934, 45)
76 (Majumdar, *History of Ancient Bengal* 1971, 99)
77 See (Ray 2003, 98)
78 (A. Sharma 2015)
79 (R. S. Sharma 1958, 54)
80 (R. S. Sharma 1958, 48-49)
81 (R. S. Sharma 1958, 242)
82 (R. S. Sharma 1958, 53)
83 During Chhatrapati Shivaji's time, Mahar, Mang, and Ramoshi soldiers guarded the slopes and accesses to Maratha fortresses (Constable 2001, 447). The Ramoshis secured the hill forts while the Mahars and Mangs served in artillery and the garrisons. (Cadell 1938, 12) They were also intelligence agents, carrying out surveillance and misleading enemies. (Betham 1908, 141)

84 For example, Subedar Gopal Baba Valangkar (nineteenth Bombay Infantry), the Mahar leader in Dapoli in the late 1880s and a colleague of the social activist, Jyotirao Phule, called the Mahars 'polluted Kshatriyas'. (Constable 2001, 446-47)

85 See: 'Indian Army's Mahar regiment: Home to two army chiefs and a Param Vir Chakra'. *The Print*. Retrieved on February 15, 2022 (https://theprint.in/report/indian-armys-mahar-regiment-home-to-two-army-chiefs-and-a-param-vir-chakra/26313)

86 (K. Singh 1993, 6)

87 The Jatav community of Uttar Pradesh refuse to be referred to as Chamars. According to *Lomash Ramayana*, which is found in Nepal, the Jatavs trace their ancestry to a direct lineage from Lord Shiva. In *Jatav Jiwan* (1924) and *Yaduvansh ka Itihas* (1942), the Jatavs are mentioned as a Kshatriya jati. The Dabgar (often considered Chamars), is a Dalit community spread across Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh, and Rajasthan. Their oral tradition traces their origin to Rajputs who were downgraded because they worked with the skins of dead animals. The Meghwal Scheduled Caste community is divided into several exogamous communities like Chauhan, Parmar, Solanki etc. Many of these names are of Rajput origin. The Chamars of Madhopur (in Uttar Pradesh) also consider themselves degraded Kshatriyas (K. Singh 1993, 326, 387, 939, 304).

88 (Agarwal 1934, 69). Also (Longer 1981, 4)

89 (Constable 2001, 448-49)

90 Some chapters of the *Yajur Veda* are entirely devoted to enumeration of various industries that belonged to them. For example: *Yajur Veda* 30.15 mentions leather workers (Charmakar or present day Chamars), *Yajur Veda* 16.27 and 30.7 mention textile workers (Julahas), *Yajur Veda* 16.27 and 30.7 mention iron workers (Lohars or ironsmiths), *Yajur Veda* 16.27 and 30.6 mention Rathakar or the maker of chariots, *Yajur Veda* 16.46 and 30.6 mention the makers of bows and arrows, *Yajur Veda* 30.8 mentions the maker of nails and needles, *Yajur Veda* 30.12 mentions the sculptors or the maker of idols (Mahavir 2001, 116). Also, the *Atharva Veda* mentions that the craftsmen had very large residences and factories (See *Atharva Veda* 7.73.1. Also see (Mahavir 2001, 113).

91 (Mahavir 2001, 228)

92 (Mahavir 2001, 114)

93 For example, See *Rig Veda* 1.31.8, 1.31.9 and 8.46.3. Also See Pg. 112, *Vaidik Arthvyavastha*, Dr. Mahavir, Samaanantar Prakashan, New Delhi, 2001. Vedic mantras mention Shudra artisans who made iron weapons for the king in their factories and in return the king protected them, an indication of their cohesive and symbiotic relationship. (See *Rig Veda* 10.92.7 and *Rig Veda* 10.48.3.) The role of Shudras as engineers and architects continued in the later periods. During the Mauryan period, the area to the west of the royal palace was allotted to them for making woolen and cotton goods and armor (Sastri 1987, 79). A Shudra artisan community of the Andhra region that claimed to have originated from Vishvakarma (considered the divine architect in Hinduism) helped in the construction and

repair of temples, chariots, temple ornaments, religious vessels, and images. The Vijayanagar kings (fourteenth-seventeenth century) gave them certain temple honors and privileges, such as walking in front of chariots and offering puja standing on the chariots in their traditional dress. Also, in the Andhra region, the Kancharas or brass-workers were Shudras, and an inscription of 1645 CE says that the ruler waived all their taxes and tolls because of their importance. The Uppara Shudra community provided civil engineering to dig wells and construct houses. They were also involved in removing silt from rivers to make them viable for shipping. Another Shudra community were the Kammaras who manufactured tools, implements and wares of iron (Pandey 2015, Chapter 2).

94 For instance, in the Andhra region in the seventeenth-eighteenth century, several Brahmins and Kshatriyas worked under the Shudra chief of the village (Pandey 2015, Chapter 2).

95 (Kunhappa 1988, 2)

96 (Menon 2011, 133). Interestingly, in the *Mahabharata*, the twin Ashvins, physicians to the gods, are Shudras (R. S. Sharma 1958, 74).

97 (Datta 1944, 25)

98 The Indore copper-plate inscription (465-466 CE) of the Gupta emperor Skandagupta records an endowment that was made, and the interest was allocated to maintain the lamp in the temple of the Sun. The endowment was deposited with the guild of oilmen of Indrapura who invested it in their own business or lent it to others to gain interest. An inscription at Nashik from third century CE during the rule of King Isvarasena records the investment of an endowment with the guilds of potters, oil-millers, and others. An inscription from Junar (c. 1165 CE) records an investment with the guilds of bamboo-workers and braziers (Chakraborti 1960, 316-18). While some twelfth century records mention that Shudras traded in commodities prohibited for the Vaishyas, like salt, wine, curd, arms, poison, and so forth, the *Brihaspati Smriti* say that Shudras traded in all commodities. Also, *Kuvalayamala*, a Jain text from the eighth century CE, mentions Shudras being leaders of trade caravans. (S. Srivastava 2008, 51).

99 (S. Srivastava 2008, 53)

100 (Datta 1944, 27)

101 (Datta 1944, 148)

102 (Chakraborti 1960, 326)

103 For example, during the Maurya period such guilds were granted various concessions by the state. In the Andhra-Kushan period (c. 200-300 CE) and in the period of the Andhravrityas there were guilds of weavers, druggists, corn-dealers, oil manufacturers, etc. In the Gupta period (c. 320-500 CE) there were guilds of oilmen, silk weavers, and architects (Datta 1944, 147-48). An inscription of Emperor Vikramaditya II (c. 733-44 CE) in Karnataka shows that the state authorized the guild of brass-workers to collect taxes from the public (Chakraborti 1960, 318). The Siyadoni inscription (903 CE) of the Pratihara emperor, Mahendrapala I mentions guilds of potters, distillers of liquors, sugar-boilers, betel sellers, oil-makers, and

stone cutters. Such guilds facilitated the task of the government and rendered useful service in organising society and administering justice in internal affairs (Tripathi 1989, 345-46).

104 The existence of wealthy Shudras is mentioned in the *Krishna Yajur Veda* and *Sama Veda*. The *Alinachitta Jataka* mentions a prosperous guild of weavers near Benaras. The Buddhist *Jataka* stories tell us that blacksmiths intermarried with rich jewellers. See (Datta 1944, 29) and (Chakraborti 1960, 314, 319).

105 (Datta 1944, 151, 155)

106 For example, the Mathura inscriptions of the Kushana period (first century CE) record the names of many prosperous Shudra donors who were blacksmiths, barbers, washermen, and so on. They donated money for building temples, roads, and other public amenities. A blacksmith named Gova, son of Siha is also heard of in the inscription to have dedicated an image of Sarasvati. Similarly, a blacksmith Nada of Kalyana is recorded to have given money to build a road in the Kanheri inscription. One inscription belonging to the Kushana period (first century CE) mentions the term 'Rajanapita' which means chief of barber's guild. The Mathura inscription of the Kushana period records the name of a donor called 'Rayagini' which means the wife of a dyer or a washerman. The Jatakas also mention about the guilds of dyers or washermen (dhobi). The Taxila casket inscription of Emperor Kanishka (first-second century CE) mentions a religious gift by an architect. Many records of the period mention a craft-guild of the *navakarmikas* (architects) who built universities and temples, and also did repairs. The Mandasar inscription of (c. 437-38 CE) of Gupta emperors speaks of a guild that built 'a noble and unequalled temple of the bright-eyed sun with the stores of wealth acquired by the craft'. The artisans in the Gupta period were held in high esteem by the kings as shown by the Karitalai (c. 493-4 CE) and the Khoh (c. 497-512 CE) inscriptions. Inscriptions of Gurjara Pratihara (mid eighth to eleventh century) rulers of north India also show that persons following the same occupation normally formed themselves into organizations for regulating their business (Chakraborti 1960, 318-25).

107 They mention wealthy Shudra fishermen in India who hired many laborers to fish in the rivers. In another example, a Shudra is named as the owner of five hundred sheds for manufacturing earthenware, clearly a sign of flourishing entrepreneurs. Another Shudra woman is named as an affluent owner of a pottery business, and Jain monks frequently took shelter in such pottery shops and held them in high esteem. The Jain texts describe many prosperous towns with fine buildings, temples, gardens, roads, etc., where Shudra craftsmen resided and worked. They also point out that the leather industry was thriving and Shudra communities manufactured shoes, bags, musical instruments like drums, bellowing bags, sheaths, etc. (Jain 1980, 29, 56, 58)

108 (S. Srivastava 2008, 51)

109 (Basham 2004, 146)

110 (Basham 2004, 146). For instance, during the British period, the plan to set up a seminary in 1821 failed because the Shudra students refused to be seated with

the Shanars and Paraiahs whom they considered lower to them. This was to be a boarding school, and the different castes were expected to dine together. For the Shudra students, this was an emotionally charged situation. As a result, parents withdrew their children. (Tschurenev 2019, 304)

111 (K. Singh 1993, 11)
112 (K. Singh 1993, 11)
113 (K. Singh 1993, 29)
114 (K. Singh 1993, 6)
115 (Dharampal 1983, 21)
116 (Dharampal 1983, 29)
117 (Dharampal 1983, 29)
118 (Dharampal 1983, 29)
119 (Dharampal 1983, 35)
120 (Tschurenev 2019, 41)
121 (Keay 1918, 148)
122 (K. Singh 1993, 10)
123 (K. Singh 1993, 11)
124 (K. Singh 1993, 4)
125 (K. Singh 1993, 5)
126 (K. Singh 1993, 3)
127 (K. Singh 1993, 302)
128 (K. Singh 1993, 307)
129 (K. Singh 1993, 314)
130 (K. Singh 1993, 314)
131 (K. Singh 1993, 318)
132 (K. Singh 1993, 3)
133 (K. Singh 1993, 25)
134 (K. Singh 1993, 27)
135 (K. Singh 1993, 29)
136 (K. Singh 1993, 1070)
137 (K. Singh 1993, 1072)
138 (K. Singh 1993, 1072)
139 (Russell 1916, 380-81)
140 (K. Singh 1993, 105-12)
141 (Das 2003, 378-79)
142 (Ghurye 1959, 4)
143 (K. Singh 1994, 10)
144 (K. Singh 1994, 12)
145 (K. Singh 1994, 3)
146 (K. Singh 1994, 293)
147 (K. Singh 1994, 293)
148 (K. Singh 1994, 295, 324, 336). See also: (Von Furer Haimendorf and Von Furer Haimendorf 2022, 436, 439)

149 (K. Singh 1994, 118, 119, 127, 122)
150 (K. Singh 1994, 3, 773)
151 (K. Singh 1994, 774)
152 (K. Singh 1994, 776)
153 (K. Singh 1994, 776)
154 (Bag 1997, 106)
155 (K. Singh 1994, 842)
156 (A. Srivastava 1986, 18)
157 (A. Srivastava 1986, 18)
158 (A. Srivastava 1986, 20)
159 For example, the Gaddi Rajput Scheduled Tribe of Himachal Pradesh claim they migrated from Lahore during the medieval period to escape the onslaught by the Muslim rulers (K. Singh 1994, 272-74).
160 (K. Singh 1994, 436-38)
161 (K. Singh 1994, 436, 441-42)
162 For example, the great Veershaiva acharya and scholar, Sripati Panditacharya (thirteenth century CE) wrote a wonderful commentary on the *Vedanta Sutras* called *Srikara Bhashya*. The text begins with the following: 'I have composed this for the benefit of the Virasaivas. The Virasaivas who have the knowledge of the Vedas and Agamas and their inner spiritual meanings; who are fired with the desire to attain moksha; who are followers of the Vedic path; and who are strict in following the tenets of pure Saivism'. (C. H. Rao 1936, 24) Rupa Gosvami, a great Vaishnava scholar of the sixteenth century CE, also made the same point in his *Bhaktirasamrtasindhu*, a massive treatise on bhakti-rasa. He said that devotion to the Lord must be in accordance with the scriptures, shruti and smriti. (Haberman 2003, 41)
163 (B. Srivastava 1957, 87)
164 (Neelotpal 2013, 20-21)
165 (Chauhan 2014, 59-61)
166 (Gupt 1986, 48)
167 (Ghorpade 2011, 196)
168 (Upadhyaya 1954, 583)
169 (Auti 1970, 16)
170 (Kunhappa 1988, 34)
171 (Kunhappa 1988, viii)
172 (Kunhappa 1988, ix)
173 See: (Hardgrave Jr. 1969) and (Rudolph and Rudolph 1967)
174 See: 'Business Class Rises in Ashes of Caste System'. *The New York Times*. Retrieved on February 15, 2022 (https://www.nytimes.com/2010/09/11/world/asia/11caste.html)
175 (Charsley 1996)
176 (Charsley 1996)
177 The British Privy Council stated 'Clear proof of usage, outweighs the written text

of the Law'. In 1833, the British Parliament established the Privy Council in 1833 as the judicial body that heard appeals from various courts of the British colonies including India.

178 (Dharampal 2003, 12)
179 As quoted in: (Chakravorty 2019)
180 As quoted in: (Chakravorty 2019)
181 (Charsley 1996)
182 (Charsley 1996)
183 (Charsley 1996)
184 There are many instances showing that endogamy was not rigidly followed. Many of the great rishis mentioned in the *Puranas* and *Mahabharata* had mothers who were Shudras, such as Parashara Muni, known as the author of the *Vishnu Purana*, who was born of a *shvapaaka* (literally one who cooks the flesh of dogs) woman. (R. S. Sharma 1958, 63) The *Dharmashastras* discuss the instance when a Brahmin has a Shudra son and advocate that if the father is Brahmin, Kshatriya, or Vaishya, the son should inherit half the property. (R. S. Sharma 1958, 247) This shows that such cases were sufficiently common. During the Gupta period too, there are records mentioning marriages between people of different varnas. Buddhist texts also bear testimony to inter-marriages between persons of different varnas. For example, the *Matanga Jataka* mentions a merchant's daughter who became the wife of a *chandala*. (Datta 1944, 178)
185 As quoted in: (Chakravorty 2019)
186 As quoted in: (Chakravorty 2019)
187 (Charsley 1996)
188 (Charsley 1996)
189 (Charsley 1996)
190 (Charsley 1996)
191 (Charsley 1996)
192 (Charsley 1996)
193 (Charsley 1996)
194 (Charsley 1996)
195 (Charsley 1996)
196 (Charsley 1996)
197 (Charsley 1996)
198 (Charsley 1996)
199 (Charsley 1996)
200 (Ambedkar 1936)
201 (Ambedkar 1990)
202 See: Introduction of (Rathore and Verma 2011)
203 (Ambedkar 2015)
204 (Ambedkar 1936), Prologue
205 (Ambedkar 1936, 5)
206 (Ambedkar 1936, 5)

207 (Ambedkar 1936, 5)
208 (Ambedkar 1936, 24)
209 (Ambedkar 1936, 26)
210 (Ambedkar 1936, 3)
211 (Ambedkar 1936)
212 (Ambedkar 1936, 14)
213 (Ambedkar 1936, 20)
214 (Ambedkar 1936, 21)
215 (Ambedkar 1936, 23)
216 (Ambedkar 1936, 23)
217 (Ambedkar 1936, 24)
218 (Ambedkar 1990)
219 (Ambedkar 1990), Chapter X-I
220 (Ambedkar 1990), Chapter X-I
221 (Ambedkar 1990), Chapter X-I
222 (Ambedkar 1990), Chapter X-I
223 (Ambedkar 1990), Chapter X-I
224 (Ambedkar 1990), Chapter X-I
225 (Ambedkar 1990), Chapter X-I
226 (Ambedkar 1990), Chapter X-II
227 (Ambedkar 1990), Chapter XII-III
228 (Ambedkar 1990), Chapter XII-III
229 (Ambedkar 1990), Chapter XII-III
230 (Ambedkar 1990), Chapter XII-III
231 (Ambedkar 1990), Chapter XII-V
232 (Ambedkar 1990), Chapter X-II
233 (Ambedkar 1990), Chapter X-II
234 (Ambedkar 1990), Chapter X-II
235 (Ambedkar 1990), Chapter VII-III
236 (Ambedkar 1990), Chapter VII-III
237 (Ambedkar 1990), Chapter VII-III
238 (Rathore and Verma 2011, xxix-xxx)
239 (Rathore and Verma 2011, 50)
240 (Omvedt 2003, 262)
241 (Ambedkar 1989a, 23)
242 (Ambedkar 1989b, 416-17)
243 As mentioned in (Ramteke 1983, 127)
244 (Ambedkar 2015)
245 (Ambedkar 2015, 5)
246 (Ambedkar 2015, 7)
247 (Ambedkar 2015, 7)
248 (Ambedkar 2015, 8)
249 (Ambedkar 2015, 6)

250 (Ambedkar 2015, 6)
251 (Ambedkar 2015, 8)
252 (Ambedkar 2015, 8)
253 (Ambedkar 2015, 8)
254 (Ambedkar 2015, 8)
255 Many ideas in this section are borrowed from (Nadkarni 2003).
256 (Kane 1990, 531)
257 (Kane 1990, 66-67, 121)
258 (Ahuja 1993, 322)
259 (Ahuja 1993, 322)
260 (Ahuja 1993, 322)
261 (Ahuja 1993, 323)
262 (Ahuja 1993, 324)
263 (Ahuja 1993, 325)
264 (Ahuja 1993, 326) Harold Gould, in his study of *jajmani* system in Sherpur village in Faizabad district in Uttar Pradesh in 1954-5 found payments in the form of free residence site, free food for family, free clothing, free food for animals, free timber, free dung, rent free land, credit facilities, opportunity for supplementary employment, free use of tools, aid in litigation etc.
265 (Ahuja 1993, 324)
266 (Ambedkar 1936, 11)

7. Thirty Years of Encounters with Harvard University

1 See: 'Welcome to Infinity Foundation'. Infinity Foundation. Retrieved on April 30, 2022 (https://infinityfoundation.com)
2 See: 'U-Turn Theory by Rajiv Malhotra'. Spotify. Retrieved on April 30, 2022 (https://open.spotify.com/episode/50PZhCEtJihTO2B3IzA7fr) and 'The U-turn Theory: How Indian Ideas are Stolen by the West and Covered up'. YouTube. Retrieved on April 30, 2022 (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tR6QGe-a8gM)
3 (Wilson 2014, 82)
4 See: 'Tobacco Industry Records Held by the New York State Archives'. New York State Archives. Retrieved on April 30, 2022 (https://web.archive.org/web/20141212180722/http://www.archives.nysed.gov/a/research/res_topics_bus_tobacco.shtml). Original link last retrieved on January 30, 2013 is no longer active (http://www.archives.nysed.gov/a/research/res_topics_bus_tobacco.shtml)
5 (Benson, Alexander and Feldman 1975) See also: (Benson, Marzetta, et al. 1974)
6 (Wilson 2014, 80-82)
7 (Goleman 1971, 1-25)
8 (To The Best Of Our Knowledge 2014)
9 (To The Best Of Our Knowledge 2014)
10 (Goleman 1971, 1-25)

11 (Goleman 1971, 1-25)
12 (Goleman 1971, 1-25)
13 See: (Goleman 1972a) and (Goleman 1972b)
14 See: (Goleman 1972a) and (Goleman 1972b)
15 (Wilson 2014, 80-82)
16 (Goleman 1976)
17 (Wilson 2014, 80-82)
18 (To The Best Of Our Knowledge 2014)
19 (Parade 2020)
20 (Parade 2020)
21 (Purser 2017)
22 (Purser 2017)
23 (Purser 2017)
24 Quoted in (Verhoeven 2001)
25 (Kline 1963, 25)
26 This is still unpublished and will be part of the series on digestion of Indian knowledge.
27 (Thera 1999)
28 (Thera 1999)
29 Whitehead's tenure at Harvard (1924-37) was overlapped by the presence in the philosophy department of a number of professional philosophers such as William Earnest Hockings who were involved to some extent in Indic philosophy, having inherited the legacy of an earlier generation of Harvard philosophers such as William James, C.S. Peirce, George Santayana, whose philosophies were extensively influenced by Indic thought. During Whitehead's time at Harvard the Department of Sanskrit and Indian Studies flourished as did Buddhist Studies. As in the two previous decades, a fairly close relationship prevailed between Indic studies in general and Buddhist studies in particular and the philosophy department. Hockings is a prime example in this respect. In an essay on his personal recollection of Whitehead, *Whitehead as I knew Him* (Hocking 1963), Hocking fondly recalls Whitehead's tenure at Harvard and how he was a member of the Josiah Royce philosophy club, the members of which had included William James and those others at Harvard with interest in Indic thought. In another essay in the same volume ("Whitehead's Novel Intuition", pp.18-26), Charles Hartshorne, a student of Whitehead destined to become a prominent philosopher and theologian takes note of the resemblance of Whitehead's Process Philosophy to Buddhism, drawing particular attention to Whitehead's concept of *Prehension* (pp.2-26). As we have argued above, Whitehead's theory of prehension was likely developed on the basis of the Buddhist Abhidharma concept of *Prapti* (refer) to table above (third item from bottom). Hartshorne himself embraced both Process Philosophy (of which he became the foremost theorist post-Whitehead and Buddhism) and called the philosophy of becoming or Process Philosophy 'the Buddhisto-Whiteheadian doctrine', thus indirectly confirming the Buddhist antecedence of Whitehead's Process Philosophy.

30 God in either Primordial Nature or Consequent Nature is a curious superimposition on a self-organizing universe in radical flux. For many Buddhists as well as other scientists, the curious blend of science and theology, especially evolutionary theory imposed on an incompatible Christian theological framework is highly problematic. For a trenchant critique of the attempts of Christian theologians to impose evolution on an incompatible Christian theological framework, see (Dharmasiri 1988)
31 (Harvard Square Library 2017)
32 (Gordon 2007)
33 (Oldmeadow 2004, 27)
34 (Thoreau 1932)
35 (Thoreau 1932)
36 (Thoreau 1932)
37 (Institute Of Noetic Sciences (IONS) 2010)
38 (Hodder 2001)
39 (R. Higgins 2017)
40 T.S. Eliot's *After Strange Gods* as cited in (Kearns 1987, 13)
41 (Kearns 1987, 13)
42 The following book is devoted to this inner conflict Eliot faced: (Kearns 1987)
43 See, for example, his extensive article at: (Asani 2007)
44 See: (Infinity Foundation 2002a)
45 (Infinity Foundation 2002b)
46 (Nussbaum 2009, 214-215, 246-261)

8. China's Trojan Horse in America

1 (Yemma and Golden 1998) and (Online Burma/Myanmar Library 1998)
2 (Yemma and Golden 1998) and (Online Burma/Myanmar Library 1998)
3 (Diamond and Schell 2018)
4 (Wong 2020)
5 (Wong 2020)
6 (Rodman and Zhu 2015)
7 (Hava 2020a)
8 (Horwitz 2017)
9 (Redden 2017)
10 See: 'Change in personnel in Beijing department dealing with Dalai Lama's Envoys'. *World Tibet Network News*. Jan 30, 2004. Retrieved on April 30, 2022 (https://web.archive.org/web/20040408192139/http://www.tibet.ca/en/wtnarchive/2004/1/30_2.html) Alternate source: (Smith 2009, 232)
11 See: 'A Discussion on Tibetan Issue With American Experts on China'. *China News and Report*. September 17 2002. Retrieved on April 30, 2022 (https://web.archive.org/web/20040225014441/http://www.china.org.cn/baodao/english/newsandreport/2002sep/17-1.htm)

12 (Kynge 2021)
13 (Kynge 2021)
14 (Kynge 2021)
15 (Hoagland 2012)
16 (Office of Foreign Assets Control 2022)
17 (United States Department of the Treasury 2022)
18 (Winters 2020a)
19 (Winters 2020a)
20 (Schneider 2020)
21 It entered into a contract to open a Chinese government-funded Confucius Institute on its campus, with the goal of promoting Chinese culture and language. And in 2012, under Stanford President John Hennessy, the Stanford Center at Peking University was also opened for Stanford students in China. In 2014, Stanford received $58.1 million in China-based gifts and contracts for 'Advancement in U.S.-China Relations'. See: (Schneider 2020)
22 (FCCED 2020)
23 (Neuman and Turner 2020)
24 (Neuman and Turner 2020)
25 (Neuman and Turner 2020)
26 (Neuman and Turner 2020)
27 (Tan 2021) In China, the dream of an American education loses some of its gleam
28 (Ramaswamy 2021, 161)
29 (Ramaswamy 2021, 165)
30 (Ramaswamy 2021, 168)
31 (Ramaswamy 2021, 178)
32 (Ramaswamy 2021, 175). See: (Craymer 2020)
33 (Ramaswamy 2021, 194)
34 (Harvard Kennedy School 2015c)
35 (Xie 2018)
36 (Squawk Box @SquawkCNBC 2021)
37 (Squawk Box @SquawkCNBC 2021)
38 (Harvard Kennedy School 2016a)
39 (P. Schweizer 2021)
40 See: (Fish, What China experts have to do to get on Beijing's visa 'whitelist' 2019)
41 (Patrick 2021)
42 Examples: John Cena's apology (Boom 2021); (The Late Show with Stephen Colbert 2021); Gap apology for map of China: (Sanchez 2018); US companies that have apologized to China. (Nextshark - Editorial Staff 2019)
43 See: 'China theft of technology is biggest law enforcement threat to US, FBI says'. *The Guardian*. Retrieved on April 30, 2022 (https://www.theguardian.com/world/2020/feb/06/china-technology-theft-fbi-biggest-threat) and 'The Middle Kingdom Meets Higher Education'. FDD. Retrieved on April 30, 2022 (https://www.fdd.org/analysis/2021/12/09/the-middle-kingdom-meets-higher-education/)

44 See: '1 in 5 corporations say China has stolen their IP within the last year: CNBC CFO survey'. CNBC. Retrieved on April 30, 2022 (https://www.cnbc.com/2019/02/28/1-in-5-companies-say-china-stole-their-ip-within-the-last-year-cnbc.html)
45 (Harvard Kennedy School 2016b)
46 (Harvard Kennedy School 2016b)
47 (Harvard Kennedy School 2015b)
48 (Harvard Kennedy School 2021a)
49 (Harvard Kennedy School 2021a)
50 (Harvard Kennedy School 2015c)
51 (Harvard Kennedy School 2015c)
52 (Diamond and Schell 2018)
53 (Winters 2020b)
54 (Winters 2021b)
55 (Diamond and Schell 2018, 45-46)
56 (Winters 2021b)
57 (Winters 2021b)
58 (Winters 2021b)
59 (Winters 2020b)
60 (Winters 2020b)
61 (Winters 2020b)
62 (Diamond and Schell 2018, 46)
63 (Cunningham, Saich and Turiel 2020)
64 (Winters 2020a)
65 (Kakutani 2020a)
66 (Kakutani 2020a)
67 (Kakutani 2020a)
68 (Kakutani 2020a)
69 (Winters 2020a)
70 (Winters, 2020a)
71 (Winters, 2020a)
72 (Harvard University 2012a). Timestamp: 00:15-01:50.
73 (Winters 2021a)
74 (Winters 2021a)
75 (Winters 2021a)
76 (Winters 2021a)
77 (Winters 2021a)
78 (Burns and Manuel 2020)
79 (Burns 2020). Timestamp: 08:20.
80 (*The Hindu* 2021)
81 (Burns 2020). Timestamp: 23:37.
82 (Burns 2020). Timestamp: 25:08.
83 See: 'Future HBS case studies on failure: 1. Covid19. 2. Demonetisation. 3. GST

implementation'. Twitter. Retrieved on April 30, 2022 (https://twitter.com/RahulGandhi/status/1279963844027183105)
84 (Luce 2021)
85 (Winters 2020d)
86 (Winters 2020d)
87 (Beyrer 2021)
88 (Harvard T.H. Chan School of Public Health 2019a)
89 (Donovan and Nilsen 2021)
90 (Walker 2021)
91 (Walker 2021)
92 (Winters and Kassam 2021)
93 (Christenson 2021)
94 (Christenson 2021)
95 (Christenson 2021)
96 (Harvard T.H. Chan School of Public Health 2021b)
97 (Harvard T.H. Chan School of Public Health 2021b)
98 (C. Ross 2021a)
99 (C. Ross 2021a)
100 (C. Ross 2021b)
101 (C. Ross 2021b)
102 (C. Ross 2021b)
103 (Fish, Huawei's surprising ties to the Brookings Institution 2018)
104 (Fish, Huawei's surprising ties to the Brookings Institution 2018)
105 (*The Daily Wire* 2022)
106 (*The Daily Wire* 2022). Timestamp: 0:00.
107 (*The Daily Wire* 2022). Timestamp: 0:32.
108 (*The Daily Wire* 2022). Timestamp: 1:19.
109 See: 'Tag Archives: China'. Law and Society Alliance. Retrieved on April 30, 2022 (https://lawandsocietyalliance.in/tag/china). To download the pdf see: 'Mapping Chinese Foorprints and Influence Operations in India'. Law and Society Alliance. Retrieved on April 30, 2022 (https://defence.capital/wp-content/uploads/2021/09/MAPPING-CHINESE-FOOTPRINTS-AND-INFLUENCE-OPERATIONS-IN-INDIA2.pdf)

9. The Importance of Investigating Harvard University

1 (Tocqueville 2004)
2 Winston Churchill, Speech at Harvard University, September 6, 1943.
3 (Binkley 2022)
4 (Hanson 2022)
5 (*The Harvard Gazette* 2008)
6 (*The Harvard Gazette* 2008)

7 (Mission Kaali 2020)
8 (*The Times of India* 2010)
9 (*Financial Express* 2018)
10 (*Financial Express* 2018)
11 (*Financial Express* 2018)
12 (Vikaspedia 2019)
13 (Harvard Global 2017a)
14 (Boyd 2021)

10. Databases, Taxonomies, and Archives

1 (Malhotra 2021)
2 (Anderson 1983)
3 (Anderson 1983, 168)
4 (Anderson 1983, 177-78)
5 (Anderson 1983, 188)
6 Another related frame of reference on India has been the colonial theory of foreign Aryans dominating the native Dravidians. As discussed in Chapter 3, this has been further developed at Harvard into a three-tier model: The Munda language speakers are considered the original natives of India (now championed as 'tribals' or 'Adivasis' or Dalits). Above them are the Dravidians who came from the Middle East to build the Indus Valley Civilization, and they oppressed the Mundas. At the top are the Aryans who came from Central Asia and oppressed both the layers above.
7 (Malhotra and Babaji 2020)
8 (Symonds 1986)
9 (Harvard University 2012b) Also see: 'Mapping the Kumbh Mela'. Mapping the Kumbh Mela. Retrieved on April 30, 2022 (https://mappingthemela.wordpress.com)
10 (Mittal Institute 2013). Timestamp: 01:17:33; (Nitnaware 2015)
11 (Ganesh N 2015a)
12 (Ganesh N 2015b)
13 (Harvard University 2014a)
14 (Barnett, Khanna and Onnela 2016)
15 (The Lakshmi Mittal and Family South Asia Institute at Harvard University 2016, 24)
16 (The Lakshmi Mittal and Family South Asia Institute at Harvard University 2016, 8)
17 (Harvard University 2015a)
18 (The Lakshmi Mittal and Family South Asia Institute at Harvard University 2016, 9)
19 (The Lakshmi Mittal and Family South Asia Institute at Harvard University 2016, 17)

20 (The Lakshmi Mittal and Family South Asia Institute at Harvard University 2016, 17)
21 (Mittal Institute 2016)
22 (Harvard University 2020a)
23 (Harvard University 2020b)
24 (Harvard University 2020c)
25 (Harvard University 2019a)
26 (Harvard University 2017a)
27 (The Lakshmi Mittal and Family South Asia Institute at Harvard University 2021, 38)
28 (The Lakshmi Mittal and Family South Asia Institute at Harvard University 2019, 67)
29 (The Lakshmi Mittal and Family South Asia Institute at Harvard University 2019, 67-68)
30 (The Lakshmi Mittal and Family South Asia Institute at Harvard University 2017, 24)
31 (The Lakshmi Mittal and Family South Asia Institute at Harvard University 2017, 24)
32 See: 'Project Prakash'. Project Prakash. Retrieved on April 30, 2022 (https://www.projectprakash.org)
33 (The Lakshmi Mittal and Family South Asia Institute at Harvard University 2020, 27)
34 (The Lakshmi Mittal and Family South Asia Institute at Harvard University 2018b, 74)
35 (Harvard University 2021a)
36 (Harvard University 2021a)
37 (The Lakshmi Mittal and Family South Asia Institute at Harvard University 2020, 37); (Linda Hall Library 2022)
38 See for examples: (Harvard University 2018a); (Harvard University 2019k); (Harvard University 2020g);
39 (The Lakshmi Mittal and Family South Asia Institute at Harvard University 2021, 65)
40 (The Lakshmi Mittal and Family South Asia Institute at Harvard University 2019, 15-16)
41 (The Lakshmi Mittal and Family South Asia Institute at Harvard University 2020, 28)
42 (The Lakshmi Mittal and Family South Asia Institute at Harvard University 2021, 28)
43 (Harvard University 2013a)
44 (The Lakshmi Mittal and Family South Asia Institute at Harvard University 2014, 22)
45 (The Lakshmi Mittal and Family South Asia Institute at Harvard University 2019, 43)

46 (The Lakshmi Mittal and Family South Asia Institute at Harvard University 2020, 39)

11. Anand Mahindra and Postmodernism

1 (Mukherjee 2010)
2 (Merrigan 2010)
3 (Merrigan 2010)
4 (Mukherjee 2010)
5 (Mukherjee 2010)
6 See: (Eakin 2001)
7 See: 'Infosys Prize | Jury'. Infosys Science Foundation. Retrieved on April 30, 2022 (https://www.infosys-science-foundation.com/prize/jury/jury-2017.asp)
8 (Golikeri and John 2011)
9 (Golikeri and John 2011)
10 (Rayman and Spitzer 2010)
11 (Grossman 1999)
12 Cited in (Grossman 1999)
13 (Eakin 2001)
14 (Eakin 2001)
15 See: 'Customer Review | David Schweizer'. Amazon. Retrieved on April 30, 2022 (https://www.amazon.com/gp/customer-reviews/R1Q3POGMK3H1F6)
16 (Young 1990, 186)
17 See: (Davies 2012). There are other versions of this story that Foucault said ten percent rather than twenty-five percent, but the implication is still the same.
18 (Mohanty 2005)
19 (Bhabha 1994)
20 Jacques Lacan, 'The Line and Light', *Of the Gaze*, cited in (Bhabha 1994, 121)
21 (Harvard University 2017b)
22 (Rosario 2017)
23 (Rosario 2017)
24 (Pratap 2017)
25 (Pratap 2017)
26 (R. Liu 2019)
27 (Srinivasan 2020)
28 All references and quotes in this section are from: (Mahindra Humanities Center 2020)
29 (Harvard University 2017c)
30 See: 'Prasenjit Duara'. Institute of Chinese Studies. Retrieved on April 30, 2022 (https://www.icsin.org/faculty/prasenjit-duara)
31 (Law and Society Alliance 2021, 15). Incidentally, this institute is supported by: Indian Council of Social Science Research; the Ministry of External Affairs of India;

Gargi and Vidya Prakash Dutt Memorial; TATA Trusts; Jamnalal Bajaj Foundation; Pirojsha Godrej Foundation.

32 (Mahindra Humanities Center 2020). Timestamp: 01:01:15.

33 (Johnson 2016)

12. Lakshmi Mittal and Social Justice

1 (*The Harvard Gazette* 2017)

2 (Gulf News 2017)

3 (Harvard University 2018d)

4 (The Lakshmi Mittal and Family South Asia Institute at Harvard University 2020, 55)

5 (Harvard University 2019b)

6 (Harvard University 2019b)

7 (Soshi and Walsh 2021)

8 (Harvard University 2019c)

9 (Harvard University 2021b)

10 (Harvard University 2016a)

11 (Harvard University 2019d)

12 (Harvard University 2019e)

13 See: 'SAI Event Type: Lecture'. The Lakshmi Mittal and Family South Asia Institute. Retrieved on April 30, 2022 (https://mittalsouthasiainstitute.harvard.edu/events/types/lecture/page/2/)

14 (Harvard University 2015b)

15 (The Lakshmi Mittal and Family South Asia Institute at Harvard University 2020, 51)

16 (Harvard University 2019f)

17 (Harvard University 2013c)

18 (The Lakshmi Mittal and Family South Asia Institute at Harvard University 2021, 47)

19 (A. Datta 2014)

20 (The Lakshmi Mittal and Family South Asia Institute at Harvard University 2020, 54)

21 (Harvard University 2019g)

22 (Harvard University 2020d)

23 (The Lakshmi Mittal and Family South Asia Institute at Harvard University 2014, 13)

24 (The Lakshmi Mittal and Family South Asia Institute at Harvard University 2012)

25 (The Lakshmi Mittal and Family South Asia Institute at Harvard University 2012)

26 (The Lakshmi Mittal and Family South Asia Institute at Harvard University 2014, 13)

27 (The Lakshmi Mittal and Family South Asia Institute at Harvard University 2015, 15)
28 (Harvard University 2013d)
29 (Harvard University 2020e)
30 (The Lakshmi Mittal and Family South Asia Institute at Harvard University 2020, 52)
31 (Harvard University 2018e)
32 (Harvard University 2019h)
33 (Harvard University 2014b)
34 (The Lakshmi Mittal and Family South Asia Institute at Harvard University 2014, 31)
35 (The Lakshmi Mittal and Family South Asia Institute at Harvard University 2014, 45)
36 (Harvard University 2014c)
37 (Harvard University 2016b)
38 (Harvard University 2017d)
39 (Harvard University 2021c)
40 (Harvard University 2016c)
41 (The Lakshmi Mittal and Family South Asia Institute at Harvard University 2015, 49)
42 (The Lakshmi Mittal and Family South Asia Institute at Harvard University 2014, 49)
43 (DeBenedictis 2016)
44 (Hartocollis 2022)
45 (Harvard University 2014d)
46 (Harvard University 2013a)
47 (Harvard University 2014d)
48 See: 'Livelihood Creation Project'. The Lakshmi Mittal and Family South Asia Institute at Harvard University. Retrieved on April 30, 2022 (https://mittalsouthasiainstitute.harvard.edu/about-livelihood-creation-project)
49 (Harvard University 2018f)
50 (Harvard University 2018g)
51 (Harvard University 2018h)
52 (Harvard University 2018i)
53 (Harvard University 2019i)
54 (Harvard University 2014e)
55 (Harvard University 2013b)
56 (The Lakshmi Mittal and Family South Asia Institute at Harvard University 2016, 15)
57 (The Lakshmi Mittal and Family South Asia Institute at Harvard University 2020, 16-17)
58 (The Lakshmi Mittal and Family South Asia Institute at Harvard University 2019, 49)

59 (Pelaez 2019)
60 (The Lakshmi Mittal and Family South Asia Institute at Harvard University 2017, 32)
61 (The Lakshmi Mittal and Family South Asia Institute at Harvard University 2018b, 74, 77)
62 (The Lakshmi Mittal and Family South Asia Institute at Harvard University 2014, 33)
63 (The Lakshmi Mittal and Family South Asia Institute at Harvard University 2016, 21)
64 (The Lakshmi Mittal and Family South Asia Institute at Harvard University 2020, 55)
65 (The Lakshmi Mittal and Family South Asia Institute at Harvard University 2020, 55)
66 (The Lakshmi Mittal and Family South Asia Institute at Harvard University 2020, 55)
67 (The Lakshmi Mittal and Family South Asia Institute at Harvard University 2020, 55)
68 (Harvard University 2015c)
69 (Harvard University 2019j)
70 (The Lakshmi Mittal and Family South Asia Institute at Harvard University 2019, 68)
71 (The Lakshmi Mittal and Family South Asia Institute at Harvard University 2020, 29)
72 (The Lakshmi Mittal and Family South Asia Institute at Harvard University 2017, 16)
73 (The Lakshmi Mittal and Family South Asia Institute at Harvard University 2017, 29)
74 (The Lakshmi Mittal and Family South Asia Institute at Harvard University 2020, 17)
75 (Harvard University 2021d)
76 (The Lakshmi Mittal and Family South Asia Institute at Harvard University 2017, 29)
77 (Harvard University 2021e)
78 (The Lakshmi Mittal and Family South Asia Institute at Harvard University 2017, 25)
79 (The Lakshmi Mittal and Family South Asia Institute at Harvard University 2017, 25)
80 For example, the cookstoves being invented and their data being sent all the way to Berkeley for evaluation is something an IIT related startup in India could easily have done. See: (The Lakshmi Mittal and Family South Asia Institute at Harvard University 2019, 71)
81 (The Lakshmi Mittal and Family South Asia Institute at Harvard University 2017, 20)

82 For example, what value does Harvard's Kennedy School bring to the study of India's coal industry, other than perhaps arming the US in pressuring India during the climate change negotiations? See: (Harvard University 2018b)

83 (Harvard University 2020f)

84 (Harvard University 2021f)

85 Mittal Institute's advisory board members include many influential Indians: 1) K.P. Balaraj, Bengaluru, India; he is co-founder and managing director of WestBridge Capital. 2) Kushagra Bajaj is chairman of the Bajaj Group, chairman and managing director of Bajaj Hindusthan Limited, and chairman of Bajaj Corp Limited. 3) Kuntala Das (New York) and Bharat Das. 4) Meera Gandhi is CEO and founder of The Giving Back Foundation, which she created in 2010 as a catalyst to aid women and children, to create a new generation of leaders and thinkers. 5) Vikram Gandhi is founder of Asha Impact, an impact investing and advocacy platform and VSG Capital Advisors, senior advisor to The Canadian Pension Plan and Greenhill and Company. 6) Mala Gaonkar Haarmann is partner and managing director at a six billion dollars private investment partnership fund that comprises three equity hedge funds. She oversees the fund's media, technology, and telecommunications investment portfolio, 7) Dr. Dipti Mathur has built a highly regarded collection of modern and contemporary South Asian art. She has served on the Collections Committee of the Asia Society Museum, New York, on the Contemporary Art Advisory Panel of the Asian Art Museum, San Francisco, and on the Board of Trustees of the Seattle Art Museum. 8) Sanjeev Mehra, New York, is managing director and partner of Goldman Sachs, where he leads the Business Practices Committee and Operating Committee for its Principal Investment Area, and serves on its Investment Committee. 9) Victor Menezes (PA; New York) is senior advisor with New Silk Route Partners LLC, an international private equity firm. He was formerly senior vice chairman of Citigroup Inc., and after a thirty-two-year global career in the company, retired in January 2005. He chairs the American India Foundation, is a vice chairman of Catholic Charities. 10) Gaurav and Parul Swarup (Kolkata) – head Paharpur Cooling Towers Limited in Kolkata. Paharpur is a well-diversified business house with interests in industrial process cooling equipment, flexible packaging, saw milling & forestry, realty and investments. 11) Rajiv and Anupa Sahney (Mumbai). Rajiv is a founding and managing partner at New Vernon Capital, LLC, a private equity firm that managed $2.1B in assets as of September 2008. Prior to founding New Vernon Capital, he was founder and CEO of Medusind, a healthcare services outsourcing company. 12) Sribala Subramanian and Arvind Raghunathan. Arvind is CEO and CIO of Roc Capital Management. 13) Dalip and Chandrika Pathak. Dalip is senior advisor to Warburg Pincus. He joined Warburg Pincus in 1994 and has previously been both head of India and head of Europe for the firm. 14) Mukesh (AB '93) and Chandni Prasad (New York). Mukesh is an MD from The Johns Hopkins Medical College and completed training in otolaryngology and head and neck surgery at Columbia University. 15) Tom Varkey (New York) has participated in the management of the Stonehill portfolios since joining the

firm in 2001 and has been a partner since 2004. See: (Harvard University 2022a)
86 (The Lakshmi Mittal and Family South Asia Institute at Harvard University 2021, 56)
87 (The Lakshmi Mittal and Family South Asia Institute at Harvard University 2019, 27)
88 (Chughtai 2015, 203)
89 (The Lakshmi Mittal and Family South Asia Institute at Harvard University 2018b, 22)

13. The Piramals: Harvard University's Gateway to India

1 (Capstone Report 2020b)
2 (Clarida 2014)
3 (Hava 2020b)
4 (Kakutani 2020b)
5 See: '@jimmylaiapple | This account doesn't exist'. Twitter. Retrieved on April 30, 2022 (https://twitter.com/jimmylaiapple)
6 See: (Ramzy 2017) and: (Davidson 2020)
7 (Asia Sentinel 2017)
8 For example, see: (Capstone Report 2020a)
9 (Kakutani 2020b)
10 (Hava 2020b)
11 (Lam and Chung 2018)
12 (Nietzel 2022)
13 (Hava 2020b)
14 (Hava 2020b)
15 See: 'ISB Governing Board'. Indian School of Business (ISB). Retrieved on April 30, 2022 (https://www.isb.edu/en/about-isb/leadership/governing-board.html)
16 (ToHim89 Live 2019)
17 See: 'What is Public Health?' CDC Foundation. Retrieved on April 30, 2022 (https://www.cdcfoundation.org/what-public-health)
18 (Harvard T.H. Chan School of Public Health 2021a)
19 See: 'Harvard Center for Population and Development Studies'. Harvard T.H. Chan School of Public Health. Retrieved on April 30, 2022 (https://www.hsph.harvard.edu/population-development/tag/caste/)
20 (Blanding 2021)
21 (Blanding 2021)
22 (Harvard University 2018c)
23 (Hancock 1987)
24 (The New York Public Library 2013)
25 (Witzenrath 2015) Another book that gives details is: (Levi 2002)
26 (Feldscher 2014)

27 (Feldscher 2014)
28 (Business France 2021)
29 (Feldscher 2014)
30 (Feldscher 2014)
31 (Feldscher 2014)
32 (Saathi Re 2017)
33 (Harvard T.H. Chan School of Public Health 2016)
34 (Harvard T.H. Chan School of Public Health 2017)
35 (Harvard T.H. Chan School of Public Health 2016)
36 (Harvard T.H. Chan School of Public Health 2019b)
37 See: 'Artificial Intelligence and Tuberculosis'. Harvard T.H. Chan School of Public Health. Retrieved on April 30, 2022 (https://www.hsph.harvard.edu/india-center/research/artificial-intelligence-and-tuberculosis/)
38 (Liu and Zhang 2016)
39 (Harvard T.H. Chan School of Public Health 2019a)

14. Harvard University's Control of the Media Ecosystem in India

1 (Peters 2010)
2 (Peters 2010)
3 (MacArthur Foundation 2022)
4 (Nieman Foundation for Journalism at Harvard 2010)
5 (K. Jain, International Reporting Must Distinguish Hindu Nationalism from Hinduism 2019)
6 (MacArthur Foundation 2022)
7 (Poynter 2017)
8 (Poynter 2017)
9 (Poynter 2017)
10 (Poynter 2017)
11 (Pulitzer Center 2016). Timestamp: 00:00:00-00:01:42
12 See: 'The Pulitzer Center on Crisis Reporting extends its greatest appreciation to our supporters and donors'. Pulitzer Center. Retrieved on April 30, 2022 (https://pulitzercenter.org/about/donors)
13 (InfluenceWatch 2020)
14 (Sanghamitra 2018)
15 (Sanghamitra 2018)
16 (OpIndia 2021c)
17 (Safikul Hasan 2018). Timestamp: 47:51. Accessed and downloaded on April 1, 2022. Link no longer active.
18 (PARI - People's Archive of Rural India 2021a)
19 (PARI - People's Archive of Rural India 2021a)

20 (PARI - People's Archive of Rural India 2021a)
21 (PARI - People's Archive of Rural India 2021b)
22 See: 'Acknowledgments'. People's Archive of Rural India. Retrieved on May 15, 2022 (https://ruralindiaonline.org/en/pages/acknowledgements/)
23 (Thakur 2021)
24 (OpIndia 2021a)
25 (Ross and Dobson 2022)
26 (Safikul Hasan 2018). Timestamp: 46:56. Accessed and downloaded on April 1, 2022. Link no longer active.
27 (PARI Education - People's Archive of Rural India 2020a)
28 (PARI Education - People's Archive of Rural India 2020a)
29 (PARI Education - People's Archive of Rural India 2020b)
30 (PARI Education Team 2021)
31 (PARI Education Team 2021)
32 (PARI Education 2020)
33 (Behl 2021)
34 (Karthikeyan 2014)
35 (Karthikeyan 2014). Also see: 'Faces'. PARI - People's Archive of Rural India. Retrieved on April 30, 2022 (https://ruralindiaonline.org/en/categories/faces/)
36 (Karthikeyan 2014)
37 See: 'Leadership in The Digital Century'. GBH. Retrieved on April, 30 2022 (https://www.wgbh.org/foundation)
38 (Martin, Ray and Pillay, Caste Discrimination in the USA: A Public Radio and Online Series 2019)
39 (Martin, Ray and Pillay, Caste Discrimination in the USA: A Public Radio and Online Series 2019)
40 (Martin, Ray and Pillay, Caste Discrimination in the USA: A Public Radio and Online Series 2019)
41 (Martin, Ray, et al., 'Caste in America' Receives 2020 Gabriel Award 2020)
42 See: 'Article'. Pulitzer Center. Retrieved on April 30, 2022 (https://pulitzercenter.org/article)
43 (NiemanReports 2014)
44 See: 'Fellowships in Journalism'. Editors Guild of India. Retrieved on April 30, 2022 (https://editorsguild.in/awards-fellowships/)
45 (NiemanLab 2021)
46 (Nieman Foundation for Journalism at Harvard 2021a)
47 (Nieman Foundation for Journalism at Harvard 2021a)
48 (Nieman Foundation for Journalism at Harvard 2021b)
49 (Nieman Foundation for Journalism at Harvard 2020)
50 (Krishnan 2021)
51 (Krishnan 2021)
52 (Nieman Foundation for Journalism at Harvard 2017)
53 (Gipson, et al. 2021)

54 (Sikora 2021)
55 (Gipson, et al. 2021)
56 (Sikora 2021)
57 (Sikora 2021). The original link in YouTube is: (Berkley Center 2021). Timestamp: 00:08:12.
58 (Malhotra 2016)

15. Harvard Kennedy School: Geopolitics

1 See: 'Learn. Lead. Serve'. Harvard Kennedy School. Retrieved on April 30, 2022 (https://www.hks.harvard.edu/more/about)
2 (Harvard University 2021g)
3 (Harvard Kennedy School 2017a)
4 (IAMC Official Channel 2020). Timestamp: 00:07:00-00:07:15
5 (The Harbus 2020)
6 (Maqbool and Naik 2017)
7 (IAMC Official Channel 2020)
8 (OpIndia 2021b)
9 (OpIndia 2020b)
10 See: 'Rashad Hussain, 2003'. Paul & Daisy Soros Fellowship for New Americans. Retrieved on April 30, 2022 (https://www.pdsoros.org/meet-the-fellows/rashad-hussain)
11 (Arenas 2010)
12 (J. Weber 2021)
13 See: 'Religious freedom includes the ability to choose one's religious attire. The Indian state of Karnataka should not determine permissibility of religious clothing. Hijab bans in schools violate religious freedom and stigmatize and marginalize women and girls.' Twitter. Retrieved on April 30, 2022 (https://twitter.com/IRF_Ambassador/status/1492153532350402564)
14 (*The Harvard Gazette* 2021)
15 (Haniffa 2020)
16 (Haniffa 2020)
17 (Crawford 2021)
18 (*The Hindustan Times* 2004)
19 (USCIRF 2004)
20 (Harvard Law School 2018)
21 (The American Bazaar 2018)
22 (USCIRF 2020)
23 (MOJO STORY 2020)
24 (Varshney 2021a)
25 (Varshney 2020b)
26 (D'Amore-McKim School of Business 2019). Timestamp: 29:20.

27 (Varshney, Ayyangar and Swaminathan 2021)
28 (Levi 2002)
29 (Varshney 2020b)
30 See: 'Shorenstein Center on Media, Politics and Public Policy'. Shorenstein Center. Retrieved on April 30, 2022 (https://shorensteincenter.org/about-us/)
31 (Jolly 2016)
32 (Jolly 2016)
33 (*The National Pulse* 2021)
34 (*The National Pulse* 2021)
35 (*The National Pulse* 2021)
36 (*The National Pulse* 2021)
37 (*The National Pulse* 2021)
38 (*The National Pulse* 2021)
39 (Gockowski 2017)
40 (Gockowski 2017)
41 See: 'The HKS Misinformation Review'. Shorenstein Center. Retrieved on April 30, 2022 (https://shorensteincenter.org/programs/misinformation/)
42 (Carney 2022)
43 (Garimella and Eckles 2020)
44 (Abhishek 2021)
45 (Abhishek 2021)
46 (Abhishek 2021)
47 (Kazemi, et al. 2022)
48 (Kuo and Marwick 2021)
49 (Kuo and Marwick 2021)
50 (Kuo and Marwick 2021)
51 (Reis, et al. 2020)
52 (Marcus 2021)
53 (Marcus 2021)
54 (Carney 2022)
55 (Carney 2022)
56 (HKS Misinformation Review Editorial Staff 2021)
57 (HKS Misinformation Review Editorial Staff 2021)
58 (HKS Misinformation Review Editorial Staff 2021)
59 (Carney 2022)
60 (Desai 2015)
61 (Parkin 2019)
62 (Agrawal 2017)
63 (Walt 2019)
64 (Dizikes 2020)
65 (Varshney 2021)
66 (Varshney 2021)
67 (The Heritage Foundation 2018)

68 See: 'Board & Leadership'. Freedom House. Retrieved on April 30, 2022 (https://freedomhouse.org/about-us/board-leadership)
69 (Harvard Kennedy School 2016c)
70 (Chuang, Williams and Wong 2019)
71 (Williams and Wong 2020)
72 (Williams 2020)
73 (Harsha 2019)
74 (Sarma 2020)
75 (Timalsina and Michel 2021)
76 (K. Visweswaran, M. E. Witzel, et al. 2009)
77 (Chandra and Michael 2020)
78 (Chandra and Michael 2020)
79 (Harvard Kennedy School - Women and Public Policy Program 2014)
80 (Field, Jayachandran and Pande 2010)
81 (Field, Jayachandran and Pande 2010)
82 (Field, Jayachandran and Pande 2010)
83 (Field, Jayachandran and Pande 2010)
84 (Harvard Center for Population and Development Studies 2021)
85 (Vyas, Gupta and Khalid 2021)
86 (Jayachandran and Pande 2015)
87 (Jayachandran and Pande 2015)
88 (Beaman, Pande and Cirone, Politics as a Male Domain and Empowerment in India 2012)
89 See: 'Sushma Raman - Social Change Strategist | Author | Coalition Builder'. LinkedIn. Retrieved on April 30, 2022 (https://www.linkedin.com/in/sushmaraman/details/experience)
90 (*The Hindustan Times* 2017)
91 (OpIndia 2020a)
92 (Chenoweth, Smith and Shetty 2020)
93 (Harvard Kennedy School 2018). Timestamp: 00:03:37.
94 (Shetty and Sahgal 2019)
95 (Shetty and Sahgal 2019)
96 (Shetty and Sahgal 2019)
97 (Shetty and Sahgal 2019)
98 (Shetty and Sahgal 2019)
99 (Rajgarhia 2020)
100 (Rajgarhia 2020)
101 (Rajgarhia 2020)
102 (Rajgarhia 2020)
103 (*Harvard Law Review* 2021)
104 (Chenoweth, Smith and Shetty 2020)
105 (Sabhikhi 2019)
106 The report states: 'This paper examines the hypothesis that the persistence of low

spatial and marital mobility in rural India, despite increased growth rates and rising inequality in recent years, is due to the existence of sub-caste networks that provide mutual insurance to their members. Unique panel data providing information on caste loans and sub-caste identification are used to show that households that outmarry or migrate lose the services of these networks, which dampens mobility when alternative sources of insurance or finance of comparable quality are unavailable. At the aggregate level, the networks appear to have coped successfully with the rising inequality within sub-castes that accompanied the Green Revolution. Indeed, this increase in inequality lowered overall mobility, which was low to begin with, even further. The results suggest that caste networks will continue to smooth consumption in rural India for the foreseeable future, as they have for centuries.' See: (Munshi and Rosenzweig 2005).

107 The report states: 'Sustained high economic growth since the early 1990s has brought significant change to the lives of Indian women, and yet female labor force participation has stagnated at under 30%, and recent labor surveys even suggest some decline since 2005. Using a nationally representative household survey, we lay out five descriptive facts about female labor force participation in India that help identify constraints to higher participation. First, there is significant demand for jobs by women currently not in the labor force. Second, willing female non-workers have difficulty matching to jobs. Third, obtaining vocational training is correlated with a higher likelihood of working among women. Fourth, women are more likely to be working in sectors where the gender wage gap and unexplained wage gap, commonly attributed to discrimination, is higher. Finally, female-friendly policies, including quotas, are correlated with higher female participation in some key sectors. Combining these facts with a review of the literature, we map out important areas for future investigation and highlight how policies such as employment quotas and government initiatives focused on skilling and manufacturing should be better investigated and leveraged to increase women's economic activity.' (Fletcher, Pande and Moore 2017)

108 The report says: 'Female labor force participation varies significantly even among countries with similar levels of economic development. Recent studies have shown that gender norms can help explain these differences in women's work, but the channels through which norms impact women's employment decisions are not well understood. We present novel data on spouses' preferences and perceptions of community attitudes about female labor in rural India and document associations with female work. We find that the perceived social cost of women's work falls on men and that husbands' opposition to female labor is associated with their wives' lower take-up of employment.' (Bernhardt, et al. 2018)

109 The report states: 'We exploit random assignment of gender quotas across Indian village councils to investigate whether having a female chief councillor affects public opinion towards female leaders. Villagers who have never been required to have a female leader prefer male leaders and perceive hypothetical female leaders as less effective than their male counterparts, when stated performance is identical.

Exposure to a female leader does not alter villagers' taste preference for male leaders. However, it weakens stereotypes about gender roles in the public and domestic spheres and eliminates the negative bias in how female leaders' effectiveness is perceived among male villagers. Female villagers exhibit less prior bias but are also less likely to know about or participate in local politics; as a result, their attitudes are largely unaffected. Consistent with our experimental findings, villagers rate their women leaders as less effective when exposed to them for the first, but not second, time. These changes in attitude are electorally meaningful: after 10 years of the quota policy, women are more likely to stand for and win free seats in villages that have been continuously required to have a female chief councillor.' (Beaman, Chattopadhyay, et al. 2008)

110 (Barboni, et al. 2018)
111 (Harvard Kennedy School 2021b)
112 (Anand 2020)
113 (Khare, et al. 2021)
114 (K. Jain, *Cow Vigilantes and the Rise of Hindu Nationalism* 2019)
115 (Mehta 2016)
116 (Mehta 2016)
117 (*The Times of India* 2006)
118 (Harvard Kennedy School 2019a)
119 (The Training Division, Department of Personnel and Training, Government of India 2018)
120 (The Training Division, Department of Personnel and Training, Government of India 2018)
121 (Jaschik 2021)
122 (Harvard Kennedy School 2019b)
123 (Harvard Kennedy School 2019c)
124 See: 'Mukul Saxena | Founding Professor at Kautilya School of Public'. LinkedIn. Retrieved on April 30, 2022 (https://www.linkedin.com/in/mukul-saxena)
125 (BW Education 2020)
126 (Rai 2018)
127 (Moshik Temkin @moshik_temkin 2020)
128 (Temkin 2020)
129 (Mint 2021)
130 See: 'Thanks @AkbaruddinIndia & all the @KautilyaSPP team for your hospitality. Both @DavidWhiteDelhi & I were most impressed by the students & excellent facilities with @Kennedy_School inspired decor – we hope explore how tangible collaborations with GB institutions might evolve'. Twitter. Retrieved on April 30, 2022 (https://twitter.com/Andrew007Uk/status/1466337552386781189)
131 (Burnley 2017)
132 (Harvard University 2020h)
133 (Harvard T.H. Chan School of Public Health 2018)

16. Harvard Business School

1 (Iyer, Khanna and Varshney 2011)
2 (A. Gupta 2015)
3 (A. Gupta 2015)
4 See: 'Events - Advancing Racial Equity | Managing Diversity Speaker Series'. Harvard Business School. Retrieved on April 30, 2022 (https://www.hbs.edu/racialequity/news-commentary/Pages/events.aspx)
5 (Banerjee, Iyer and Somanathan 2006)
6 (Banerjee, Iyer and Somanathan 2006)
7 (Harvard Business School 2021)
8 (Jones 2017)
9 (Bhalotra, et al. 2013)
10 (Philanthropy News Digest 2016)
11 (Bhattacharya 2012)
12 (Dallmeyer 2021)
13 (Jack, Harvard's 'teaching power' puts business school in the lead for influence 2021)
14 (Jack, Harvard's 'teaching power' puts business school in the lead for influence 2021)
15 (Jack, Why Harvard's case studies are under fire 2018)
16 (The Lakshmi Mittal and Family South Asia Institute at Harvard University 2014, 47)
17 (Harvard University 2014f)
18 (Shaw 2022)
19 (CEIBS 2016)
20 (*The Economist* 2020)
21 (Byrne 2021)
22 (Byrne 2021)
23 (Byrne 2021)

18. The Nexus of Saudis, Americans, and Indian Billionaires

1 (IAMC Official Channel 2022). Timestamp: 0:00-1:20
2 (The Intercept 2022). Timestamp: 42:10-42:50
3 (Barnes, Rosenberg and Harris 2018)
4 (Wolters and Dumas 2018)
5 (Schwartz 2018)
6 The *New York Times* reported: 'One Saudi student in the United States whom I asked to interview said he would participate only if I shielded his identity. "Thanks for reaching out, please DO NOT use my name, affiliation or any descriptive

information in any published work," he wrote me in an email. When we met, he said that in contrast to what he considered some forward economic reforms by the government, "freedom of expression has been going in the other direction. You can't risk even moderate criticisms. And if you're an explicit critic, I feel like you could end up in prison."' (Sokolove 2019)

7 (Hsu, Yaffe-Bellany and Tracy 2020)
8 (Sokolove 2019)
9 (Sokolove 2019)
10 (Sokolove 2019)
11 (Sokolove 2019)
12 (Binkley 2018)
13 (Macropolis 2015)
14 (MIT News Office 2014)
15 (Sokolove 2019)
16 Its website states: 'Our work is generously supported by visionary foundations, governments, and individuals. Major donors include Arnold Ventures, Co-Impact, Community Jameel, Echidna Giving, The Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation, Google.org, The William and Flora Hewlett Foundation, King Philanthropies, The John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation, The Douglas B. Marshall Jr. Family Foundation, Omidyar Network, The Alfred P. Sloan Foundation, the Australian Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, and the UK Department for International Development.' (J-PAL 2010)
17 (OpIndia Staff 2020)
18 (J-PAL South Asia 2021)
19 See: (xSDG 2021b) and (Belongg 2019)
20 (Belongg Circle 2022)
21 (Belongg Mental Health Collective 2021)
22 (House Of Belongg 2021). Timestamp: 15:52
23 (Patnaik and Jha 2020)
24 (Patnaik and Jha 2020)
25 (Thorat, et al. 2015)
26 (xSDG 2021c)
27 See: 'India Exclusion Report 2019–2020'. Centre For Equity Studies. Retrieved on May 15, 2022 (http://centreforequitystudies.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/01/India-Exclusion-Report-2019-20-e-copy.pdf)
28 (Centre for Equity Studies 2021)
29 See: 'US based Indian Muslims Relief & Charity a UK based Minority Rights Grop pumped money to Harsh Mander's CES during peak anti #CAA_NRC_Protests period, which frowns common Indians n motive of the donors n action of NGO on ground speaks lots seeing its role in #DelhiRiots (Cont)'. Twitter. Retrieved on May 15, 2022 (https://twitter.com/legallro/status/1308969510968479751)
30 (Subramanian 2020)
31 (The Peace Research Institute Oslo (PRIO) 2021). Also see: (Satyaagrah 2022)

32 (OpIndia Staff 2021)
33 (Soros 2020)
34 (The Sikh Coalition 2021)
35 (The Sikh Coalition 2021)
36 (J-PAL 2020a)
37 (Jeanne Lafortune's Homepage 2022). See also: (J-PAL 2020b)
38 (J-PAL 2020c)
39 (J-PAL 2020d)
40 (J-PAL 2020e)
41 (J-PAL 2021)
42 (J-PAL 2014a)
43 (J-PAL 2020f)
44 (Mohan and Rego 2020)
45 (J-PAL 2014b)
46 (Kundu 2020)
47 (Kundu 2020)
48 (Aiyar 2019)
49 (Arthan 2021)
50 (*Al Jazeera* 2021)
51 (Silas 2019)
52 (Bharathi, et al. 2020)
53 (Vaidyanathan 2019)
54 (National Association of Science Writers 2021)
55 (Datta 2021)
56 (Raman 2022)
57 See: 'This is really irritating. There is more than ENOUGH documentation that all IITs, and IIT Madras too, is a hotbed of casteist discrimination. In fact, IITs survive on casteism; IITs *produce* caste to continue the myth of merit.'. Twitter. Retrieved on May 15, 2022 (https://twitter.com/queersprings/status/1485216011666157572)
58 See: 'Any analysis of Ayurveda without understanding how it is inexorably linked to caste and casteism is, for the most part, bullshit. Promoting Ayurveda = promoting caste'. Twitter. Retrieved on May 15, 2022 (https://twitter.com/queersprings/status/1502551645569564672)
59 (Yale Macmillan Center 2022)
60 (Yale Macmillan Center 2022)
61 (Yale Economic Growth Center 2020a)
62 (Yale Economic Growth Center 2022a)
63 (Yale Economic Growth Center 2021a)
64 (Yale Economic Growth Center 2021b)
65 (Yale Economic Growth Center 2022b)
66 (Field, Pande, et al. 2021c)

19. Ashoka University: Harvard University's Junior Partner

1 (Meet the Founders 2017) (8:53 – 9:29)
2 (Nanda 2021)
3 (Mehta 2016)
4 (Mehta 2016)
5 (Swarajya Staff 2021)
6 (*ThePrint* 2020). Timestamp: 06:37-09:30
7 (Balakrishna 2020)
8 (National Foundation For India 2019). (Aman Public Charitable Trust 2018)
The donors were Oxfam, Habitat for Humanity, the Ford Foundation, National Foundation of India (which itself receives funding from Oxfam, the Ford foundation, Gates Foundation, the Rockefeller Foundation and the Azim Premji Foundation.)
9 (Krishnam 2021)
The publication reported: 'These so-called liberal spaces are not at all different from other spaces or institutions that we may consider as patriarchal. Ashoka did everything in its capacity to protect the perpetrator. One may think a university in Bihar or Uttar Pradesh may act in this manner, not some place like Ashoka which had the famed public intellectual Pratap Bhanu Mehta as the VC during my complaint'. This is an excerpt from the previously unpublished interview of the survivor in Ashoka University Sexual Harassment case.
10 (Baruah 2017a)
11 (Baruah 2017b)
12 (*The Hindu* 2016)
13 (A. Singh 2021a)
14 (OpIndia Staff 2021a)
15 (Navayana 2012)
16 (Apoorvanand 2018)
17 (Ashoka University 2019a)
18 (Ashoka University 2020a)
19 (The British Academy 2020a)
20 (Keele University 2020)
21 (Ashoka University 2020a)
22 (Chandra 2020)
23 (*Asia Now* 2020)
24 (S. Gupta 2020)
25 (S. Gupta 2020)
26 (A. Sharma 2021a)
27 (Jameel 2021)
28 (Koshy 2021)
29 (Venu and Mirchandani 2021b)
30 (Ashoka University 2019b)
She is working on a 'big project which is about looking at why women's participation

in the labour force in India is so persistently low. What are the issues around that and that's been a big policy question right now. And so there we find that the fact that women have to do domestic chores I don't mean things like cooking cleaning etc. but even things like maintenance, household maintenance, washing clothes etc., with every additional domestic chore, when you account for all other factors, women's participation in economic activity goes down. That's one thing that we find and the other thing that we find is that while education of women has been rising, availability of suitable jobs is not. What I'm hoping is that this evidence based research contributes to the formulation of meaningful policy to tackle these persistent problems that we see'.

31 (Ashoka University 2019b)
32 (Deshpande 2018a)
33 (Ashoka University 2022a)
34 (Ashoka University 2022a)
35 (Brookings 2015)
36 (Harvard Kennedy School 2017c)
37 (Institute of Chinese Studies 2020)
38 (Institute of Chinese Studies 2021)
39 (Harvard-Yenching Institute 2020a)
40 (Rosenbaum 2012)
41 (United Board 2019)
42 See: "Our Network". United Board. Retrieved on May 15, 2022 (https://unitedboard.org/about-us/our-network/). In India, it supports CHRIST University in Bangalore, C.S.I. Ewart Women's Christian College Fatima College, Holy Cross College, Trichy, Lady Doak College, Madras Christian College, Maris Stella College, Nesamony Memorial Christian College, Union Christian College, Kerala, Union Christian College, Shillong and the Women's Christian College in Chennai to name a few.
43 (Harvard-Yenching Institute 2020b)
44 (Chinese Studies Association of Australia 2021)
45 (Harvard-Yenching Institute 2020c)
46 (Harvard-Yenching Institute 2020c)
47 (Chinese Studies Association of Australia 2021)
48 (Harvard University 2018j)
49 (Yeung 2018)
50 (Varshney 2018)
51 (Varshney 2018)
52 (Varshney 2018)
53 (Varshney 2018)
54 (Varshney 2018)
55 (Deshpande, Meritocracy and Affirmative Action in India 2018)
56 (Deshpande, Meritocracy and Affirmative Action in India 2018)
57 (Deshpande, Meritocracy and Affirmative Action in India 2018)

58 (Deshpande, Meritocracy and Affirmative Action in India 2018)
59 (Deshpande, Meritocracy and Affirmative Action in India 2018)
60 (Deshpande, Meritocracy and Affirmative Action in India 2018)
61 (Harvard University 2018j, 9). 'First is the role of technical education in caste formation. Rather than a space of universal knowledge where caste is no longer relevant, what we are seeing is the reconstitution of caste within and through the technical sciences. What this suggests is that caste is both resilient within and foundational to the makeup of the most modern, apparently identity-free institutions. Second is how we understand the relationship between meritocracy and democracy. By bracketing out historically accumulated advantages and disadvantages, the notion of meritocracy, like that of a color-blind society, has come to service the reproduction of inequality. Of course, the ideal meaning of meritocracy as a system which corrects for historical privilege has not vanished. However, the divergence between its ideal meaning and its social life should call into question the easy assumption that meritocracy is indeed a leveller of opportunity'.
62 (The Lakshmi Mittal and Family South Asia Institute 2019a); (Harvard University 2018j, 15).
63 (Trivedi Centre for Political Data 2018)
64 (Trivedi Centre for Political Data 2020c)
65 (Sciences Po 2017)
66 (Winters and Kassam, EXC: Joe Biden's CIA Director Told Congress He Terminated a Relationship With a Chinese Communist Influence Group – New Evidence Suggests This Was a Lie 2022)
67 (Mahaprashasta 2020)
68 (Jaffrelot and Laliwala, The segregated city 2018). 'The segregated city - Ghettoisation and Disturbed Areas Act are dividing urban spaces in Gujarat, pushing Muslims to the edge'; (Jaffrelot and Laliwala 2018b) 'Inside Ahmedabad's Juhapura: What It's Like for Muslims to Live in a Ghetto - If ghettoes promote orthodoxy, sectarianism and self-help, the rise of Hindutva has also prompted efforts to reach out to wider civil society'; (Jaffrelot 2021) 'Narendra Modi and Hindu Nationalism – The police is even acting directly against the minorities and the Delhi riots of 2020 showed that the police could be on their side in the street in their rioting activities'.
69 (*The Indian Express* 2015)
70 (Carnegie Endowment for International Peace 2016) His papers are: *Nationalism, not Hindutva Will Be the Big Theme for 2019*; *BJP is insecure about the youth vote*; *NRC Could Be the 21st Century Ram Janmabhoomi*; *The Dismal Functioning Of Democracy In Indian States*; *Has India's 'Flailing State' Been Turned Upside Down?*; *Introduction to E-symposium: Urbanisation, Gender, & Social Change in North India*; *Urbanisation, Gender, And Social Change: Do Working Women Enjoy More Agency?*
71 See: 'Gilles Verniers'. LinkedIn. Retrieved on May 15, 2022 (https://www.linkedin.com/in/gillesverniers/?originalSubdomain=in)
72 See: 'Dr. S.Y. Quraishi'. LinkedIn. Retrieved on May 15, 2022 (https://www.linkedin.com/in/dr-s-y-quraishi-bab17365/)

73 (The International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance 1998)
74 (Dhawan 2021)
75 (Jeelani 2021)
76 (OpIndia Staff 2022)
77 (*The Hindustan Times* 2022). Timestamp: 2:00
78 (OpIndia Staff 2022)
79 (OpIndia Staff 2022)
80 (Trivedi Centre for Political Data 2021a)
81 (Trivedi Centre for Political Data 2021b)
82 (Trivedi Centre for Political Data 2020b)
83 (Trivedi Centre for Political Data 2022)
84 (Trivedi Centre for Political Data 2021c)
85 (Trivedi Centre for Political Data 2021d)
86 (Zee Media Bureau 2022); See also: 'E-Census will shape development of next 25 years, every birth and death will be registered: Amit Shah'. *Times Now*. Retrieved on April 30, 2022 (https://www.timesnownews.com/india/e-census-will-shape-development-of-next-25-years-every-birth-and-death-will-be-registered-amit-shah-article-91444323)
87 (CNRS 1997) and (Mahaprashasta 2020)
88 (LIA SPINPER 2019a)
89 (LIA SPINPER 2019b)
90 (LIA SPINPER 2019a)
91 (LIA SPINPER 2019c)
92 (LIA SPINPER 2019d)
93 (LIA SPINPER 2019e)
94 (LIA SPINPER 2019f)
95 (Trivedi Centre for Political Data 2021e)
96 (Harvard University 2022b)
97 (Wellesley College 2016a). 'The signed memorandum of understanding represents a five-year agreement. The main components of the proposed academic program include: the joint development of innovative course content; research between faculty members and students in the areas of mutual interest; faculty exchange; and the possibility of wintersession programs, student exchange and study abroad programs. Further, as part of the agreement, the Wellesley Centers for Women has proposed to collaborate with Ashoka to support the development of the Center for Research on Gender and Sexuality, and the Albright Institute has proposed the sharing of their curricular and pedagogical global affairs model. A small cohort of Ashoka students was on campus to observe the 2016 Albright Institute winter session'.
98 (Pocket News Alert 2016)
99 (Wellesley College 2016a)
100 (Ashoka University 2020b)
101 Brazil, Romania, and Russia are examples where Gender Studies are under attack

from the governments. See: (Redden 2018b))

102 (Duffy 2021). 'Students are being asked to pretend they're trans or non-binary during mock discussions about initiating sex. This is from a federally funded sex education program.' The sudden rise in gender dysphoria in teens is blamed on trans activism and some even call it 'social engineering' by the Marxists of academia in the US. Snapchat, the social media platform for trans activism is also blamed for actively promoting the trans agenda and gender transitioning has emerged into a multibillion-dollar industry.

103 (Jones 2021); See: 'The number of kids who identify as LGBT, especially trans and bisexual, has absolutely skyrocketed. If you think this is a natural or organic development, you're deluded. The media, Hollywood, and the school system actively recruit children into the LGBT ranks'. Twitter. Retrieved on May 15, 2022 (https://twitter.com/MattWalshBlog/status/1364639405605027840)

104 Kashmir papers sponsored by CSGS: *On Kashmiri Women's Songs of Resistance, LSE Engenderings*; *Why does Kashmir's internet matter, when Kashmiri lives don't? Middle East Eye*; *On Kashmiri Women's Resistance*, *Asia Dialogue Post*, University of Nottingham; *The Myth of Empowerment: Gender, Conflict, and 'Development' in Kashmir, in Minorities and Populism – Critical Perspectives from South Asia and Europe* (edited by Volker Kaul and Ananya Vajpeyi), Springer; *On solidarity: reading love, loss, and longing in Kashmir*, *Identities Journal*; *In Kashmir, Resistance is Mainstream*, *Himal* SouthAsian; *Kashmir: Coronavirus is a new tool for India to oppress us*, *Middle East Eye*; *India takes another leaf from Israel's playbook by denying funerals in Kashmir*, *MiddleEast Eye*; *Kashmir and the politics of solidarity*, Identities Journal Blog; *India's settler colonialism in Kashmir is not starting now, eliminating the natives is a process long underway*, The Polis Project; *Home as the Frontier*, in *Can You Hear Kashmiri Women Speak?* Edited by Nitasha Kaul and Ather Zia, Women Unlimited; *In Kashmir, like Palestine, tourism glosses over reality of occupation*, *Middle East Eye*.

105 (New Discourses 2021)

106 (Ashoka University 2019)

107 (Wellesley Centers for Women 2020). The topics were: *Can sex be 'educated' in a culture of fear victimhood & trauma?*; *Intersections between gender and sexuality, discussed educational policy and theory*; *The relationship between sex and education in history, art, literature, law, and culture*; *Sex & Education – in the Indian context*; *Relationship between sex, education, history, and culture*; *Laws regulating 'desire' in educational institutions and public spaces*; *Sex, Education, and the Classroom*.

108 (K. Bhattacharjee 2021)

109 (Ashoka University 2016b). Timestamp: 31:48

110 (Ashoka University 2016b). Timestamp: 34:23

111 (Tariq 2020)

112 (BAPSA (Birsa Ambedkar Phule Students Association), JNU 2016)

113 (Justice For Rohith, University of Hyderabad 2016)

114 (Cogito 137 2020). Timestamp: 1:40

115 (Cogito 137 2020). Timestamp: 0:23
116 (Ashoka University 2017b). Timestamp: 9:17
117 (Ashoka University 2017b). Timestamp: 13:24
118 (Ashoka University 2017b). Timestamp: 08:53
119 (Omidyar Network India 2020b)
120 (Omidyar Network India 2020b)
121 (Ashoka University 2021a)
122 (Omidyar Network India 2020b)
123 (Rethinking Economics JNU 2021). Timestamp: 14:45
124 (PIB Delhi 2020)
125 (Ashoka University 2022b)
126 (Ashoka University 2021b)
127 (Omidyar Network India 2021a)
128 (*The Indian Express* 2015)
129 (Association for Democratic Reforms 2016)
130 See: 'Ingrid Srinath'. LinkedIn. Retrieved on May 15, 2022 (https://www.linkedin.com/in/ingrid-srinath-355552)
131 (Hindu Janajagruti Samiti 2014)
132 (Ashoka University 2018)
133 (Centre for Social Impact and Philanthropy 2019)
134 (Centre for Social Impact and Philanthropy 2019, 5)
135 (Centre for Social Impact and Philanthropy 2019)
136 (Philip 2018)
137 (Philip 2018)
138 (Centre for Social Impact and Philanthropy 2019, 10)
139 (Centre for Social Impact and Philanthropy 2019, 17)
140 (Centre for Social Impact and Philanthropy 2019, 24)
141 (Centre for Social Impact and Philanthropy 2019, 25)
142 (Independent and Public-Spirited Media Foundation 2019a)
143 (Centre for Social Impact and Philanthropy 2019, 40)
144 (Bhattacharya 2015)
145 (Ashoka University 2018a)
146 (Ashoka University 2018a)
147 (Ashoka University 2017a)
148 (Ashoka University 2016a)
149 (Ashoka University 2021)
150 (Shimer 2015)
151 (Shimer 2015)
152 (Wellesley College 2016a)
153 (*The Wire* Staff 2021a)
154 (*The Wire* Staff 2021a)
155 See: 'If Ashoka founders think it was a company because they put so much money in it, let us now talk business| Many in the leading US universities were thinking

of developing partnerships with Ashoka and a lead founder came to me for a partnership with Brown| Not possible any more|'. Twitter. Retrieved on May 15, 2022 (https://twitter.com/profvarshney/status/1372747919242235904)

156 (Pullanoor 2021)
157 (*The Wire* Staff 2021b)
158 (CSGS@Ashoka 2019)
159 (CSGS@Ashoka 2020). Timestamp: 00:03:45-00:07:45
160 (Stop Hindu Hate Advocacy Network 2020)
161 (K. Bhattacharjee 2020)
162 See: 'Students Against Hindutva Ideology'. Instagram. Retrieved on May 15, 2022 (https://www.instagram.com/studentsagainsthindutva).
163 (Dubey 2020)
164 (K. Sharma 2017)
165 (Blatantly Honest 2021b)
166 (Blatantly Honest 2021a)
167 (Blatantly Honest 2022)
168 (Goswami 2020)

20. Azim Premji's Media and Educational Impact

1 (Azim Premji University 2016)
2 (Azim Premji Foundation 2020); (Azim Premji University 2020)
3 (Varadarajan 2014)
4 (Azim Premji University 2014)
5 (Azim Premji University 2012)
6 (M. Bhattacharjee 2021)
7 (M. Bhattacharjee 2021)
8 (M. Bhattacharjee 2021)
9 (A. Singh 2021b)
10 (*The Wire* Staff 2018)
11 (*The Wire* Staff 2019)
12 (*The Hindu* 2019)
13 (Countercurrents 2020)
14 (Shireen 2021)
15 (Independent and Public-Spirited Media Foundation 2019c)
16 Since 2016 they have made grants of up to rupees seventy-nine crores. The following is the list of grantees: *Kashmir Observer*, *The Wire*, *ThePrint* (of Shekhar Gupta), *The Caravan*, *Mojo Story* (of Barkha Dutt), *Economic & Political Weekly*, *Janjwar*, *The Bastion*, *Down to Earth*, *Feminism In India*, *The Citizen*, *Alt News*, *India Spend*, *Max Maharashtra*, *India Development Review*, *Live History India*, *Saptahik Sadhana*, *The News Minute*, *Swarajya*, *Think Pragati*, *Supreme Court Observer*, *Article 14*, *The Ken*, *The Better India*, *Azhimukham*, *Live Law*, *Dool*

News, *YouTurn*, *Asiaville*, *The India Forum*, *Suno India*, *CGNet Swara*, *Imphal Free Press*, *East Mojo*, *Sikkim Chronicle*, *Khabar Lahariya*, and *Gaon Connection*. See: (IPSMF News 2021). According to IPSMF's website, as of January 2022, the following publications are still in their active grantee portfolio: *Article 14*, *The Citizen*, *Mojo Story*, *Supreme Court Observer*, *The India Forum*, *Imphal Free Press*, *Kashmir Observer*, *Feminism In India*, *Asiaville*, *Janjwar*, *Live History India*, *India Development Review*, *The Bastion*, *Suno India*, *Sikkim Chronicle*, *Saptahik Sadhana*, *Max Maharashtra*, *East Mojo*, *Alt News*, *Khabar Lahariya*, *The Caravan*, *Down to Earth*, *ThePrint*, *Swarajya*, *Think Pragati*, *The News Minute* and *Economic & Political Weekly*.

17 (Independent and Public-Spirited Media Foundation 2019b)
18 (Armour-Jones, Clark and Schwartz-Henderson 2019)
19 (Armour-Jones, Clark and Schwartz-Henderson 2019, 39)
20 (Centre for Social Impact and Philanthropy 2019, 30)
21 (Azim Premji Foundation 2021a); (Azim Premji Foundation 2021b)
22 (Brot für die Welt 2020)
23 (RNBA Manipur 2020)
24 (Azim Premji Foundation 2021)
25 (Arkitect India 2021)
26 (Arkitect India 2021). Timestamp: 09:40
27 (Arkitect India 2021). Timestamp: 11:36
28 (Rozario 2020)
29 (Basha 2020)
30 (K. Sharma 2021)
31 (Harvard Global 2017b)
32 (Harvard Global 2017a)
33 (Sannam S4 Group 2008)

21. Godrej and Queering

1 A 2011 study by the UCLA Williams Institute estimated the size of the LGBTQ+ population in the US and four other countries. The study found 3.5% identified as LGBTQ+ and 0.3% identified as transgender and 8.2% of Americans reported that they engaged in same-sex sexual behaviour. See: (Gates 2011). In 2020, that number increased: 4.5 % of the US population was found to be LGBTQ+ by the same research group. See: (Conron and Goldberg 2020)
2 Some of the main categories as of today are: **Agender:** does not identify with any gender; **Bigender:** identifies as two genders, either simultaneously or at different times; **Cis-gender, cisgender:** identifies as the same gender as the biological sex assigned at birth; **Genderfluid:** has a shifting or changing gender identity or identifies differently at different times; **Genderqueer:** has gender identity different from the societal norms of their assigned biological sex; **Neutrois:** neutral gender;

Trans, transgender, trans-man, trans-woman: identifies with a different gender than the sex assigned at birth. Sometimes trans people identify as either MTF (male to female) or FTM (female to male). A trans man is a person who was assigned female at birth and identifies as male. A trans woman is a person who was assigned male at birth and identifies as female. See: (Evan 2015)

3 (Bond 2021)
4 (Bond 2021)
5 (Harmon 2020)
6 (Shrier 2020)
7 (New Discourses 2022). Timestamp: 02:15:20 – 02:16:00
8 (Reilly 2022)
9 (Cost 2021)
10 (Cost 2021)
11 For instance, Vishnu assuming the form of Mohini. This is an annual festival transgender people can celebrate.
12 (Gettleman and Lyons 2018b)
13 (Bittu 2021)
14 (*Reuters* 2019)
15 (ANI 2021b)
16 (Godrej India Culture Lab 2019a)
17 (Godrej India Culture Lab 2019b)
18 (N. J. Sharma 2020c)
19 (N. J. Sharma 2020c)
20 (IndiaCultureLab 2019). Timestamp: 02:00
21 (N. J. Sharma 2020c)
22 (N. J. Sharma 2020c)
23 (N. J. Sharma 2020c)
24 (N. J. Sharma 2020c)
25 (N. J. Sharma 2020c)
26 (IndiaCultureLab 2020a). Timestamp: 19:22
27 (Nambiar and Shahani 2018)
28 For instance, feminizing includes the following surgical procedures: Scalp Hair Reconstruction (including both crown and hairline reconstruction); Scalp Advancement/Hairline lowering; Forehead contouring/Brow burnishing; Brow Lift; Blepharoplasty; Rhytidoplasty; Rhinoplasty; Cheek enhancement/reduction; Upper lip reduction/enhancement; Genioplasty, feminizing; Jaw Contouring; Liposuction of neck; Tracheal Shave; Breast Augmentation/Augmentation Mammoplasty; Suction-assisted lipectomy/body contouring; Penectomy; Orchiectomy; Vaginoplasty; Clitoroplasty; Vulvoplasty; Labiaplasty. Masculinizing includes surgeries for the following: Forehead Lengthening; Forehead Augmentation; Cheek Augmentation; Nasal Augmentation; Genioplasty, masculinizing; Thyroid Cartilage Enhancement; Mastectomy; Suction-assisted lipectomy/body contouring; Hysterectomy/Oophorectomy; Reconstruction of the

fixed part of the urethra; Metoidioplasty; Phalloplasty; Vaginectomy Scrotoplasty; Implantation of erectile or testicular prostheses. (Nambiar and Shahani 2018)

29 (Nambiar and Shahani 2018, 37)
30 (Nambiar and Shahani 2018, 41)
31 (Nambiar and Shahani 2018, 39)
32 (Nambiar and Shahani 2018, 42)
33 (Nambiar and Shahani 2018, 51)
34 (Nambiar and Shahani 2018, 51)
35 (Yale School of Management 2014)
36 (IndiaCultureLab 2020a). Timestamp: 24:08
37 (IndiaCultureLab 2020a). Timestamp: 22:33
38 (India Foundation for the Arts 2014); See: 'Storytelling Special | June 14, 15, 27 & 28, 2013 | Mumbai'. India Foundation for the Arts. Retrieved on April 30, 2022 (http://indiaifa.org/events/storytelling-special-june-14-15-27-28-2013-mumbai.html)
39 (IndiaCultureLab 2020b). Timestamp: 07:50
40 (India Foundation for the Arts 2021)

22. Omidyar Network, Trojan Horse in India

1 See: (A. Field 2019)
2 See: (Fuller 2021). We are indebted to Fuller's investigative work that enabled us to dig deeper.
3 See: (Fuller 2021)
4 Fuller's investigation reveals the following: 'Omidyar, whose Omidyar Network funds AELP, also funds the Democracy Fund which is now part of Omidyar Group (1). The Democracy Fund, in turn, together with the Knight Foundation, Quadrivium, the McArthur Foundation and Luminate (also funded by Omidyar) fund Democracy Works (2). Omidyar also funds Democracy Fund Voice, which in turn contributes to Defending Democracy Together (3). Then there is Healthy Democracy which is funded by the Democracy Fund, Silicon Valley Community Foundation (which also receives money from Democracy Fund) (4) and the Ford Family Foundation. The Omidyar Network also co-funds New Public by Civic Signals, along with the Knight Foundation, One Project, the National Conference on Citizenship and the University of Texas at Austin, Centre for Media Engagement. Of course, the University of Texas at Austin, Centre for Media Engagement is also funded by the Omidyar Network, the Democracy Fund (funded by Omidyar), the Knight Foundation, Robert McCormick Foundation, and Google. To name just a few others, the Ada Lovelace Institute also receives funding from Luminate, the Wellcome Trust and Nuffield Foundation, while TicTec, a MySociety event about 'civic tech', is funded by Facebook, Luminate and Google, among others'.

5 (Luminate 2019)
6 See: 'NMV'. New Media Ventures. Retrieved on May 15, 2022 (https://www.newmediaventures.org)
7 There is also a direct flow to Equality Labs. Equity Initiative Omidyar's website states: 'Equality Labs is a critical conduit for information, services, and rapid response for South Asian and broader racial justice communities. With a grant from the Omidyar Network, we will increase direct services to our base and update our mutual aid resource kit, grow our COVID-19 public health guide and *create more culturally sensitive materials*; and bring on a new digital security contractor'. See: (Omidyar Network India 2021j)
8 (Greenwald 2021)
9 (Greenwald 2021)
10 (Dolan 2015)
11 (Dolan 2015)
12 (Malhotra and Neelakandan 2011)
13 (Malhotra and Neelakandan 2011, 336-37)
14 (Malhotra and Neelakandan 2011, 363-64)
15 (Shashikumar 2004)
16 (Shashikumar 2004)
17 (Shashikumar 2004)
18 See: 'Summer 2012, Pilot Project'. Harvard University. Retrieved on April 30, 2022 (https://mittalsouthasiainstitute.harvard.edu/wp-content/uploads/2012/08/Final-Report-MOBILIZE-Digital-Libraries-2012-Pilot3.pdf)
19 (Harvard University 2019)
20 (Malhotra 2021)
21 (Mishra 2014)
22 Digital Infrastructure for Governance, Impact and Transformation. See: 'DIGIT by eGov Foundation'. digit.org. Retrieved on May 15, 2022 (https://www.digit.org/)
23 (Musthafa, Kumar and Sharalaya 2022a)
24 (Musthafa, Kumar and Sharalaya 2022a)
25 (Musthafa, Kumar and Sharalaya 2022a)
26 (Musthafa, Kumar and Sharalaya 2022a); (ANI 2021a)
27 (Omidyar Network India 2021b)
28 See: 'How IntrCity Mobility Changed with Intrcity Smart Buses'. Omidyar Network India. Retrieved on May 15, 2022 (https://www.omidyarnetwork.in/theboldones/intrcity)
29 (Omidyar Network India 2021f)
30 See: 'Helping Small business grow via Easy Loans'. Omidyar Network India. Retrieved on May 15, 2022 (https://www.omidyarnetwork.in/theboldones/indifi)
31 (Omidyar Network India 2021i)
32 (Omidyar Network India 2021c)
33 (Omidyar Network India 2022c)
34 See: 'Transforming India using Data Driven Technology – Transverse'. Omidyar

Network India. Retrieved on May 15, 2022 (https://www.omidyarnetwork.in/theboldones/transerve)

35 (Omidyar Network India 2021g)
36 (Omidyar Network India 2019a) See Homepage for latest investment Tracker
37 The investments are in the categories of Equity, Grants, Support for Projects and Research
38 See: 'Omidyar Network India'. LinkedIn. Retrieved on May 15, 2022 (https://in.linkedin.com/company/omidyar-network-india)
39 See: 'The Bold Ones'. LinkedIn. Retrieved on May 15, 2022 (https://www.linkedin.com/posts/omidyar-network-india_the-bold-ones-activity-6868452932489121792-v6AO)
40 (IDFC Foundation 2016a)
41 (IDFC Institute 2015)
42 (IDFC Institute 2015)
43 (IDFC Institute 2017a)
44 (IDFC Institute 2017b)
45 (IDFC Institute 2017b)
46 (World Economic Forum 2016)
47 (IDFC Foundation 2016a)
48 (IDFC Foundation 2016a)
49 (Rubinstein and Blumenthal 2019)
50 (Data Governance Network 2020)
51 (Rajadhyaksha 2017)
52 (Parasa 2021a)
53 (Imad, et al. 2021b)
54 (Imad, et al. 2021b)
55 (Rajan, et al. 2021c)
56 (Tandel, et al. 2017a)
57 Data in the table is copied from (IDFC Institute 2017c)
58 (IDFC Foundation 2016b)
59 (IDFC Foundation 2016b)
60 (Winters and Kassam 2021b)
61 (Winters and Kassam 2021b)
62 (Ganguly 2019)
63 (Pratilipi 2014)
64 (Pratilipi 2014)
65 (Omidyar Network India 2022a)
66 (Omidyar Network India 2020a)
67 (Omidyar Network India 2021a)
68 (J-PAL 2003)
69 (Omidyar Network India 2019b)
70 (Omidyar Network India 2021e)
71 (Omidyar Network India 2021h)

72 See: 'Catalytic Capital Consortium Announces Awards to 14 Research Projects'. LinkedIn. Retrieved on May 15, 2022 (https://www.linkedin.com/posts/omidyar-network_catalytic-capital-consortium-announces-awards-activity-6856272421377458177-8iLe) and (New Venture Fund 2021)

73 See: '#NextHalfBillion: Diversity, Equity and Inclusion'. LinkedIn. Retrieved on May 15, 2022 (https://www.linkedin.com/posts/omidyar-network-india_nexthalfbillion-diversity-equity-activity-6853955345090441216-JV0e) and (Kudva 2021)

74 See: 'This duo incubates early-stage non-profits. Their goal: Bring 1 crore Indians out of poverty by 2025'. LinkedIn. Retrieved on May 15, 2022 (https://www.linkedin.com/posts/omidyar-network-india_forbes-india-this-duo-incubates-early-stage-activity-6863754490013614081-atzY) and (Shekhar 2021)

75 (Omidyar Network India 2022b)

76 See: 'Widening India's Digital Highways: The Next Frontiers for Open Digital Ecosystems (ODEs)'. LinkedIn. Retrieved on May 15, 2022 (https://www.linkedin.com/posts/omidyar-network-india_odes-opendigitalecosystems-digitalindia-activity-6859007168834760704-Xpd1). And also: "The Next Frontiers for ODEs'. LinkedIn. Retrieved on May 15, 2022 (https://www.linkedin.com/posts/omidyar-network-india_the-next-frontiers-for-odes-activity-6859736951080140800-0ULs).

77 (Professional Assistance for Development Action 2021); See: 'Leveraging Technology to Secure Tribal Land Rights: Why We Invested in Pradan'. LinkedIn. Retrieved on May 15, 2022 (https://www.linkedin.com/posts/omidyar-network-india_leveraging-technology-to-secure-tribal-land-activity-6851831041959710720-PEdZ/); See: 'Professional Assistance For Development Action (PRADAN): Overview'. LinkedIn. Retrieved on May 15, 2022 (https://www.linkedin.com/company/professional-assistance-for-development-action).

78 (NFI 2019)

79 (Kumar, Musthafa and Kamra 2021a)

80 (Omidyar Network India 2020c)

81 (Tandan, Nautiyal and Kudva 2019)

82 (Omidyar Network India 2019c)

83 See: 'Scroll.in'. Omidyar Network India. Retrieved on May 15, 2022 (https://www.omidyarnetwork.in/investees/scroll)

84 (Rieder 2014)

85 As reported in: (Valentine 2017, 130-131). Also see: (Cohen 2014)

86 See: 'PRS Legislative Research'. PRS. Retrieved on May 15, 2022 (https://prsindia.org) and (Omidyar Network 2020)

87 See: 'Entrepreneurship-In-Government_ Part I with Dr K.P. Krishnan and Varad Pande'. LinkedIn. Retrieved on May 15, 2022 (https://www.linkedin.com/posts/omidyar-network-india_entrepreneurship-in-government-part-i-with-activity-6838355897102807040-L1ts)

88 (Omidyar Network India 2021d)

89 (Data Governance Network 2020)

90 (Data Governance Network 2013)
91 (Omidyar Network India 2020d)
92 (The Centre for Internet and Society 2008); and See: 'The Centre for Internet and Society'. LinkedIn. Retrieved on May 15, 2022 (https://in.linkedin.com/company/centre-for-internet-and-society)
93 Village Capital: (Omidyar Network India 2020e)

Conclusion

1 (*BBC* News 2020)
2 (Schwab and Vanham 2021); (Bakker and Elkington 2020)
3 (Harvard Kennedy School 2017b)
4 (kenlej 2022)
5 (kenlej 2022)
6 (kenlej 2022)
7 (Delingpole 2021)
8 (Young and Addison 2020); (Taylor 2020)
9 (Wherry 2020); (Global News 2020). Timestamp: 2:05.
10 See: 'This is what you need to know about critical race theory. Learn more about racial equality: http://ow.ly/PUbR50HPGga'. Twitter. Retrieved on May 15, 2022 (https://twitter.com/wef/status/1491094355444219906)
11 (Wignaraja and Horvath 2020)
12 (Wignaraja and Horvath 2020)
13 (Wignaraja and Horvath 2020)
14 (Stein 2021)
15 (Schachtel 2022)
16 (Schachtel 2022)
17 (Schachtel 2022)
18 (World Economic Forum 2020b)
19 (Evans, et al. 2017)
20 (Massa and Melby 2020)
21 (Massa and Melby 2020)
22 (World Economic Forum 2022a); See: 'BlackRock'. World Economic Forum. Retrieved on May 15, 2022 (https://www.weforum.org/organizations/blackrock-inc)
23 (Kramer 2020)
24 (Sheth 2022)
25 (Barrabi 2022)
26 (Kramer 2019)
27 (Dawson and Duda 2021)
28 (Joshi 2021)
29 (Joshi 2021)
30 (Dhillon 2018)

31 (Rao 2021)
32 (Nevradakis 2022)
33 (Nevradakis 2022)
34 (Nevradakis 2022)
35 (Infosys 2020). Timestamp: 01:05
36 (World Economic Forum 2022b, 22)
37 (World Economic Forum 2022b, 22)
38 (World Economic Forum 2022b, 22)
39 (World Economic Forum 2022b, 24)
40 (World Economic Forum 2022b, 24)
41 (World Economic Forum 2022b, 29)
42 See: 'Brian J. Grim | Faith & Business Build a Better World'. LinkedIn. Retrieved on May 15, 2022 (https://www.linkedin.com/in/briangrim)
43 For instance, the Templeton Foundation with its strong experience in funding Christian initiatives is a sponsor of the RFBF's Asian expansion engagement. See: (Religious Freedom & Business Foundation 2019)
44 For instance, one of the participants in their focus group said: 'The World Trade Centers are very active in India. They have a very strong business community. They now have almost 40 World Trade Centers throughout India. I know many people on the board and have been active the past couple decades. This issue [religious freedom] never came up there...But through the roundtables, I connected. I then realized how intense this issue was. I was not aware of it. In the business community, it was going past me.' (Religious Freedom & Business Foundation 2021, 7)
45 See: 'Corporate Religious Equity, Diversity & Inclusion (REDI) Index'. REDI. Retrieved on May 15, 2022 (https://religiousfreedomandbusiness.org/redi)
46 (Da Alternative 2022)
47 (The Forum of Young Global Leaders 2020)
48 (*The Hill* 2022). Timestamp: 05:38-06:23
49 (Lord 2021)
50 (Dellacherie 2017)
51 (World Economic Forum 2020a)
52 (Jeedigunta, et al. 2021, 4)
53 (Sharma and Sengupta 2020)

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*Note: Any errors in links, articles, tweets, etc. are presented as they appear in the original.

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