Acknowledgements

IRST, MY WARMEST gratitude to the larger intellectual community that sustains all of us. In this case, the generosity of spirit displayed by friends and colleagues who readily agreed to read parts of the manuscript or even the whole, taking time from their own insanely busy schedules to scrutinise carefully and offer engaged criticism, directing me to fresh resources and helping to fine-tune or redraft parts of my argument. Never have I felt the truth of this anodyne and familiar phrasing so powerfully; it therefore needs saying that the people I acknowledge below are neither responsible for any errors that remain nor necessarily in agreement with the way my argument plays out. Indeed, at many points in what follows I have felt like adding a footnote such as "X, you will still not agree with this, but thank you for helping me to phrase it less definitively!"

Partha Chatterjee read the manuscript in its earliest iteration, and his encouraging comments both propelled me forward as well as alerted me to gaps and weaknesses requiring further reading and thought.

Humeira Iqtidar read every single word in the spirit of tough love, and her long, insightful, and often critical comments have definitively shaped this book.

Honey Oberoi Vahali and Rachana Johri read the chapter on psychoanalysis, which I presented to them with an unsaid *gustaakhi maaf*. They responded with indulgence, offering wisdom and direction from the deep scholarship in which they are immersed, saving me from some elementary mistakes and driving the chapter in more complex directions.

Kalpana Kannabiran, Rahul Govind, Sanjay Palshikar, and Upinder

Singh read some chapters with a ferocious intellectual and political gaze, and through their own scholarship and the comments they made, enriched several dimensions of my project.

Thank you, Prateek Vijayavargia for enabling access to any material I needed at a moment's notice—through methods I did not enquire further into. (Long live the knowledge commons!)

As I wind up my teaching career and supervise the last six doctoral students before my retirement in a couple of years, my thanks to all the doctoral students I have ever had. Every engagement with each one of you taught me something valuable.



The section on women and land rights in chapter 5 is the latest version of two lectures delivered in 2015—the Nisha Dhanagere Memorial Lecture at Savitribai Phule University of Pune, and at the Institute for South Asia Studies, University of California, Berkeley. Versions of the lectures appear as chapters in Suren Pillay, ed., On the Subject of Citizenship: Late Colonialism in the World Today, and Toshie Awaya and Kazuo Tomozawa, eds., Inclusive Development in South Asia. The section on Universal Basic Income in chapter 5 was first presented at the South Asia @ NYU Annual Conference in 2017 (Inequality in South Asia), and later at an online seminar in King's College London. I would like to acknowledge the discussions and comments I received at these presentations.

The section on the Sethusamudram Project in chapter 5 is an updated and expanded version of part of an earlier paper in a volume I coedited with Aditya Nigam and Sanjay Palshikar, *Critical Studies in Politics: Sites, Selves, Power.* The CSP (Critical Studies in Politics) group of scholars and our stimulating interactions in the course of the production of the volume are an important landmark in my intellectual journey.

I started thinking systematically from the global South with a lecture delivered in 2017 in the Pandit Hriday Nath Kunzru Memorial Lecture Series organised by the School of International Studies, Jawa-

harlal Nehru University (JNU), New Delhi. Subsequently, I taught a course titled "Critical Thought from the Global South," and, in the five or six years since then, have benefited greatly from the highly motivated students who opted for the course; their intellectual curiosity and critical minds pushed and broadened my horizons. The core of chapter 3 is the K. R. Narayanan Memorial Lecture I was invited to deliver at the Centre for Research and Education for Social Transformation, Kozhikode, Kerala, in November 2017, with a somewhat developed version published in the *Economic and Political Weekly* (vol. 54, issue 38, 21 September 2019), and later in a volume bringing together the lecture series titled Nationhood, Social Justice, and Unequal Transformations: Essays for K. R. Narayanan, ed. D. D. Nampoothiri, et al. The idea of insurgent constitutionalism in chapter 6 was developed in the Chinta Ravindran Memorial Lecture (2018), and in a presentation at a conference titled "Cultures of the Left in the Age of Right Wing Populism" organised by scholars of Warwick University and Jawaharlal Nehru University (2019), and also in the Professor V. Aravindakshan Foundation Memorial Lecture (2022).

The collective blog begun by some of us in 2006, Kafila, continues to sputter along, completely unfunded and at the mercy of the constraints of time upon its remaining active members, and has served as a platform that germinates early ideas that sometimes lead to longer articles and books. Many of the ideas in this book too have had their earliest incarnations in posts on Kafila.

Rukun Advani I thank for his editorial skill that saved many an over-academic formulation of mine from certain death. This being a book for general readers as much as for academics and scholars, I have followed his suggestion to stay clear of diacritical marks.

Thank you to Achille Mbembe for enabling Duke University Press to collaborate with the originating publisher Permanent Black, and to Elizabeth Ault of DUP for so enthusiastically shepherding it.

When citing or referring to Japanese, Chinese, Korean, and Taiwanese writers, I have followed the conventions of scholars in the field.



This book has taken shape over a decade that has seen the chaos wrought by India's descent into Hindu supremacist rule, and by the pandemic. It would have been difficult to survive, let alone be productive, without the networks of solidarity and friendship and intimacy that we managed to build and sustain.

My Sah Vikas family—Anindita Bose, Aparna Balachandran, Irfan Zuberi, Kaustav Saha, Madhulika Banerjee, Nagraj Adve, Shahana Bhattacharya, Shaista Anwar—for food and recipes and comfort, for sharing in despair and joy, and for being on call at all times for one another. (Why has the water stopped? Did you know another *dargah* has been demolished?) This has been a security net that envelops with love and information and references on eclectic topics (and cruel mockery when deemed necessary).

Aditya Nigam for the intellectual, political, and emotional journey on which we continue to be companions, for being the sounding board for every idea and passing thought, for reading every word I have ever written with critical care, and for "being there" for me always, regardless of every vicissitude and change.

Shobna Sonpar and Shifa Haq for training my emotional core with loving kindness.

My JNU family—colleagues and friends, our inspiring and courageous students—who continue to stand up against the neoliberal and Hindutva-driven unravelling of our public universities and continue to pay a price, while drawing strength and courage from one another.

Our friends and students in prison for speaking up against the authoritarian regime. And the tireless, principled lawyers who push back against the destruction of institutions.

To the young musicians and theatre activists (Sanyukta, Anirban and their friends) who taught me, when faced with bleakness and despair, to "start with one corner, keep one little corner clean."

Friendships that have sustained me across distance and across time, seeding my emotions and my intellect, weathering phases of radio silence and every hiccup—Aditi Nigam, Amrita Nandy, Ayisha Abraham,

Chandana Mathur, Dermot Dix, Gautam Bhan, J. Devika, Jamal Kidwai, Janaki Abraham, Janaki Srinivasan, Jinee Lokaneeta, Malavika Rajkotia, Mohinder Singh, P. K. Datta, Rita Kothari, Satyajit Mayor, Shankar Raghuraman, Shipra Nigam, Sneha Banerjee, Shreiya Maheshwari, Sumit Sarkar, Tanika Sarkar, Upasana Garnaik, Urvashi Butalia, Vrinda Grover, Rada Ivekovic, and Goran Fejic.

Ayesha Kidwai, Janaki Nair, Madhu Sahni, Pratiksha Baxi—my daily feminist fix.

Aarti Sethi, Rachana Johri, Sunalini Kumar—who have held my hand and seen me through every cataclysm and celebration.

The wider circles of friendships old and new, of political camaraderie, all of which, I am fortunate enough to say, I couldn't possibly name without writing another book.

Remembering my father B. M. Menon, who passed away in 2010. And with so much love to my mother Devaki Menon, and to my siblings and niblings—Dilip, Pramada, Lara, Sujata, Naima, Zayan—often taken for granted, but always in my heart.

This book is dedicated to one of my oldest friends whom we lost to cancer in 2021, the Sri Lankan feminist scholar and democratic rights activist Malathi de Alwis. Malathi inspired generations with her passion for justice and the networks of solidarity and friendship she built across continents. I miss her luminous presence in my life.