THE COVID-19 AND ITS IMPACT ON INDIAN SOCIAL LIFE: LIVED EXPERIENCES OF MUSLIMS AND DALIT COMMUNITY

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ABSTRACT

The coronavirus has changed the social fabric of many societies. It came with so many consequences in the life of people which cannot be described without taking into account the loss of life; trauma and psychological distress people are going through in their everyday life. The initial days of uncertainty and unpredictability in the unruly behaviour of virus created the doomsday kind of situation for people and authorities, which has been mitigated gradually with the introduction of vaccines and booster doses and regimen of other combination of medicines. Yet people are into rumour spreading through social media platforms and there are doubters who are yet to believe the presence of coronavirus. This paper is an attempt to explain and understand the impact of coronavirus on Indian social life. One of the ways of studying Indian society is to bring in the phenomenological and political anthropology as a methodological tool to unravel the intricacies, social cleavages and the fault lines prevailing in the everyday life of people. By applying these methodological tools one can also understand the complexity it brings into social, political and economic life of an individual and community.

Keywords: Pandemic, Lived Experience, Hindu Majoritarianism, Violence, New Normal, Social Distancing, Muslims.

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INTRODUCTION: Qualitative Methodological Discussion

Without dwelling into history, the current times cannot be understood. Understanding times in crude historical events would be meaningless, if it is not studies in interpretative phenomenological sense. The life-world¹, lived experience is an important category to understand the life history of community/ies (Schutz 1967). It is the importance of history as a site of contestation; memory building and myth making which makes communities revisits their intellectual resources.

India's diversity has been the strength of her social fabric and mutual existence of plural communities cherishing their unique culture and tradition. India has a long history of dissenting tradition making it viable ground for many ideas and plural identities to emerge (Khilnani 1997). In recent times the diversity has come under attack, thanks to the Westphalian nation-

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¹ In Phenomenological studies life-world, lived experience is the basis of knowledge production.

state construct which harbours the singular identity of a state in terms of nation, language, race or religion (Philpott 1995).

Covid has brought manifold changes in Indian society impacting the peoples sensibilities and infecting the curiosity and critical attitudes. People are turned into docile bodies, enforcing social conformity and following uncritically rules and regulations in the name of emergency. State has been overproducing its power by trumping the regimes of rights by creating alternative "regimes of truth"² (Foucault 1977; Lorenzini 2016).

In this backdrop this paper is a modest attempt to understand implication of pandemic on Indian society chronologically. The reason contemporary society requires being read historically is due to its organic link with the past. The pandemic has brought crises on Indian people and has to do largely with the kinds of power structure which is rooted in socio-historical context. Through the analysis of Indian republic and fraught democratic journey this paper highlights that representation, recognition and redistribution has been the casualty in the history of India (of 75 years of Independence). It has institutionalised political (electoral) democracy but social and economic democracy is far from realization. It is in the root of the majoritarian politics since independence which has been the stumbling block in the progress of marginalized communities including Muslims.

Indian society is marred by caste-hierarchy and division of labour from clean jobs to menial works according to the cultural rootedness of caste system (Dumont 1980). This makes caste-class dynamics in India more complex because of tight knit boundaries of social life and demarcated structured social and economic system. On the other hand, the diversified religious practices have incorporated age old caste system into its fold making it more of Indianised Islam, Christianity, Judaism and Zoroastrianism. Hinduism as a religion is known for its heterodoxies which makes it more pluralistic and yet uniquely rigid because of its caste hierarchies.

In contemporary settings the marked divisions in heterogeneous Indian social life creates impediments of many kinds because of discrimination rooted in social structure. The rural-urban divide, class divisions, caste hierarchy and regional and religious diversity creates different social imaginaries and boundaries, making everyday life of people uncanny and unstable. In this framework the politics becomes more intense and instead of ideological

² Foucault explains that how knowledge and truth were produced by power structures of society.

political contestation for power, the social groups resort to physical violence to relegate the 'other' communities to the margins.

Current Sociological History of Bigotry, Fascism and Conformity: Pre-Corona Times

India has been polarised society since independence. Hindu-Muslim conflict leading to communal riots has been part and parcel of Indian electoral politics. Some scholars have been calling it Institutionalized Riots System (IRS) (Brass 2003). The counter-force (in the form of secularism) is mandated by Constitution to mitigate domination of one religious group (particularly Hindus as majority) over the minorities. The secular state treating all religions equally and favouring to none is the basic feature of Indian Constitution.

On the other hand, since independence, the lower caste communities have been demanding for greater share in the resources and common good; representation, redistribution and recognition. Since 1947 India has been doing fairly well on economic and social indicators following blend of socialistic and welfare approach by centralizing the public sector (Rudolph and Rudolph 1987).

In Indian social parlance the prevailing social problems of poverty, unemployment, illiteracy and the issues of violations of rights dominated the political landscape for first 50 years of independence. Caste identities got emboldened due to shared marginalization and backwardness by the hands of social and political elites. With the intervention of Indian state and political assertions by backward communities, the affirmative action measures were put in place to address these challenges (economic inequalities) posed by the new emerging class who were organising themselves politically. Parallelly the Hindu-right ideology was asserting against these assertions but much more fierce and militant responses and attacks were on Muslim minorities (Kohli 1990).

The Muslims were identified as common enemy. For the survival of cultural nationalist ideology, an enemy was needed-to be potent force-for mobilization and consolidation of Hindus. The way of consolidation was –proposed to unite India politically in terms of ancient geographical boundaries extending beyond current cartographic imagination. The aim, goals and dreams of *Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh* (RSS hereafter), a nationalist organization has been realization of *Akhand Bharat* (Undivided India) (RSS 2012). This exclusive nationalism identifies 'us' and 'them' ('we' and 'they') in Indian society (Jaffrelot 1996; Chowdhury 2021).

Post-Truth Leading to Violence

Facts are distorted and emotions are inserted to make it more realistic adding all myths and propagandas for possible meaning making and setting an agenda. The machinery which works behind the veil are anonymous media personnel, trolls on social media and fake news spreaders using social media tools like Whatsapp, Facebook, twitter and others. Once the fake news is in public domain, it marks the departure from established truth to alternative expression of established truth taking out some specifics and exaggerated in public domain. For an example: In India Jawaharlal Nehru, the first PM was secular and socialist leader who stood for his ideals in belief of national integration by imbibing constitutional principles of equality among all religions without favouring any particular religion. Now this particular image of Nehru in contemporary times is utilized by the Hindu majoritarian government to showcase that Nehru was secular because he wanted to favour Muslims, one of the largest minorities of India. Here comes the business of alternative fact making and peddling misinformation among potentially hard-core Hindu right-wing stocks to harden their opinions about Nehru as Muslim sympathiser. By doing this the right-wing political outfits are doing two things:

a) They want to write off all the contributions made by Nehru.

b) They blame for every contemporary problems (even in 2021) to Nehru (who died in 1964).

Now as right wing ideology survives precisely by polarising the society on the lines of 'us versus them'. Because Nehru was secular means he was Muslim supporter. So, all who are secular in this country are Muslim sympathisers. And because Nehru belonged from Indian National Congress (hereafter INC), hence INC is a declared secular organisation. So, the inference goes that INC is anti-Hindu outfit. To add more spices to this propaganda would be that most of the INC leaders were and are graduated from Western University hence they are also forwarding Christian missionaries' agenda of conversion. The Indian political landscapes are fertile for this kind of myth-making-fake-news industry precisely due to worse literacy rate and moreover the accounted literacy rate do not means that people are conscious enough to differentiate between fake and genuine information.

The discussion of post-truth age also leads towards erosion of democratic ideals and institutions and rising of authoritarian regimes riding on the chariot of populism. Throughout the world what we are witnessing is the surge in authoritarian mould of politics. This is quite related with rise in illiberal democracies. Political parties are engaged in spreading lies and misinformation, hiding facts of the governance, engaging in scams and denying on face value.

Almost everybody knows it is the real politics (politics of manoeuvring information) yet nobody is there to contest. The regime of the day tries to implant their own versions of reality by denying the known facts to the public. It is this rearrangement of alternative facts in original contexts; the emotion is either initiator or the by-products of the processes. It is not to be misunderstood that the regime has the power to add emotions in the public domain by peddling lies. It can be other way around wherein emotions can be aroused because of misinformation/lies itself. It is this by product (of release of emotions) where the mythmaking industry becomes more creative and curative. By creative I mean adding more myth into the narrative which is genealogically leading to establish a grand-narrative. The curative is that part of the process where the masses are promised the cure of the problem. For an example: On 6th December, 1992, the four century old mosque was demolished by the Hindu mob called *karsevaks* (volunteers). Millions of Hindus had walked and travelled from all across India because they were promised to realize the construction of Ram Temple at the same place where *Babri* mosque stood. Demolition was the culmination of narrative weaving. For that day to happen, the creativity of mythmakers needs to be given credit.

The New Normal in Indian Social Life

Because of post-truth, the political impacts have degenerated the established norms and values. False and fake news was in trend and it seems that corona was ready to strike in fractured and disfigured society resulting in crisis of democratic values (Urbinati 2014).³ We were living in crisis times in 2018-19 already. Violence was justified by leaders and masses based on 'us-them'. On these grounds the political institutions were under attack by the populist leaders. All kinds of abnormality or shifts from the standard norms were becoming 'new normal'. On the 'new normal' aspects of Indian politics Teltumbde comments:

"In every sphere of public life, a "new normal" has been established in the last four years (2014-18). Politics in India was never really principled but neither had it stooped to such lows, as we experience today. That lies, doublespeak and falsehoods are integral to politicians was always known but rarely were these peddled, in keeping with Gobbles' maxim, as blatantly as they are today. The "new normal" involves fudging figures, propagandising half-truths, and repeating hyperbolic claims in the face of contrary evidence" (2018: 10).

³In *Democracy Disfigured*, Nadia Urbinati sees three distortions in our contemporary times: *epistemic* or *unpolitical*, the *populist*, and the *plebiscitary*. This work reflects that how meritocracy and elitism survives by trampling down the genuine people oriented leadership and knowledge and power domination. In the name of the people populist leaders are holding on unconstrained power. And the mass media culture promotes the incivility of citizens making them docile and conforming. These crises are due to rising inequality and directly impacting the health of democracy.

Violence, falsehood, fake news, unethical practises, majoritarianism, racism, white supremacy, lynching of minorities, and witch-hunting and hate mongering are apparatus of power domination in India since 2014. The vigilantism of fringe group is now in action with complete impunity (Rosenbaum and Sederberg 1974) supported by the Indian establishment. The right wing ideology emerged into power led by nationalist political party, the *Bhartiya Janata Party* (the BJP). The popular leader of the BJP had already stained political career as fire brand orator who did not hesitate in spewing hate venom against Muslims. Being chief minister of Gujarat (western Indian state) he was known for rising as a leader on the corpses of Muslims. Asghar Ali Engineer, one of the pioneer on studying communal riots in India comments on one of the horrifying incident of violence in Post independent India; Gujarat pogrom as:

"The frequency with which communal holocausts have been taking place in India shows that there is something fundamentally wrong with our political system as well as our secular governance. The carnage in Gujarat did not occur suddenly and simply in reaction to what happened in Godhra. The Sangh parivar politically thrived only through hate politics, opposing everything that went in favour of minorities. Over the years it has created a mindset among the Hindus, who question not only the loyalty of minorities towards India but also consider them fundamentalist and fanatical, and the Hindus as liberal and secular" (2002: 5047).

Narendra Modi became Prime Minister in 2014 on the promises of development, construction of Ram temple, abrogation of Article 370 (special status was given to the state of Jammu and Kashmir by the Constitution of India) and Uniform Civil Code. Interestingly all these issues had one thing in common; the Muslims of India have been protesting against these issues, except development. These agendas have been bone of contention and most of the rightwing discourses revolved around to polarise the political landscape to garner votes. The Muslims and minorities of India have been protesting because of its inherently targeting Muslims physically making them literally second class citizens (Ahmed 2021).

To add more charge to these agendas in the second stint of the BJP (2019), the Citizenship Amendment Act, 2019 (hereafter CAA) was legislated, which was direct violation of Article 14 of the Indian Constitution; right to equality. The CAA was meant to grant citizenship to persecuted minorities (Hindu, Sikh, Buddhist, Jain, Parsi or Christian community) of Afghanistan, Pakistan and Bangladesh, neighbouring Muslim majority states (CAA 2019).⁴ Adding to this was the proposed National Register of Citizens popularly known

⁴ THE CITIZENSHIP (AMENDMENT) ACT, 2019 NO. 47 OF 2019 [12th December, 2019.] An Act further to amend the Citizenship Act, 1955. It reads: "Provided that any person belonging to Hindu, Sikh, Buddhist, Jain, Parsi or Christian community from Afghanistan, Bangladesh or Pakistan, who entered into India on or before the

as NRC to identify illegal migrants or those who have been living for centuries but fail to prove their credentials by showing documents. Right-wing forces mobilised nationwide constituencies (supporters) in the support of the CAA and NRC. The proposed detention centres (where people will be kept as a consequence of identified as illegal migrants) from North-eastern states to the Southern states of India started showing up on social media and *WhatsApp* forwards with direct signs of conformity and bigotry against the rightful citizens of India.

Muslims mobilised themselves protesting against CAA and NRC and direct violation of their fundamental rights. Civil society joined hands too but with caution. Violence erupted nationwide against non-violent and peaceful Muslim protesters who followed Gandhian way to respond to emergent situation. They used sit-ins and hunger strikes in freezing nights of Delhi and elsewhere in India. Shaheen Bagh (a locality in New Delhi) became the centre of protest which continued for more than two months in the heart of the capital of India. Protesters were attacked in their university campuses by police and right wing mobs ultimately leading to well-planned organised violence on the streets of North East Delhi in the month of February. More than hundreds of lives were gutted in the communal riots. The politicians, police and press-media were involved in covering up (by concealing the evidence) of the violence (HRW 2020). Instead of catching the real perpetrators of violence, the students and activists were slapped with draconian laws such as National Security Act (NSA) and Unlawful Activities Prevention Act (UAPA). This reminds us to the Agamben's 'state of exception' (2005) thesis, where state in the name of national security and emergency, frames the dissenting voices by putting them into the gallows and gagging the free press. Balibar acknowledges Agamben's contribution in understanding nature of violence. According to Balibar:

"Such a description can be related to the notion of the state of exception as discussed so brilliantly by Agamben in his generalization of the concentration or death camps. This paradigm, he argues in Homo Sacer, produces that which institutions of social, political, and cultural existence normally seek to conceal and keep at a distance: the absolute fragility, the absolute dispensability, of "bare life," the dimension of animality at the human world's very core—and therefore also the destruction of the social tie by society itself" (2009: 10).

³¹st day of December, 2014 and who has been exempted by the Central Government by or under clause (c) of sub-section (2) of section 3 of the Passport (Entry into India) Act, 1920 or from the application of the provisions of the Foreigners Act, 1946 or any rule or order made thereunder, shall not be treated as illegal migrant for the purposes of this Act".

Hatred and antipathy towards Muslim bodies were produced and reproduced as worthless or hateful. Police machinery has been using all sections, clauses and laws to frame Muslims on the grounds of 'national interest, integrity, morality or health'. It is generally misunderstood that misuse and abuse of anti-terrorist laws against Muslim 'bodies' in India started in the aftermath of 9/11 attacks. Bhiwandi conspiracy of 1969-70, Ahmedabad riots of 1969, Nellie massacre of 1983, Anti-Sikhs riots in 1984; Bhagalpur riots in 1989 are testimony to the fact that police forces were involved with the mobs in killings of innocent civilians and Muslims in particular (Noorani 2014). Police has been framing Muslims as lawbreakers which suits the popular narrative propagated by *Hindutva* (militant version of Hinduism propagated by the BJP and associated political outfits) instead Muslims are the victims of state sponsored violence, either in the form of custodial deaths, fake encounters or illegal framing of innocent youths. The National Crime Record Bureau, 2019 (NCRB) data shows that among the marginalised groups, Muslims are the one community with more under-trials than convicts. Muslims and Dalits have been always at the receiving end (Tiwari 2020). This brazenness of police continued when Muslims were grappling to return to normal life aftermath of brutal communal violence in February, 2020 (Pandey 2021; Gettleman et al. 2020; Vohra 2020; Ellis-Petersen 2020; Quraishi 2020). Corona created life more miserable. It brought double discrimination in practice by the people and government. The antipathy got more deep-seated due to the pandemic.

Corona Is Existential Crisis for Powerless Communities

Last two years of Pandemic times has brought devastation on the marginalised communities. Lower caste communities and religious minorities are facing the brunt of Corona led lockdowns and regulations. After the announcement of hasty nationwide lockdown for 21 days, more people were killed on the streets than virus did in the very first month of its arrival in India. Migrants from different metropolitan cities were left on their own by their employers and strict lockdown measures made them jobless overnight. The unorganised sector of Indian economy collapsed in a week. India witnessed the biggest migration ever in the history of mankind in the since Independence.⁵ People with their bare minimum of resources walked on the streets barefoot with their small kids and old members of family for hundreds and thousands of miles for days and weeks in the blazing heat of Indian summer only in the hope that they will reach their destination (In India there is migration from rural to urban set up). This was the

⁵ In 1947 due to partition of British India into two newly Independent states; India and Pakistan, millions of Muslims migrated to Pakistan and millions of Hindus and Sikhs migrated to India.

reverse migration to their villages- based on the communitarian values and people extend their helping hands to the needy person. On the contrary in the cities people are more individualistic and have temperament of hoarding without sharing their resources.

Again in India it was arch-rival China blamed for spreading of coronavirus and some kinds of rumours of biological wars were also spreading through media and fake news creating panic among masses. Future looked grim and uncertain. China was portrayed as victorious in India. The second victims of blame game were Muslims by peddling misinformation against them as a spreader of coronavirus. During the announcement of lockdown in India, Tableeghi Jamaat was already having their biggest convention in which preachers and ulemas from different countries were participating without much restriction. When government announced the national lockdown many other events were getting organised simultaneously throughout the country. As government was incapable of handling this unfolding crisis, the agencies were searching a scapegoat two hide their own mistakes, by not acknowledging coronavirus as a serious threat ignoring many warnings and alarm signals raised by international health agencies. Many opposition leaders had highlighted about the on-going emergency worldwide. World Health Organisation had issued guidelines for travel restrictions from those countries where corona cases were rising. India on the other hand did not issue any guidelines to the travel authorities especially Airways. Airlines were taking passengers from China, Italy, and France and elsewhere and ultimately culminating into health emergency. Now most of the attendees in the convention had the travel history from other nations. Coronavirus was seen with some kinds of propaganda by the Muslims against the Indian nation. Muslims were lynched and targeted by the Hindutva forces on the streets of India. Muslims were denied medical assistance and were fired from the hospital jobs. Their loyalties were questioned by mobs and assailants. Emergency laws became active ('state of exception'). Those citizens and civil society members who questioned the inability of government to handle the crises were charged with criminal laws and were dubbed as anti-national or un-patriotic. By the time all these events were unfolding government came up with Farm laws (Sharma 2021). It was a huge distraction for government and for people from the ongoing health emergency. It seemed that government was buying time by legislating sensitive issues to conceal its incapability. Like CAA it saw a huge outburst from the farming community.

According to Ghosh and others, India has failed to restore its economy and protect human life by providing basic health facilities like oxygen and ventilators. "The environment has an immensely positive impact" due to corona. The pollution level has come down due to less traffic on roads and streets (Ghosh et al. 2020). For Varshney and others,

"The COVID-19 pandemic caught nations by surprise and came as a shock to people around the world. ...the Indian government took swift action to blunt the effects of COVID-19 on the Indian population. Most importantly, the Indian government ordered the lockdown of the economy. Private businesses were shut down, production lines halted, and workers were ordered to shelter in place. During this lockdown, the Indian government enacted several emergency legislations...." (2021:10).

These scholars have highlighted the positive aspects of direct cash transfers to the vulnerable sections of Indian society in the initial three months. But the assistance packages stopped in later months wherein lockdown continued.

The lockdown had serious implications on mental health, resulting in psychological problems including frustration, stress, and depression. The online classes due to pandemic had grave impacts on children and students even in higher education. The physical classroom has a predictable routine and students get counselling by their respective teachers. The relationship between students and teacher was mediated through digital technology creating huge gap and lack of personal bonding. Another major factor which emerged out of pandemic in terms of online education was financial stress on families of students who came from vulnerable sections of Indian society (Chaturvedi et al. 2021).

Bhattacharya highlights the relationship between "patients and healthcare providers both of whom are components of a wider community that is reeling under the weight of an unprecedented health crisis that has taken a massive toll on lives and livelihoods across the globe" (2020: 1). Bhattacharya explains the consequences of falling ill to the coronavirus as patients had to go through: "sense of isolation and despondency, social ostracism, perceived neglect by healthcare workers due to fear of getting infected, intensification of physical distress: primary disease plus COVID-19 (sometimes associated with a comorbidity), financial distress etc." (2020: 3). Adding to the above socio-economic consequences to the patients are some of the laws and regulations which has led to the serious issues related with economic slowdown. Social distancing, self-isolation and travel restrictions have led to a reduced workforce across all economic sectors and the loss of jobs... the need for commodities and manufactured products has decreased. In contrast, the need for medical supplies has significantly increased. The food sector is facing increased demand due to panic-buying and stockpiling of food (Bhattacharya 2020: 6).

Ajay Saini states that, "Covid has worsened entrenched inequalities, leaving India's Adivasis and Dalits at the mercy of the virus" (Saini 2021). This indicates towards structural inequalities inherent in Indian society. The ingrained apathy of the urban-educated class towards rural folks and embedded caste hierarchies makes people vulnerable to the not only the deadly coronavirus but the social virus from which people need immunisation.

Untouchability and Social Distancing

Indian constitution upholds the right to equality through anti-discrimination measures and emboldening dignity by abolishing age old practises of untouchability. Through the ideals of social justice and affirmative action policies the lower caste communities popularly known as Dalits were doing fairly well through state sponsored schemes. Due to corona, social distancing in disguise endorsed the very idea of age old social distancing practises in the form of untouchability. Consequentially social distancing became a new form of untouchability unknowingly. The discreet practises of hating the body, a touch of impure body had now the sanction of law again in the 21st century. Whoever violating the 'corona protocols' had to be punished and penalised. In other words, what was already the lived experience of the marginalised communities (Dalits/untouchable communities/outcaste people) in the form of historical injustices for which social reformers (Phule, Periyar and Ambedkar) fought hard battles against the parochial culture of caste system which promotes discrimination and hierarchy was back into action. According to Goldy George,

"In a caste society like India, the notion of social distancing provides the ground for the casteist precept of distancing one from each other based on birth. It can reinvent and legitimise an oppressive form of isolation and segregation as in a classical caste society. This in one-way advocates caste-based untouchability and taking pride in their upper caste status that they are not untouchables" (2020).

Untouchability, now has the force of law in the form of social distancing. Article 17 (The Constitution of India 1950) got eclipsed and evaporated due to the social distancing.⁶ It is unfortunate for the community which has to see the reversal of achievements against the caste system, of almost all the social movements and reforms. It is indeed puzzling that the pandemic can have a multiplier effects on all social life. It can be undoing of all that human civilisation has achieved in the past. It can equally pave the new beginning in medical sciences.

⁶ The Constitution of India, 1950, Art. 17. It says: Untouchability is abolished and its practice in any form is forbidden. The enforcement of any disability arising out of Untouchability shall be an offence punishable in accordance with law.

It can help to take a pause and think over lifestyles. It can help in building of social system afresh by incorporating those values which can help human beings thrive against all odds in the future risk society.

CONCLUSION

It is popularly said that 'in every crisis, there is an opportunity'. The crises led by coronavirus are manifold. The idea of 'public sphere' and 'deliberativeness of democracy' needs further revision (Calhoun 1992). The lockdowns and curfews are no longer 'surprising and unpredictable' moment. People have normalised uncertainties as something pre-given. Empowerment, emancipation and autonomy of the self and community require critical scrutiny. New ideas for people oriented performances of social and political life need to be devised. Social movements and civil society activities are curbed due to lockdown and curfews.

States are becoming more powerful in the name of emergency curbing mobility and freedom of people. Political opponents are easy target of the government in power to capture the political spaces. Political activities sponsored by state and government are running parallel to occupy political power. New sensibilities-coping mechanism and docile bodies are created by the state for governmentality. Disciplining and punishing (imposition of fine when not masked) is shaping conforming citizens. Violence, exclusion and discrimination of marginalized and vulnerable communities have increased due to corona. Children, women, students, homeless, migrants, refugees and old age people have been always the most disadvantaged sections of society. Their pains and sufferings have increased due to the unempathetic attitude of state and government.

In India, Muslims, *Dalits* and Tribals have faced the real brunt of pandemic. The growing populist majoritarian tendencies and existing cultural nationalist politics have been the most active phase of violent assertion of the ruling ideology during this pandemic. We need to evolve multidisciplinary methodology to understand emerging situation in our society and explain in more coherent way the nexus of past and present in shaping the contemporary politics.

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