

## Viral Practices, Viral Times: Jugaad as Logistics | Text Transcript | CIRCLE

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This is a text transcript for the webinar “Viral Practices, Viral Times: Jugaad as Logistics” presented by the Canadian India Research Centre for Learning and Engagement (CIRCLE) and the International Institute for Critical Studies in Improvisation at the University of Guelph. The event was recorded on July 8, 2020 and was moderated by Bharat Punjabi. The guest speakers were Shahana Chattaraj, Amit S. Rai, Rachna Kumar, and Shiva Thorat.

Transcript:

### Bharat Punjabi:

Hello and welcome, everyone, to this webinar which is brought to you by CIRCLE which is the Canada India Research Centre for Learning and Engagement at the University of Guelph. My name is Bharat Punjabi, I am an adjunct at the University of Guelph’s development program. I also teach at the University of Toronto’s Munk School of Global Affairs.

So, this webinar is tied to, as you have seen, viral practices, viral time, Jugaad logistics, which looks at the kind of logistics, at the kind of dynamics of informality in the context of the current pandemic. I also would like to give you some kind of introduction to CIRCLE, which is a new center here at the University of Guelph and it’s a center which is focused on developing, showcasing, advocating, catalyzing a kind of respectable and equitable dialogue between Canadian and Indian researchers, and complex and emerging global issues.

So, today’s seminar, I would like to introduce the speakers to you. They come from India and the UK. Dr. Amit Rai, who’s a reader at the Queen Mary College, University of London, in creative industries and arts organizing. Then we have Dr. Shahana Chattaraj, Director of Science and Research at the World Resources Institute, and she also has been affiliated with the Centre for Policy Research and has been a researcher on urban formality.

And we also have two independent filmmakers from Mumbai, Rachna Kumar and Shiva Thorat, who are going to be part of a kind of section of this webinar which follows the two presentations by Shahana and Amit and will take us into the kind of methodological issues around researching Jugaad and informality.

I’d like to give you all some idea of the structure of the presentation of the webinar today. We are going to start with a presentation by Shahana and Amit and that is going to be followed by a kind of fifteen-minute conversation and then, that will be followed by - that conversation will be followed by an audience Q&A and discussion, you know, where the participants who are attending today’s webinar can send me questions via text and I will do my best to convey these questions to the panelists.

So, on that note, I'll pass on the webinar panel to - is it Shahana who's going to go first, or Amit?

### Shahana Chattaraj:

I'm going to begin by speaking a little bit about my own research on Jugaad, which, you know, I didn't begin with Jugaad. I actually began with urban governance in the state, and then I came to Jugaad through my field work, so we'll talk about that a bit more in the methodology section. So, I'll spend about ten to twelve minutes talking a little bit about my work.

So, this is based on research that originated a long time ago, about ten years ago, with my dissertation work and then I kept working on it, adapting and developing it, and now it's part of a quite long, overdue project. But some of the papers that I won't have much time to go into detail, they're on my CPR webpage if you're interested in that.

So, the animating question that the Jugaad part of my work is around and that this presentation is focused on is looking at how do states govern cities where informality in the built environment is pervasive. This is the case in Mumbai, of course, but it's very much the case in most Indian, in all Indian, cities, I would say, and many cities in the global south. So, you know, this has some comparative element with other cities, as well, and when I present it to people in other contexts, there are a lot of parallels here.

So, now what I'm going to argue here is that the state governs through practices that can be characterized by Jugaad. In my work, I kind of develop a conceptualization of the state in Indian cities, which I call the Jugaad state, and I use Jugaad to describe both the - not just the practices, but also how these kind of practices feed up and ultimately kind of shape the very structure of the state, as well, in such cities.

And just to quickly explain what Jugaad is, right. So, for people from India, I think everyone knows what it is - it's very widely used in popular discourse. Mumbai - I'm from Delhi myself - Mumbai is a very Jugaadu city compared to Delhi, and it's used in . . . It's a very amorphous term, in that its origins come from these jury-rigged, vehicles, sort of like the one here, where an engine would be affixed onto, say, a cart or something that were very prevalent in rural India in the 80s, in North India, and it's going to mean a sort of creative improvisation, innovation under constraints.

It started getting, around the 2000s, it began to be adopted by a lot of Indian firms, and then it became quite prominent in the management and business literature, so the nano car - the cheapest car in the world - was meant to be an example of Jugaad innovation. Again, this idea was that it was this kind of, "solving problems as they come along" rather than a planned strategy, a way of using workarounds, and then it also, there was some pushback, as well, where critics would emphasize the fact that Jugaad is - the constraints part is really important.

Part of Jugaad is that it also means cutting corners, a Jugaad product is shoddy, it's not an ideal product; so, it's a word that has complex connotations, but it's still quite easy to grasp which is

why I think it makes a great metaphor in some ways. It allows for a certain ambivalence when you apply it to something like the state.

Oh, and then there's other literature where Craig Jeffries and things - where it's also used as, you know, young people use Jugaad to describe themselves. So, a lot of young entrepreneurs, particularly those who are working as brokers and fixers, they refer to themselves as Jugaadu, and some people, who also argue that it's used to. . . As a euphemism for corruption, or to legitimize it, which is a framing that I sort of disagree with. Even if it's associated with corruption, you don't necessarily need a euphemism for it in the Indian context.

So, when I connect Jugaad to informality, my argument, really, is that this kind of - wide, large extent where the whole, where the real economy is informal economy. That's what kind of necessitates these Jugaad practices among state actors, at multiple levels.

You know, this is just an example, this is a workshop in Dharavi and - now, when I speak of the informal economy, I use. . . It's not, like, this waiting room, or this backwards sector, whatever. . . It's not used to describe, say, characteristics of firms, so much as it is - or of workers - as it is to describe economic activity spaces, the built environment that exists outside what the state is designed to regulate. So, outside of the formal regulatory and legal structures, from master plans to licensing rules, to labour laws, factory regulations.

You can kind of clearly see here, it's not just this kind of subsistence backwards sector, this is a really mechanized - these are these Indigenous embroidery machines, and you can also see that there is a clear bit of Jugaad in getting machines like this into this tiny space, I don't know how they manage that.

So, when I'm talking about the informal economy here, as Barbara Harriss-White says, what I just said before, it's not a separate, non-accumulative need sector, it's a dynamic, actually existing, real economy. And that means that it's neither economically nor politically marginal, right, so. . . Even though it is not economically or politically marginal, we know that the vast majority - and it includes a lot of very marginal workers, small business and self-employed workers, but these are all plugged into larger supply chains, so. . . There's a lot of it that is not just on the margins.

So, though it's not marginal, these informal economic activities operate in the margins of state regulatory institutions and formal bureaucratic structures. And this makes it, in large plot, illegible to the state. So I use illegibility like Scott does in "Seeing Like A State", which is a wonderful book that I think people in urban studies should read a lot more. And that makes it harder for the state to order and control this economy and these activities through the standard tools of bureaucratic governance and administration.

Then it follows that, given the size and scope of the economy, the accommodation and control of informal activities becomes a court ask of governments in Mumbai. So, it's not just a marginal process that occurs at edges of the state. So you have some degree of informality in every economy, and you also have some degree of these sorts of Jugaads - what I call Jugaad

practices - and, in fact, my very first encounter studying these was looking at how the New York police regulate street vendors. But then, you can see that it's much more marginal to the overall functioning of the city and the economy than it would be in Mumbai.

The way I look at informality, it's not like DeSoto. There may be elements of entrepreneurship, of creativity and things, but. . . I look at it like political economy scholars and structural sociologists where the extent of informality is very much related to the systems of the regulations, so it's kind of a product of the state in a way, right? And I argue that Mumbai's widespread informality is a product of the mismatch between the state's formal, regulatory institutional structures, and the organization of the urban political economy.

So, you can imagine a system where you have similar sorts of small firms, or settlements and things, but where the state is able to kind of redesign or change its regulatory structures to accommodate it in more formal ways, which has happened in Latin American cities to some extent and, also, interestingly to some extent in China, as well. So this original work was done using a comparison between India and China.

So, the informal economy is defined by this kind of vexed relationship with the state. It's useful for firms, of course, and also for states with limited capacity and will for the informance of rules and regulations and for the same provision of public goods and services.

So, in that case, you can see how informality works, when people start self-providing, when the state can't provide housing, land, and things. . . And, in such a context, the state, from my observation and one by it alternately, curbs, formalizes, ignores, accommodates, and collaborates in the production of economic activities. And it also has this periodic crackdowns and enforcement rights, which are mostly - they're not actually designed to eradicate this, but to demonstrate state power to maintain order and the rule of law.

So, when I talk about - when I use the term Jugaad to characterize the state, what I'm not trying to say that there is a . . . That the frontline state workers that are more embedded in informal economic activities, they practice Jugaad and then you have the kind of. . . The rule following bureaucrats talk, but the reason we use Jugaad is kind of of going back to the origin of the term, which is these structures that are made of two incongruous parts.

And what I've found in my fieldwork, is that you have these - on the one hand, and I really began studying this kind of centralized rational bureaucratic state, the initial project was looking at these kinds of large-scale projects of urban transformation that were underway and still continue to be underway, and it's also seemed to consistently fail.

So, you have on this, on the one hand, this very centralized, in Mumbai, relatively capable bureaucratic state, and this isn't the state in every part of India. So, though informality might actually be something that is pervasive when - I mean, this Jugaad state structure, I started doing more some field work in UP (Uttar Pradesh) and things, you don't see a similar kind of state structure.

And, in Mumbai, you have some of the oldest kind of bureaucratic, continuously operating bureaucratic state, institutions and municipal corporations. I think the oldest such institution in India. . . And then you have. . . So, you have two very different sorts of organizational, or operational, logics, which kind of relates to Jugaad as this logistics sort of thing, so you have the bureaucratic state, and then you have the informal power structures that govern to the informal city.

One great book about this is Thomas Blom Hansen's work on these kind of popular neighborhoods, in Mumbai's popular neighborhoods, so these are these kind of very fluid network structure of governance which govern economic activity and politics and social life in most of the city in some ways, right?

So. . . The Jugaad state kind of emerges when these two, very different, organizational logics of governance work together. How much time do I have, Bharat?

**Bharat Punjabi:**

You have about two more minutes.

**Shahana Chattaraj:**

Okay. . . Alright. So, I don't have much time to go into the empirics underlying this, but I think this will come up in our conversation about methods. But the reason I use Jugaad, again, as a metaphor, is that it is such an ambivalent and complex term, right? And these are just two examples of the structures where you can both see, like, here that it is able to do something, it's able to carry a lot around; a lot more people than the bike would.

It's also unsafe and dangerous, and you can also see, "Okay, this is probably something that's happening because you don't have a bus system here." So, it is this inherently ambivalent thing where it's an improvised ad hoc solution to a problem, but I was very hesitant, in fact, to use Jugaad, because of the celebratory ways in which the business press was using it, and also some of the people who talk about. . . Say, slums being a brilliant solution to a problem.

So, while I can agree that, yes, they are, that there is a lot of self-help and improvisation going on there, they are fundamentally a product, again, in some way the state's failures to provide public goods and services.

In my own work, I began to kind of, again, observe these Jugaad practices in a whole domain of state activities. From very obvious ones, such as the regulation and formal licensing of street vending and informal business, to production servicing and regularization of informal settlements. But then, also, two things where you can start seeing where this becomes central to the state as a whole, so, it would be from property tax collection and to the whole ways in which the state kind of is just policing and surveillance, and the ways in which the state maintains social control and order.

So, these Jugaad practices, they involve negotiation, bargains, and accommodations around the state's framework of laws, rules, statutes, and protocols that regulate how citizens and firms occupy and utilize space, conduct business and idler access, public resources and services.

And what these patterns of regular negotiation ends up doing, and of course there is clientelism and corruption involved, but that's not what I'm focusing on at the moment, is that it begins to embed the state actors within these informal power structures, and there's also this kind of informal power delegation of power and authority from the state to some of these informal powers, and these processes enable the state to see, in a way, right?

Faces which it can't see through it's formal tools, and it enables the state to extract revenue to satisfy popular demands, and avoid political, administrative, and financial costs that would be associated with strict rule enforcement, and it increases state society of interpenetration over time, partially and unequally incorporates formal state spaces with informal institutions.

I will wrap up quickly now. So, state actors at different levels applied this. So, my empirical work, you know I highlight a lot of examples where high-level government officials are using what I can characterize as Jugaad, and then it's not just informal practices. So, these are not neither formal nor informal, but Jugaad, and that they're adaptive and flexible interpretations of rules, so they're shaped by the rules themselves and there are also not merely corrupt or rent-seeking, nor are they irrational acts of the vernacular lower bureaucracy.

So, some of you in the political economy literature, there's this idea that there's a variant of bureaucracy and an irrational law of bureaucracy, and I'm arguing against that. I use examples where it is actually geared towards realizing state functions, and objectives such as extracting property taxes and regulation, but under the constraints of this incongruous legal and regulatory framework.

This is just one example., but I'll just wrap up here, I think, and let Amit start, and some of the other points we can talk about in the empirical work, empirical observations during that discussion later. Okay, thanks, I hope I didn't go too much overtime.

**Amit Rai:**

Thank you, Shahana. I wanted to thank Sharada and Bharat and Heather and everyone at CIRCLE for the invitation, I'm really looking forward to the conversation. Can you hear me alright?

So, I'm sort of gonna build on what Shahana has said, and I think, sort of, explicated it really quite clearly, what is Jugaad, for instance. I came to Jugaad through film and media, and I first heard the term Jugaad while I was doing anthropological research in Delhi, and how the term was being used in a mobile value added firm that - it was a new startup based in NOIDA and how the term was being used very commonly amongst the people who had to produce content for this firm, so they were using it a lot, and, so, my first engagement with it as a serious, "Oh, what is this phenomenon, Jugaad?" really came at that moment.

I'd, of course, heard it before, it's an old term, and I have this theory - and I haven't been able to, sort of, prove it, or establish the truth of it - but Jugaad is a word that, although is used in Bengali, in Hindi, in Punjabi, and is common pretty much all through India, the word, I think, actually comes from the Portuguese *jugar*, which is "to play", which gets me into a whole other question, and that is the relationship of Jugaad to authentic Indian-ness.

This is also one of the things about Jugaad that is common to the discourse in India. Is there something about being India that almost requires us to practice Jugaad? Well, I wanted to sort of highlight the fact that Jugaad itself really problematized what is authentic. So, in that sense, I am turning to Jugaad and I have turned to Jugaad which my collaborators, Shiva and Rachna, who I am really happy that they're here today, and thinking about Jugaad as a social practice. Thinking about it as a contested social practice.

And, insofar as it is, it's also, therefore, involved in various kinds of inequalities and relations of power in India today. So, as a sort of general kind of practice of working around obstacles, this is, I think, for, in my thinking and in the work that I've done, not only in this past book, but - I forgot to start sharing me. . . Yeah, I'm gonna start sharing - sorry, sorry, just two seconds, just sharing my screen here. I totally forgot that I had a PowerPoint, it's really interesting. . .

Oh! Yes, and there's a book that I've written, collaboratively but it has my name on it as the author. And it's, "Jugaad Time" and I sort of approach the question of Jugaad as also a way of thinking about hacking. Everyday hacking not just sort of hacking into digital infrastructures and things like that, but sort of the hacking that social reproduction necessitates today.

So, this came out last year, and it's an anthropological, but also a kind of political, economic analysis of Jugaad and it's relationship to different kinds of subaltern Dalit minority life worlds in India, and it's relationship, as well, to the question of gender and sort of gendered social practices, and the question, of course, of the analysis of the reproduction of the commodity labour-power. In other words, how are people reproduced?

And they're reproduced generally through the super exploitation of women in the home through unpaid labour, and so that analysis, and how those ecologies of social reproduction, are constituted is also part of the story that I try to link to this practice of Jugaad and also to its technological infrastructure. So, this is a book that also came out last year, and, in it, Rachna, Shiva, and I have a co-authored piece where we talk about the specific, sort of, relations of the digital, and new social movements, and, specifically, Dalit cultural practices.

So, my work today has sort of drawn on this analysis of Jugaad to move into a consideration of what is attention in relationship to digital media. In terms of Jugaad, what I argue in the book, and what my research, I think, confirms, and the conversations that I've had with practitioners, is that. . . Jugaad, at least in its everyday social life in cities and outside of cities, is about the economic production, social reproduction of subaltern life worlds. Insofar as it is, it is involved in a critique of the relations of domination that characterize India today. So I would want to, sort of, hold on to that aspect of Jugaad as implicitly a critique of the status quo.

So, part of what I'm interested in is, of course, sort of exploring this major, sort of, almost dichotomy in the social theory between tactics and strategy and, so, I was thinking about, and considering how Jugaad could be understood as part of a broader strategy, for instance, politics are broader strategy of a social movement, so on and so forth.

So, this last question, "What can techno-perceptual assemblages" this is a bit of a academic term, as you can tell, I'm an academic. I'm interested in understanding the connections of people's bodies to specific technological infrastructures. I'm interested in the supply chains, for instance, the logistics that link a habituated population to a set of technological devices, technological environments, through which their capacities are enhanced, through which capacities are emergent. Capacities that we, as yet do not know what they are. Well, those kinds of interesting connections between technology and bodies is what I also think is involved in when we think about Jugaad. Another way of putting that is, "what is the effect of Jugaad?"

Okay, I'm not gonna go too much into that. . .

So, this led me to this idea of affective ethnography, and I guess we'll talk about that in the methods section. I guess this is one of the, maybe, major methodological contributions, if you can call it that, of Jugaad Time. And that is, I try to develop what it would mean to do ethnographies of the affective. And, in this case, the effect of Jugaad, or the effect of environment of Jugaad, the effect of ecology, relations of Jugaad.

You know, part of this, a lot of this, is also informed by my on-going, sort of, research into attention and the neurology of attention, and how we could think about, for instance, neuromarketing today as a work around of our consciousness. So, we could think about, in this other way - I really like what Shahan was doing with the Jugaad state, and I was wondering if we could think about Jugaad marketing. Right?

Neuromarketing is a form of Jugaad marketing, they're working around our consciousness to access, directly, our affective capacities to affect and be affected. That is an interesting way of, sort of, way of thinking that I'm still trying to understand what it full on means, but we're hopefully going to have a good conversation. Bharat, how much time do I have?

**Bharat Punjabi:**

You have five more minutes, Amit.

**Amit Rai:**

Okay, thanks. So, as I was saying, in our analysis, and in my analysis, Jugaad is linked to specific regimes of power, of class and caste, exploitation, and domination. In other words, Jugaad is part of, what I would call, a social synthesis following Alfred Sohn-Rethel, I would call it a social synthesis. It's a synthesis of habits, it's a synthesis of networks of communication, and, through it, new forms of conviviality also emerge.

I'm interested, in the book, in thinking about Jugaad and commenting practices, what is common-ed through Jugaad, is there a kind of, sort of, revolutionary becoming happening



through Jugaad? Is it a way of signaling, without directly signaling, that there is a way of working around the status quo, and, in other words, there is no reason to accept the status quo. So that, to me, is interesting, as well, in Jugaad.

So, drawing on Latour, I'm moving very quickly here, so Latour brings up this idea of care. What would it mean to care for Jugaad? And what care would mean, matters of care, matters of concern, rather than matters of fact, what does it mean to be concerned about Jugaad? I think, for me, that it initially was linked to an analysis of what I would call subaltern life worlds in India.

It means that one had to be very careful around researching it because there is obviously stigmas attached to it, as Shahana pointed out very well. There are certain dangers that are associated with the word, and that kind of effect of charge is an important sort of marker of the sort of contested field that I was talking about at the beginning. Which is another way of saying that, in Jugaad research, visibility can very well be a trap.

That, to bring Jugaad practice into too much visibility, in fact, would take away from the power of precisely some of these Jugaad practices. So, it requires sort of this dialogic, dialectical understanding of tactics and strategies, and how these tactics and strategies become, you know, forces in people's lives.

The final thing, I suppose, for me, is the importance of technology in the Jugaad's that we were looking at, at least the three of us, when we were doing our research. And that is, of course, how the mobile phone - and we were specifically focusing on the mobile phone and how the mobile phone is being used for a variety of Jugaad's, 24/7 today - so what does it entail in terms of new habituations of attentions? What does it entail in terms of new strategies of Jugaad? And so on, so forth. I'd be happy to discuss that in the discussion, so I'm going to stop there, if that's alright. Yeah?

### Bharat Punjabi:

Thank you, Shahana and Amit. Now I, so, the way we've organized this webinar is that the next fifteen minutes is gonna be focused on a kind of discussion on the methods Jugaad researchers use in the field and in the ethnographic work as Amit just elaborated. And this conversation is also going to include our two participants from Mumbai, Rachna Kumar and Shiva Thorat. So, I open up the webinar for that discussion on method, and, following that, will be our Q&A session which I wanted to, kind of, you know, put out in detail at the outset of the webinar, but I just wanted to say, if any of y'all had any questions, y'all could put your questions directly into the chat screen, or you can send them to me directly. And, if time permits, we could also open up questions in the webinar itself. So, and you can ask your questions rightly through video.

On that note, can we just open up the discussion on method, Amit, Shahana, Rachna, and Shiva?

## Amit Rai:

I want to re-introduce Rachna Kumar and Shiva Thorat and I wanted to thank them again for participating and just for all the amazing-ness. So, and I just wanted to introduce that we were working together around two sorts of different projects. One was specifically linked to the mobile phone and the mobile phone ecology, and the other one was to the smart city and what is the smart city in relationship to jugaad, things like that.

So, Shahana, do you. . . How do you want to do this? Shiva, Rachna, how would you guys like to do this? Shiva and Rachna, is it okay, Shahana, if they say a couple of things? Okay. . . Take it away.

## Shiva Thorat:

So. . . When we, like, got into touch with Amit Rai our idea of the discussion will like concentrated on smart city idea. So, like, smart city idea like when people call about, like, call something like a "smart city." So smart cities are basically what Mumbai is, what kind of things are there, what kind of mechanisms are there, what are the industries, what one. . . We missed one very important part of being of Mumbai, call it a city or a habitual place.

So, that has like a very interesting history. That history is, basically, before the Menaka dynasty, there were actually no recognition kind of thing for Bombay. When British came to India, then they made up on Mumbai as a harbor.

When it became harbor, the British again increased the working people, migration, got into that kind of thing - migration has another kind of connotation and perspective over it, but what people, when they were leaving their villages, or, like, very, kind of, rural places of India, they are coming to the Bombay, they have one expectation. They have only one expectation that's like how can they live to survive, theek hai/ OK (in Hindi).

After all of these things - when people are coming to the Bombay and they have expectation like, roti to mil jaye gi/ they will be able to get at least food (in Hindi) they will get paid at least at the end of the day, and then everything becomes that kind of support and that kind of thing. But here also, like, Bombay, it's not just Mumbai or like its place, it has a lot of various cultures.

When you go to the Dharavi, you will see all of the South Indian cultures, and when you go to the south Bombay, you will see. . . Kind of. . . Maybe even part of feeling like they are medieval type of feelings, Gujrati Marwari. You will see, also, one of the things that - it's very, kind of, vibrant and economically vibrant, because you will see a lot of people, like professional going to work for them or whatever.

So, wherever you go by that kind of understanding, you will have an interpretation - different, different interpretation. Like, there is one place Lamington road in Bombay, and in South Bombay. So, basically, that Lamington Road is about electronic things, all the electronics things, you will get it there.

And the word “Jugaad”, like, you can hear that word, “Jugaad”, like a lot of the time, because the places you can get every kind of computer, every kind of radio, every kind of camera - like different, like, cable those kinds of things, so you will find a lot of things there. And there are, like. . . One thing you get in one place, and another thing you get in another place, so people just gather together and make that for a brand.

So, that’s what the Lamington Road is. Their Jugaad is something else. Their Jugaad is fixing things, kind of like people are coming in, fulfilling their needs, whatever demands, electronic demands they have. But, when you go a little bit behind the Lamington Road, is Kamathipura. . The word “Jugaad” is different there.

The Kamathipura is the red light area, famous red light area in Bombay, so, like. . . Their word “Jugaad” is something else. When you go, come a little bit down Dharavi, Matunga, will have another meaning for the Jugaad. So, it really is, it really is. . . It’s basically the part of social practices people are giving.

So, that’s what interesting thing I got into when I worked with Amit Rai and he’s very open, like, whatever mistake you would do, he would say, “Yeah, yeah, yeah.” Very nice, very nice, you have done good work.

**Amit Rai:**

There was no mistakes, it was just one continuous multiplicity, my friend. Rachna?

**Rachna Kumar:**

Yeah, so, I also talk a little bit about the experience of doing research on Jugaad. So, when I joined the project, we were specifically looking at smart phone ecologies, mobile phone ecologies, and the smart city, and the idea of the smart city. So, when we started collecting data. . . There were two questions that were common to everybody. “What do you think is a smart city?”

And, to this, the answers were mostly oh, you know, smart city is. . . It was like this idea of a dream city, a smart city is basically a dream city where everything is connected through your smart phone, or where all these services are available through a tap of your mobile phone. You want your groceries delivered? You want your beauty salon delivered at home? It’s just all a click away.

The second question was, “Do you think a smart city is for everyone?” And, to this the answer was almost always, “No, it’s not for everyone. It’s only for people who have smart phones.” And even if you have smart phones, that doesn’t always solve your problem. Like, if you want to order a sweetie, for example, sweetie doesn’t order everywhere in Mumbai, especially not in the slums of Mumbai. So even if you have a mobile phone, you don’t have access to some of the apps, so, no, the smart city is not for everyone.

So, in that sense, I understand Jugaad as. . . So, how do you hack into the smart city? You know? Ways of hacking the smart city. So, one of the people we interviewed was this young boy called

Sabri, who wanted to be a video editor, and he couldn't afford a Mac. So, he just did what every other kid in his area does: he assembled a Mac at home, and, you know, started editing, and he's earning money through that.

And, in a more indirect sense, it also means that people like this another guy called Minish who used to live in the suburb, where Shiva and I are also staying right now. How he had a job at TCS, but he's a school graduate, like he's a school person, he doesn't have a college degree. So, in that sense of Jugaad, how do you get a job at a corporate without the required certificates and, like, so. . . That was Jugaad for us.

So, what we were understanding, mostly, was the relationship with to their phone through the apps, through most of the apps, and one of the apps that came up a lot was Insta, Facebook, and now, recently, TikTok. So, TikTok is not a Jugaad, but TikTok is a platform and how you get access to these platforms, and how these content creators. . . So, you guys must have heard TikTok was banned, very recently, in India and one of the very interesting things that got my attention was an interview done by Brute with some of these stars, these TikTok stars, about how they're feeling about the ban.

They're all saying things - and, like, they all have millions of followers, and they create content on a daily basis that gets, like, millions and millions of views. So - and, they probably even earn money through it - so their only reaction to it was, like, "We're really sad. This is a means of living for us, and we can't do anything about it. But, I guess, if our country thinks it's the right decision to make, then we support our country." So, you see how nationalism is also getting into this content creation. Jugaad and stardom.

**Amit Rai:**

Thank you both! Shahana, do you want to. . .

**Shahana Chattaraj:**

Maybe I can ask some questions, because it was wonderful hearing this, also because some of my new work is looking a little more at technology and platforms and how they are used in multiple ways, again by - we're looking a little bit at some migrant workers right now and the digital welfare state and things.

So, one question I had for Amit, was. . . So, I really loved how you, I mean. . . I think you did really clarify Jugaad, because it is a very amorphous concept, and when you said it's social, . . . When it kind of permeates the society where it does, it kind of makes sense that it's used, I think, across at every level. But I think when you talk about how subaltern groups use it, there's a very different way of understanding Jugaad than the kind of very generic way that we tend to understand it.

So, one thing I wanted to ask about is the working around the status quo. . . Is that something that, ultimately, leads to change? Or, again, does it become. . . Is the focus really going to be on

the structures of constraint, and this way that you need to work around, say. . . You need to hack into the smart city because the smart city is not for you.

So that would be one question for everyone - Shiva, Rachna, and whatever, and the other question is that, in general, the city has never been for everyone. Is the very fact that there is a possibility of hacking into it - which, in some ways, were not earlier these possibilities in terms of how cities were structured and governed - how does that change?

Because one thing is that, if you look at the longer history, the smart city isn't the first exclusionary way of looking and, in some ways, technology can have something of an equalizer, right? You can make your own Mac, you can use a smartphone, you can amplify your work and amplify their voices in ways that they couldn't before.

And then, the other thing I thought it would be great to elaborate on, which I thought was very interesting, this kind of tension between attention and being visible. Because, if you are using this to change the status quo, you do kind of want that, right? And there were, like, ways in which, so. . . One interesting thing is the way in which people in slums start kind of, in some ways, using these words and making and calling the area a smart slum, and talking about their entrepreneurship and things.

And the other thing is also this need for invisibility, as well, because there is attention when you're hacking and things, so. . . How. . . How, so what is trying to be done with these practices? Is there - what would be the larger, if there is a political goal versus a, kind of, survival strategy?

### Amit Rai:

Yeah. . . Those are great questions, Shahana. I thought. . . There's a lot to think about in all of them. I guess what I would begin by saying was that my impetus was to affirm the Jugaad in all of us. By which I mean, nothing universal, but. . . That there is something that Jugaad references, and that's something I would call creativity itself, to be creative, to say that this moment requires a solution that has not been bequeathed to me by history. So, it requires something, some. . . Some new event, right? And the Jugaad event is also a way of thinking about how something new enters the world.

But, these new things. . . They repeat the old more often than not. And they do not lead, more often than not, to structural change in relations of power. They question what has been, sort of, construed as the natural given of all time, and things like that, and it denaturalizes, in other words, power, this is something I think Jugaad does. It makes power something that can be made malleable.

And, in that sense, the politics of Jugaad is very anomalous, I don't think there is a politics of Jugaad and, yet, in the book, I analyze different ways in which Jugaad is specifically linked to particular kinds of masculinity in India today. And, often a very quiet violent masculinity, a misogynist. . . And so on, and so forth. So, for instance, the use of the mobile phone in rape in India today.

So, that I think is really important to highlight. I think it's also really important to hold on to Jugaad as something that cannot be simply contained within the way we habitually understand, you know, power, and how we habitually understand action. I think Jugaad is, in some ways, an interesting special case of agency.

It's an interesting special case of agency. So, that's one thing I would say. And, in terms of your other - I think Jugaad is always operating under conditions of constraint. But what are the conditions for the Jugaad event to emerge? And that, I would return to this moment of, kind of, you know. . . There is a political potentiality in every moment, this is what, as I find, interestingly, an interesting insight into politics through Jugaad, that every Jugaad is also something that poses the question of, "What is politics?"

Even though and, obviously, the question is never resolved, because it has no resolution, but I think that's a question that's posed. Shiva, Rachna, did you want to. . .?

**Bharat Punjabi:**

Sorry to interrupt, guys. So, we have four more minutes left and then we go into the Q and A, and we can continue this discussion in the Q and A section. Yeah, go ahead please. . . Shiva and Rachna go ahead, we have four more minutes.

**Rachna Kumar:**

So. . . One of the things that we were discussing recently that comes to mind in case of this question, especially, is. . . We know how Jugaad is not, like, an academic study in itself, though there are academic studies around it, but it's basically a practice so. . . It's done in practice, and it's. . . How do I. . .?

**Shiva Thorat:**

It is, like, that's the discussion Rachna and me were having because we were, like, excited. . . to talk on this webinar, what we were discussing, basically, while we were in the field conducting interviews, we thought of four things in our minds and this was the personal question that we had from the participants that were there, and those questions were like. . . If somebody is Jugaadu, it's related to the status quo, so it's related to the perspective also what politics and what A-political-ness is there and I'll just clarify just one thing after this example also happened in that example.

So, we had four questions in our mind while conducting interviews. Does that person who is doing Jugaad has creative mind? If that person has creative mind, how is he actually planning to execute and what is actually improvising himself or herself to finish that task that he got? And, somehow, he doesn't have access, but he's trying to fix the thing that way, so after the execution and planning, does he have. . . Does the person have the strategy, the tactic of deployment of whatever that person had made?

So, the deployment is basically what we see - visible. And those visible has a different connotation as Shahana would say. So, those connotations basically just not the - what we can

call legal or illegal thing. It is my opinion, or my kind of thing for it. . . But it's also add the what are the ethical grounding there. Some of the - one of the other participants said that he had done some document forgery.

He doesn't want part in that process but he calls it Jugaad. It is illegal what he has done, but one thing he says that whatever people have accepted that documented or not accepted, people believing or not - that question is not there. He's basically saying that his ethical grounding for that to work, that he has done to Jugaad, he's basically - he's questioning that he is ethically. . . Whatever, right or wrong.

### Amit Rai:

And that's what I mean by Jugaad sort of posing the question of the political. Shahana, I had one question - Rachna, did you want to come back in here? Sorry, sorry, sorry - just really quickly.

Shahana, the question I had for you is, at what point does the Jugaad become the corrupt state? And how would you differentiate the Jugaad state from an old-fashioned, straight forward state?

### Shahana Chattaraj:

I'm trying to differentiate Jugaad practices from. . . And, I kinda argue again, so. . . The idea about corruption. . . It can be a corrupt state but it does not need to be. So, just one particular example that I would use, for instance, is when. . . Say that when you're using Jugaad to collect state taxes. The point is that most of that money, or, say, you're using Jugaad, you're figuring out some work around - so one is that you start looking at the laws around what is allowed to be taxed, right?

And all structures are, so it doesn't matter, so. . . The state government, no the municipal government, figures out - because they're the ones who ultimately have to provision services there, so they need to get money. . . So they figure out ways in which to kind of justify, say, collecting taxes from unauthorized structures. And, in a way, it's a benefit for them, so you start looking at the relations between them.

So, if you look at - they are not allowed to tax higher levels of government. So, when the central government, or mostly state government land, that is occupied and there are structures on it, and then through this process of paying taxes over time and collecting, so maybe they might be pocketing some - or not - but it's kind of irrelevant to this conceptualization here, right? Where it would be that they are just pocketing the money and they are not provisioning the services.

So, it's really. . . I really came through this through empirical work, and then the thing of the clientelism, it's not clientelism you start looking at these network structures of governance - yes, there is a clear hierarchy, but at some point, of the network what happens, particularly with some of the embedded state actors - they just have so much information and knowledge and political and social connections - they actually do kind of disrupt the hierarchy. You have

these senior IAS people who just aren't able to change things, and partly because the state becomes so dependent on its revenue generation for these practices.

**Bharat Punjabi:**

So, on that note, I am sorry to interrupt again - on that note, on that very exciting note - this is such an interesting conversation on informality, the state, political economy, culture, media. . . And I'm getting questions on all these themes, and I'm trying to, you know, I've just been spending the last five minutes putting those questions down, and now. . . From our, you know, the participants and. . . So, the way we are going to do this is you can continue to ask questions in the chat screen and I'll be doing my best to convey these questions - ask these questions, rather, to the panelists.

One question, which I think is quite relevant for our times, is on the environment and it comes from Professor Madhur Anand, who is at the University of Guelph. She's asking how the concept of Jugaad can be applied to the climate emergency and besides, there's a slightly related question from Professor Walton-Roberts, who's asking whether - if the concept of Jugaad can be seen as, or is it relevant to the idea of resilience? You know, which is often used in the environment literature, the climate change literature.

There are two other quick questions, I'll summarize some of the questions and then I'll open it up again to the panelists and you can respond to them.

One being coming from a marketing perspective, you know. . . One of our attendees who's from the healthcare sector, how Jugaad can be applied to the digital marketing space? And the third question is. . . Whether, you know, there are any explicit literary treatment of the idea and concept of Jugaad? Whether in cinema, but also in literature? So can I just pose these questions to the panelists? So, what you can do, is you can take these questions one by one and then I'll get down to the next set of questions.

Amit, do you want to start

**Amit Rai:**

Sure. . . Did you want to start, Shahana? Is that alright?

**Shahana Chattaraj:**

No, no, go ahead, I just did because right now I am in the climate change field, which is quite new to me. But please, go ahead.

**Amit Rai:**

Then I think you should take the climate - you should start.

**Shahana Chattaraj:**

Yeah, I'll just answer that one quickly, and I think you'll have a lot more to say about the media and literary treatments.



So, you know, initially when I was thinking about the Jugaad state and where it works and where it doesn't, I think it has a complex relationship to that, so you can kind of see where it links very well with this idea of needing to be - or, Jugaad in general, right? That that capacity - I like how you put it, the capacity - for, you know, not just individuals but for, say, society, to be able to adapt, that's sort of what resilience is, right?

And there is a way in which. . . And with climate change, people, and particularly the poorer communities, are going to have things thrown at them, so they will have to adapt and be flexible and be resilient. But, in some ways, I, again, have problems with this whole idea of resilience because, very often, it is just poor people coping, right?

So, migration when, say, if people's farms are flooded with salt water, they're coping and that's, that could be considered Jugaadu, it could be considered resilience. . . You see people pouring into the informal economy where they're losing formal jobs.

So, they're all, kind of, double edged concepts. Where, I would say, the Jugaad state, at least, becomes problematic is when it comes to planning in a longer term way for - and, you know, I've been very much against planning in general, I think master planning in India is pointless, the smart cities are. . . You know, they're just. . . They're a marketing ploy to sell certain kind of products to the Indian state - but, when it comes to, say, over the longer term, how do you. . .

Think about actually changing structures, actually changing the way cities are run, I think that's where this Jugaadness - because there's always a way to work around, and work arounds have become so much the norm. You know, how do you enforce environmental regulations? Or move to, say, a different environmental pathway, low-carbon pathway. . . I think Jugaad doesn't - the way that, particularly state level, actors are always able to move around at the high level, that can be problematic.

So I won't speak to the other question because this has been quite a long answer.

### Amit Rai:

Thanks for that, Shahana. I teach at a business school here in London and, so, how Jugaad has been kind of folded into business and management discourse is through this concept of frugal innovation. And, of course, it's. . . You know, no surprise that the term "frugal innovation" - and, so, Jugaad as innovation, Jugaad innovation as frugal innovation - that is creating value with nothing, which is what poor people are supposed to be doing. And. . . This is what entrepreneurs can learn from poor people, according to this business and management discourse.

So, Jugaad as a metaphor for resilience - which is, again, another neoliberal value, we should keep in mind that all these are neoliberal values of austerity - it's no wonder that Jugaad became such a focus of business and management over the past fifteen years because there has been such an emphasis in macro and micro-political, the micro-economy in terms of austerity and how value can be, nonetheless, extracted from communities, populations, and practices in these kinds of times.

So that's one thing I would say about the question of resilience and I want to go back to something that Rachna said, and that is that we have again and again gone back to Jugaad as practice. What is it as practice? How does it play itself out in material ensembles? I mean, in the milieu of a environment, coupled with the technology, coupled with human practice, right? So, in that sense, environment and technology have been central to the way we've been thinking about Jugaad.

Now, how does it respond, specifically, to the question of the environment. I mean, I think, you know, Shahana is definitely right, what - it's difficult to think strategy, long term strategy, in a Jugaad framework. It's difficult to do that and I think we can talk about what that means. The other thing around, sort of, media and in the digital. . . I think these are appropriations of Jugaad. I think there are ways in which - you know, there's this book that came out a few years ago called "Jugaad Innovation" talk about, for instance, how Airtel went from a asset heavy firm to an asset light firm so that its infrastructures was literally farmed out, right?

It was literally outsourced to Siemens and to other electronic firms, and that's how Airtel was able to actually start in its meteoric rise through accumulation strategies, and accumulation, capitalist accumulation. . . That's a Jugaad strategy but, again, it's a kind of appropriation of the term, it's a turning into metaphor, and this is something that would be interesting to talk about with Shahana, what are the limits of using Jugaad as metaphor?

And, you know, I think there's good ways in which we can use metaphor, but I think, sometimes, metaphors tends toward a kind of abstraction that actually takes us out of a more materialist political, economic understanding of the term and of the practice.

So, I'll leave it there . . . Other, other. . .? Shiva? Rachna?

### Shiva Thorat:

So we tried to stick with a certain kind of limitation of what we understand Jugaad is not explicitly, because it's not like founding - define it - people will have different names or, like, meanings, or labels to the concept that are created in the thing. I wanted to add into the climate change thing where, like, Jugaad is a human creation, it's not nature-created thing. Jugaad is, like, whatever. . . Neoliberal agenda says that it's a frugal innovation, it's their interpretation, but they should become contrast definitions that should be made. So, yeah, I think I am going into another direction.

Rachna Kumar: Yeah, so, just to touch upon that idea of Jugaad as a media vocation, like you said, Amit. . . Yeah, it's absolutely that, like, media in that sense is that we were also discussing this concept of induction in Jugaad time, which is, basically, thinking about something that doesn't exist, and then putting it into action - which is what Jugaad is. I think that is also why it is hard to talk about it in the long term, because it's on the spot. Like, you're faced with a problem, you backtrack and think about how you can solve this problem, and then you go about solving this problem.

And that is Jugaad as practice, which is very similar to how media, content creation is also done in media. I, myself, work in a content company, which is now trying to enter the market now that TikTok is banned in India. So, it's an American company, this is basically what we are doing all day long with video targets, and content creation targets, and marketing targets. . . We are constantly Jugaad-ing ideas and putting them into place, yeah.

**Shiva Thorat:**

Actually, just to add one thing, like, I. . . Thinking about Jugaad, like, corrupt or not corrupt or, like, things. So, people - who is doing Jugaad, people are already, like, make them a whole this is low culture people, they are doing Jugaad. So, that kind of understanding of..during the data collection, so people basically act like they - they have threatened me, why are you calling it Jugaad kind of thing. They have thrown me out from their shops, like you get up, called they were assembling things, and if they are falling here and there for the people, and they're creating one product. So, when I asked them why they call it Jugaad, so they just throw me out from their shop. Like, that kind of criminality. . . It's like corrupt -

**Rachna Kumar:**

Technically not correct. Like, this is not the right way to do it - even though you solved the problem, this is not the right way to do it.

**Amit Rai:**

I would say something about Jugaad and the unlawful, something illegal in Jugaad and. . . That kind of danger in it, but I can't even finish that thought. Sorry, Bharat, did you want to - ?

**Shahana Chattaraj:**

Sorry, Bharat, very quick thing, can I just add one quick thing? I mean, one thing is that, of all the people who have appropriated it, the Indian state has not. And they would not - because, for them, they do look down on it, they would certainly not like to say this is in any way useful for - they want to be a smart state and a smart city, not one that is compelled to use these work arounds. So, even though businesses have appropriated it. . .

**Bharat Punjabi:**

So, uh, Shahana -

**Amit Rai:**

Really quickly, we didn't answer the question of "is there movies and films in Jugaad?".

**Bharat Punjabi:**

Oh, yes, yes, please.

**Amit Rai:**

There's a Bollywood film called "Jugaad."

Bharat Punjabi:

Ok, thank you.

Rachna Kumar:

Shiva can play - sorry, Bharat - there's a song called Jugaad that Shiva can play later if we have time for it.

Bharat Punjabi:

Yes. . . Uh, can I move to the next set of questions? We gotta cover all the questions which some of the attendees have asked.

Taking off from Shahana's point, Craig Johnson has a question on whether, you know, given the example of TikTok recently and its banning by the Indian government - other examples of states actively controlling or undermining Jugaad? And a related question is by Sumit Saikhon who asks whether there are any negative impacts of using Jugaad in the sense that it reinforces the underinvestment in education and human capital, you know, by the Indian state, both in cities but also in its rural areas.

So, two questions which are more political economy, but, you know, all of you are free to answer them. Go ahead.

Amit Rai:

Shahana, do you want to go ahead?

Shahana Chattaraj:

Sure, yes, so. . . Let me answer the first one. Yes, so, I do think there are very negative connotations, and I was very hesitant to use it in that particular context, because I do think it does assume that people will cope by themselves and state involved resources can be channeled elsewhere.

You know, so, they'll somehow. . . And Amit talked about this as well, right, that you can extract value from the poor, that they'll improvise and create and take care of their problems. . . So, yeah, I think - which is, kind of, again, why I think. . . I guess, a lot of the sociology, political, it is about abstraction, but that's why it made for a good metaphor, because it's not celebratory in the same way, right? It has these good and bad sides. The other question. . . Bharat, can you just repeat it? I. . .

Bharat Punjabi:

Yeah, so, you know. . . There's a kind of romanticizing of Jugaad which kind of takes place, and it actually only reinforces the Indian state under investment in human capital and education, broadly speaking. So, how do you respond to that?

### Shahana Chattaraj:

Yes, so, that was the one I kind of do. . . I agree with, except that when you think of the converse of it - so one of the things of this is "is everyone in India Jugaadu?" And I would say the one group of people that don't necessarily - so, I think elites definitely are because they can work around rules and whatever, or they have to control things, like they're using these strategies.

There's a small group of middle-class people for whom the rules do make sense, perhaps, and then there's a lot of. . . And even within the state bureaucracy there's this move that wants to route all of this out and follow the rules and they should. . . Them, they emphasize the legality of things so that, I think, that becomes more problematic than the Jugaad.

If the alternative is to actually, kind of, deepen democracy, broaden state investment, that's. . . That's good, but the current state is this - you have these kinds of middle-class moral majority, it's like, "let's get rid of petty corruption, knock down all the unauthorized housing", that is worse. So, I think you have to view it in terms of the alternatives.

I think the other thing was about TikTok and, again, I would not, I think. . . I'm not sure if I can answer - what was it about TikTok? Are there other-?

### Bharat Punjabi:

The fact that, you know, is it an example of the state kind of actively controlling or undermining Jugaad?

### Shahana Chattaraj:

Yeah, so, I think it would control and undermine, but, again, it depends. . . So, one of the things when I talk about the Jugaad state, a lot of it is about - it's not about making the exception, so some of you in urban studies might know about this kind of. . . What is it, the exception. . . but rather about selectively enforcing the rule.

So, you know, here, the state was fine with TikTok, and I'm pretty sure tons of people have been using it to propagate the states - or the BJP's - own propaganda. But, at this moment, they decided to ban it, so. . . So, I think there is a very - and, Jugaad, there is another problem in Jugaad, it allows for that, right? The tools for control, bureaucratic control, will stay on the books, but most of the time, as long as it's beneficial, you allow it to happen, but there are times when you can crack down on it, when it's no longer serving the agenda.

### Amit Rai:

Just really briefly, I think wherever there is law, there's going to be Jugaad. I think, wherever there is a norm, and a, sort of, formal pattern of organization, there will be Jugaad. And, in that sense, the relationship of the informal and formal is, I think, precisely what is the sort of field of contestation. We should keep in mind we're talking about economy - mainstream, bourgeois economists say that is ninety percent informal.

In other words, we're talking about a field of practice that doesn't organize itself around the modern, formal, and the premodern, informal binary that is so common to mainstream economics, and even political theory, so. . . There's that and, so, in that sense, we would have to talk about different levels of, kind of, disruption that Jugaad is involved in.

Different, sort of, levels in which it actually has effects and other levels that have very remote kinds of relations and effects. I think there's a strong tendency to romanticize Jugaad, and in my book, I start with the example from Suleika.com, they had a whole marketing, sort of, campaign called "Go Anti-Jugaad". And that was a way of exactly formalizing informal networks of trade.

So, you see that there is a kind of - not only a romanticization of it, but also a, kind of, turning it into an enemy of state progress, enemy of the developmental state, enemy of the state as such, and we have, today, in India so many enemies of the state, they seem to be proliferating and Jugaad, sometimes, is only one of them, of course.

I'll let Rachna talk about TikTok because she's got some direct experience with it right now.

### Bharat Punjabi:

Sorry to interrupt again, we just have one more minute left. . . Let's start - do you mind if I go to one last question and then we'll have to wrap it up? Because we're running really short on time, my apologies. Because we've been getting this question - the pandemic and how, you know, how do you see Jugaad practices in response to the current pandemic? Especially as it relates to education and educational institutions, and even more broadly, what are the implications for Jugaad? Very quickly, please, thirty seconds to each of you.

### Amit Rai:

I'll just go really quick, Shahana, is that ok? Just. . . Really quickly, I mean, I've been watching a sort of Nitish Kumar and his coverage of the massive waves of workers sort of fleeing the cities at the moment with the lockdown, and the entire way, he was interviewing his co journalists who were interviewing the people, and the word that kept coming up is, "We need a Jugaad to get there."

And it was just the next stage of the journey, but it inevitably involved some kind of Jugaad, and that is what I would, sort of, link back to, in terms of the question of social reproduction, there is no middle class, upper-caste home in India today that is not based in a Dalit Jugaad ecology. Done. Sorry, thank you.

### Shahana Chattaraj:

So, as far as the pandemic goes, I think it became really critical, especially because the state at the beginning didn't get its act together, and then there were a lot of these groups that were working with them to figure out what could be, what spaces in the city could be made into shelters, or hospitals, or, you know, there was a repurposing of spaces, there was - in fact, that's probably where the Jugaad is logistics.

We didn't talk about it a lot, but when there was a lockdown and people couldn't get basic supplies, there was. . . And then the tensions between these two aspects of the states really came into force, because what happened is there was also - there were more of these flexible practices, but you could clearly see how poorly the laws were designed, how they had absolutely no clue about what an urban economy is like, what people's homes are like, how people. . .

So, in some way, it really illustrated the tensions, and, in some ways, the absurdity of the bureaucratic - I think there was something like, some four thousand - in Delhi - state directives that were constantly taken back and forth about what people should write up to how people should feed stray dogs. And then, RWAs got into this business, so it was a new kind of battle, I think, where Jugaad practices come up, and then there was this anti-Jugaad backlash, as well.

### Bharat Punjabi:

Shahana, could I just give Shiva and Rachna to give us some concluding thoughts on this, because they're in the middle of a pandemic in Mumbai which I'm hearing is getting more and more serious every day. So, Shiva, Rachna, do you have anything to say about how this relates to Jugaad? Your current experiences?

### Shiva Thorat:

Our current experiences is basically accessing the things that are not available right now, everything's on lockdown. . . When you go to town, necessary things, people will make their brain work to get those things, those necessary things.

Like, this is how. . . In a house, condition of everybody, they were practicing, somehow, the Jugaad, that way, getting the things which are not accessible right now, man, but while there was this reverse migration kind of thing, like, when people are going out, walking thousands of kilometres, and they must be doing something very differently that I am not, so we can actually be able to see ....and, like actually the highway of the Vashi village.

So, we were able to see what people were doing, some of them actually make their rubber vehicle wala thing and put their stuff and then they just carrying them, like, what. . . Which. . . Rickshaw, like deadly type of rickshaw, it was just like fixing something. . .

### Bharat Punjabi:

So, on that note, I just wanted to take the opportunity to thank all of you for taking all the time to prepare these presentations and join us for this excellent webinar. I'm getting great commentary here on how everyone has liked it a great deal. Also, I hope I did justice to all the questions.

So, on behalf of CIRCLE, which is the Canada India Research Centre at the University of Guelph, I also wanted to inform you all that there's going to be a seminar soon, we don't have a date as yet, by Dr. Irudaya Rajan, who is a very distinguished professor of Development Studies in Trivandrum, and he's going to be talking about India's migrant crisis.

It's going to be the 22nd of July, I just got a text, 22nd of July, and there will be details sent out to whoever is on the list with CIRCLE.

So, again, thanks to all of you and thanks to the technical team, and to Sharada Srinivasan and all the panelists, again, and the, you know. . . You know, everyone else who has attended the seminar today for making this such a great and wonderful and enlightening event. Thank you so much!

[End of transcript]