

Distress, Duress, and Dichotomy: Sociological Perspectives on the Scroll Painters of Naya

Atmadeep Ghoshal

MA Programme, Department of Sociology, Jadavpur University, India
atmadeepghoshal@gmail.com | ORCID: 0000-0002-9991-0017

Anjali Gera Roy

*Professor, Department of Humanities and Social Sciences, Indian Institute of Technology,
Kharagpur, India*
anjali@hss.iitkgp.ac.in | ORCID: 0000-0001-7436-7575

Abstract

The sociology of everyday life is a paradigm of theoretical orientation. The complexities of the everyday life of the social actors exhibit more than what is there in the framework of the apparent reality and help in constructing a fulfilling and applicable idea about the social actors. This essay aims to examine such complexities in the fabric of the everyday lives of the scroll painters of Naya, a village in West Midnapore district of West Bengal which are exhibited and expressed in various forms and ways. Through examining the social space of Naya that constitutes the lifeworld of the scroll painters and their spatial identity, this essay aims to understand the transformative lifeworld of the scroll painters to argue that the social space of the village acts as an invisible force of the institutionalization of innovation, ingenuity, and integrity.

Keywords: patua, patachitra, Naya, social space, lifeworld, spatial identity

Introduction

A question that has plagued the field of social sciences for several decades is whether a universal theory of social space is possible or not and, if so, how it may be defined. Although Foucault, Lefebvre, and Soja have provided a conceptual framework of social space (Lefebvre 46-49; Foucault 22-27), its phenomenological elements and operational dynamics have not been examined in detail. It is Alfred Schutz's philosophical concept of the "lifeworld" that he defines "as an amalgamation of her or his everyday dynamics, cultural bindings and relational assertions," which explores the "embedded reality of social space" and provides an idea of what constitutes a person's lifeworld (cited in Lippai 15-34). As Schutz demonstrates, the constitution of a person's lifeworld is important in analyzing and understanding their objective, subjective, and inter-subjective alignments¹. Through exploring the social space of Naya, a village in the West Medinipur district of West Bengal and the lifeworld of hereditary scroll painters known as patuas or patachitrakars and their



spatial identity, this essay aims to understand the scroll painters' transformative lifeworld to explore how the social space of the village acts as an invisible force in the institutionalization of innovation, ingenuity, and integrity. It draws on interviews with twenty patachitrakars conducted between May and December 2020 as part of the project "Folk Artists in the Time of Coronavirus" funded by the Indian Institute of Technology Kharagpur.

The Scroll Painters of Naya

Pata or *Patachitra* (Ghosh 835-871) has been a key component in the cultural diversity of both Bengals, Bihar, and Orissa. Pata is a scroll painting of varying length and width, which narrates incidents from Hindu epics like the Ramayana or the Mahabharata, the Bengali Mangalkavyas, folktales, local legends, and tribal Santhal myths as well as contemporary events (Hauser 105-122). Patuas or patachitrakars were semi-nomadic entertainers who would roam about villages unfurling their paintings to which they sang along (Ghosh 835-871) and received alms if they succeeded in pleasing their patrons (Hauser 107). As patachitrakars would wander from one village to another singing the representations in their patas, they would need a place where they could rest for a while or put up for the night before moving to their next halt. Encouraged by a wealthy patron in the region named Gunadhar who gifted them a piece of land, three patachitrakars (Pulin, Rampada, and Jyoti Chitrakar) settled down in Naya more than sixty years ago, encouraging other scroll painters to migrate from various parts of West Bengal. This is how Naya (new), labelled "the village of painters," (Ponte 22) came into existence.

The village of Naya is now home to several generations of patachitrakars or scroll painters belonging to about eighty-five families with approximately 139 scroll painters involved in the art of "patachitra." Notwithstanding the socio-economic deprivation and religious discrimination they have faced over the centuries, the scroll painters of Naya continue to practice their art as a means of earning a livelihood and to transmit it to their succeeding generation so as to enable them to carry forward their ancestral tradition (Korom 181-195).

The two biggest challenges to their survival have been their religious affiliation and market dynamics. Although most scroll painters, by their own admission, opted for Islam as their formal religion, their persistence in painting Hindu gods and goddesses initially struck a disapproving note in their co-religionists (Bhowmick 39-46). Additionally, they were relegated to the periphery of the mainstream societal framework since the Hindu majority found sacred performance by Muslims unacceptable. The complexity of such a nexus of incomprehensible un-acceptance seems to have been intensified by the patachitra ceasing to be a form of ritual entertainment and losing its rural patrons. Even so, their continuing practice of

scroll painting has been an empowering journey, which has given the scroll painters innumerable opportunities not only to improve their economic situation but also to challenge the mainstream discourse of approval and (dis)approval. In addition to the new system of market patronage combined with the patachitrakars' will, determination, and zeal to carry forward their tradition, the social space of the village of Naya has acted as a powerful force in helping them preserve their art through offering them an atmosphere of hope and belief.

Tracing the Social Space of Naya

The social space that envelopes the scroll painters of Naya is characterized by socio-economic privation and insecurity. The scroll painters' position in society has been historically ordained by their changing lifeworld, which was marked with abject penury and destitution before the community found its way into settlement, security, and success. However, despite the growing demand for and increased recognition of patachitra art and artists, an undefinable *angst* and anxiety appears to underpin the scroll painters' lives and scroll paintings (Ponte 24).

Various kinds of socio-economic problems have historically plagued the scroll painters of Naya. As Dukhushyam Chitrakar, one of the few elder scroll painters, conferred the title of Guru (Master), explains, the scroll painters' existence has always been bereft of certainty or stability,

Scroll painters have undergone all sorts of oppression, be it social or economic. And yet they have rather achieved their existence to this day, overcoming all types of complexities, no matter how difficult that might have been. In the past, we used to go to the villages and act as entertainers, showing our paintings and narrating the depictions which were set to tune by us. There was no guarantee as to whether we would be getting anything in exchange from the households we visited in the village. Some days were worse than the others when we returned empty-handed and had nothing to eat. Today we, as a community, have been able to put food on our plates for quite a long time now. Our children have the opportunity to attend schools and colleges and we are done away with the fear of going hungry for a day. With this recent rage of the pandemic, however, things have changed again. I hear it from my sons that they are not getting the amount of work they used to. Exhibitions and displays have come to a standstill is what I gather from most of those living in the villages.

Dukhushyam Chitrakar's words reverberate with the issues of socio-economic privation and insecurity that lurk behind the social space of Naya. The socio-economic privation has two dimensions, instability and subordination².

Even though instability in the lifeworld of the painters partially arises from the irregular nature of patronage³, its prime cause can be suas, a three-fold instrument – the stigmatization of scroll painters by the *brihottoro shomaj* or the larger society, religious purity and inflexibility and market dynamics.

In addition to instability, subordination emerged as another important and analytically binding factor in the scroll painters' social space. Although subordination is primarily imposed through subjugating practices, which unleash a certain degree of dominance into the schema of everyday life on an operative scale, it assumed a different meaning when viewed through the lens of the scroll painters on whom it was enforced through the discourse of denial and disapproval. Subordination can also be explored as a constructive force that compelled patachitrakars to submit to market economics, making them conform to what the "larger society" considered desirable and resulted in the loss of the authentic in *patachitra*.

In order to explore the concept of subordination under such circumstances, it becomes pertinent to understand how the elements of denial and disapproval have been assimilated by the marginalized performers. The scroll painters, isolated from the "larger society" or "mainstream society" were denied a constructive platform for the expression of their art. Their uniqueness, reflected in their works, seemed to have been countered by what the "larger society" deemed appropriate and what the market deemed to be profitable. In the past, scroll painters faced several obstacles in engaging in their hereditary profession and practicing their art due to their being discriminated against by religious conservatives. For example, scroll painter Montu Chitrakar recalls, "We had to change our names from the ones which were given to us at birth so that we could work at Hindu households, especially when we were required to build idols of goddesses like Kali and Durga for the festive seasons." While Montu Chitrakar adds that difficulties have been an integral part of their lives, partly because of their stigmatization by the larger society, other scroll painters are unable to elucidate the problem in clear terms.

In the process of their being disparaged by mildly oppressive forces, the locus of subordination in the social space of Naya can, therefore, be located in the threat of extinction felt by the scroll painters. It is, however, supplemented with their being forced to adjust to market economics. Even though the scroll painters of Naya express their commitment to preserving their rich heritage, they are not averse to adjusting to market requirements and tailoring their "patachitras" to the need-dispositions of the "larger society" in order to ensure their financial well-being. This decontextualizes the performance art from its ritual origins and isolates the visual, thereby eliding songs or tunes.

Shyamsundar Chitrakar, a veteran scroll painter, states,

Scroll painting has been made into a business and you cannot blame the scroll painters for it. The dynamic nature of the demand does not require us to compose songs anymore. Neither do we need to sing out the depictions. Pats are not as long as they used to be, we now have different kinds [sizes] of pats. People don't have the space to keep the long pats and hence resort to the square ones. But above all of this, as a community we have always felt our existence being threatened. That is why we keep on adjusting to the way of the world. Protecting the art is our duty, but you also need to conserve the artists, right? Without the artist, how will the art survive? For long we have stood the test of time. The larger society has always tried to distance us away, denying us constantly the avenues for long term growth.

Rahim Chitrakar, Dukhushyam Chitrakar's son, agrees with Shyamsundar,

... our experiences in being scroll painters have been enlightening but nevertheless tormenting too. While growing up we used to hear that our father was going to the village to *beg* for food. We are lucky now that none of us have to *beg* for food. But those memories are always haunting us like a specter from an ignoble past, affecting our present dispositions. We have always felt threatened. The government never made elaborate arrangements for us until it was 2011. I am not saying all the members of the larger society has made us feel separated from the mainstream establishment, but certainly as a whole they have played on our years of insecurity and changed the context of the market, which is why you won't find many of us composing songs anymore but just focusing on making scroll paintings in different shapes and sizes. In a way you can say that we have been subjugated and perhaps even forced to conform to what by view of the majority was considered to be *ideal*.

What is therefore left is what the elderly Dulal Chitrakar termed as “an incomplete exercise of scroll painting which loses its cultural and traditional bindings and becomes subservient to the needs of the modern world.”

Insecurity finds a manifestation in various forms across multiple instruments and institutionalizations. The institutionalization of insecurity in the social space of Naya can be understood through the emotional response of the scroll painters to the different kinds of adversities that threaten to end their cultural legacy and existence as a community. Despite their being able to produce an organic art form, the existential crisis visible among the scroll painters of Naya makes it important to pose the question: why is it that the patachitrakars feel insecure and where

can their insecurity be located? The question that needs to be asked is what their emotional response does to hardship and subordination entails and how exactly it is related to the institutionalization of insecurity in the social space of Naya. The answer to this question lies in the continual apprehension of an imminent threat experienced by the patachitrakars as well as their adaptation to the “larger society.” The scroll painters of Naya believe that their community is relegated to the status of a segregated, separated social collective by dominant groups in the larger society. The larger society has decried the unique characteristic orientation of Naya as incompatible with majoritarian processes in terms of socialization, cultural affirmation, and so on. While the contemporary rubric of the society does not overtly endorse discrimination of any kind, Naya scroll painters’ internalization of its covert humiliating denigration has percolated to their succeeding generations (Palchoudhuri 147-160). In light of this, their emotional response is a reaction of the “ever-tormented” socio-cultural “self(s)” to the changes brought about by any social or natural element that might affect their livelihoods or their rich cultural legacy. It is in such a response that insecurity appears to have been institutionalized in every facet of their everyday lives, beginning with the prevailing public discourse on how the “larger society” views them to imminent changes. The connotations of the social space in Naya might be best described in the words of Jaba Chitrakar, “Over the years from being a small and largely unknown village, Naya has changed into a landscape of culture and creativity. But some things haven’t changed, and perhaps our fear of being washed away is one of them. That I guess will continue no matter how much we develop and progress.”

The Transformative Lifeworld: Mapping Innovation, Ingenuity, and Integrity among the Patachitrakars

In examining the lifeworld of the scroll painters of Naya, understanding the transformation of its subjective, objective, and inter-subjective alignments across space and time is extremely crucial⁴. The rationale behind their adaptation to the changing realities is the constant insecurity and fear of extinction lurking behind the social space of Naya, which might have arisen from a social or financial, institutional crisis, or even an ecological event like the prevailing pandemic.

In addition to alienation, self-reliance, and integrity, market dynamics and economics are equally central to the ingenuity and innovation factors of the subjective aspect of the patachitrakars’ everyday lives. Market dynamics that forced the scroll painters to adapt their creations to the requirements of the “larger society” and its constituents is one of the main reasons behind the continual changes in the subjective, objective, and inter-subjective alignments embedded in their lifeworld. Manimala Chitrakar, a noted scroll painter from the village, provides the following rationale,

You can say we have always had two objectives to scroll painting. One would be our survival and the other would be the survival of the art. You cannot really survive individually or as a community, as an artist if the art is lost. This is the reason we have tried to bring in as much change as possible to the style and narration of our scroll paintings. Initially they were based on the incidences in the epics but gradually with time, social issues became an important subject matter for the paintings. Previously the scrolls were really long, but now they are of different shapes and sizes. As a community we want to be able to reach out to all kinds of people and since not everyone buys the long scrolls which often have a high price. Alongside, you'll also find patachitras on items of everyday use, like cups and mugs and clothes. If one feels this as a commercial endeavor on our part, I'd say that this is only partially correct. Survival is perhaps the primary need for us. To connect with all the needs and minds of all kinds of individuals, we invent and re-invent the ways and forms of the art.

Similarly, Jaba Chitrakar, an accomplished scroll painter, believes that,

... as a community I think our reason for existence is tied to the survival of the art. Initially the art and artist were inseparable from each other. But now, you can say there is a gap between the art and the artist. The art is now more than just a mode of survival. It is a part of our cultural identity as a community and a unique creation which if lost, will be lost forever from the face of world. You might think of including scroll painting on objects like T-shirts and kettles to ways by which we can earn extra income but that is actually not the case. Without doing such things neither we nor our creations will survive. If the future holds to be more inconvenient for us, and if things like this pandemic becomes more common we shall have to devise new ways and means for survival but through the art, not by some other work, unless of course the situation is that bad. But to be honest, even if that happens, there is nothing apart from scroll painting that we know.

Ingenuity and innovation are perhaps the twin planks of the patachitrakars' lifeworld. While ingenuity defines the intersection between their art and the changing times, innovation acts as an expression of their ingenious selves and minds. While the scroll painters believe that their existence as a collective is connected to what they preach and practice, scroll paintings serve both as a means of their survival as well as their perpetuation as a distinct community with a unique cultural identity. In other words, responding to the changes in the market can be viewed as a social action on the patachitrakars' part to ensure three things – the preservation of the community, the preservation of their rich cultural heritage, and the ensuring of a sustainable livelihood.

The complex relationship between innovation and ingenuity is pertinent to the exploration of the deep structures of the lifeworld of the scroll painters of Naya. While these aspects might appear synonymous, ingenuity is deeply embedded in the patachitrakars' mental faculties whereas innovation is channeled in the manner and output of their artistic creations. Although ingenuity is common to all of them, the nature of innovation varies from one artist to the other. For instance, Shyamsundar Chitrakar engaged his creativity in making replicas of large "pats" that are the size of a person's palm apart from drawing standard scrolls and square "pats." According to him, "Often students from colleges and universities come to visit Naya. It is not always possible for them to carry a lot of money. These small 'pats' are best suited for them in such cases. They are neither too large nor too expensive. Students can take such things as a souvenir back home." For Anwar Chitrakar, innovation, however, has a completely different orientation. He believes that

the social issues that are often a subject matter of the scroll paintings should be reflective of the times in which we are living. The scenes from the epics are important and so are things like global warming and environmental degradation. But you cannot just focus on a few things and expect the art to progress. This is the reason why I focus more on things like subjugation of women, fragility of social relationships in today's world and even social evils like eve-teasing and rape. I think in that way scroll paintings become more realistic.

Identifying the routes and modes of innovation is not difficult in view of the fact that ingenuity is inherent in their collective work ethic and is reflected in their creative productions.

An analysis of the contours of their lifeworld would, however, remain incomplete without discussing the integrity of the patachitrakars of Naya. The question of integrity and its consumption is a rather complex arrangement to be dealt with largely because it includes an assortment of particularities absorbed by the scroll painters of Naya over a period of time. One such ethic is the belief in keeping their religious faith and their hereditary vocation separate from each other. In engaging with contemporary society in the present times, patachitrakars seem to have resolved the fine gap between their religious beliefs and their professional choices and commitments. The scroll painters of Naya have cultivated an attitude of plurality and professional and personal sentiments without compromising their personal ethics in the hope that it would ensure the community's as well as their socio-cultural architecture's survival.

Another important characteristic that should not go amiss from the scope of this discussion is the doctrine of self-reliance, intricately laden in the patachitrakars'

transformative lifeworld. With every passing generation, almost every household in the patua village has taken to the profession of scroll painting scrupulously following in its ancestral footsteps. Although there have been intermittent transitions to other occupational avenues largely due to economic constraints, the scroll painters of Naya have stuck to their creative practice. The scroll painters' continuing belief in themselves and their self-creation is almost tantamount to entrepreneurship, which allows them to be independent and utilize their own resources in sustaining their art. Self-reliance, thus, defines a set of attitudinal strengths in the scroll painters of Naya. This is a mindset that includes taking comfort and hope in carrying on with the hereditary occupation, making efforts to orient future generations towards scroll painting, relying exclusively on natural resources and refraining from switching over to other occupational activities.

An intriguing element of the lifeworld of the patachitrakars has been the strand of alienation. While the extent and degree of the alienation between the art and artist is difficult to analyze, the fissure between the creation and the creator is reflected in the patachitrakars' unanimous portrayal of their art as a commodified object rather than an aesthetic pursuit.

As Bapi Chitrakar puts it,

We feel as patuas our responsibility lies in letting the society know about things which are happening around them. Previously it was all about going to the village and singing out the thematic description of the "pats." But times have changed and so has our ways of presentation. Since you are asking whether the artist has separated himself from the art or not, I would say it is true to some extent. After all, as much as we are scroll painters, we also have to keep in mind that people who buy from us are our patrons. That kind of an understanding has certainly brought some changes. For instance, you won't find many of us knowing how to compose songs or sing for that matter. This is because scroll paintings are more about being a product now, than being a way of keeping villagers informed about things of social importance.

Ranjit Chitrakar echoes Bapi Chitrakar's perspective: "Scroll paintings were previously made for being shown. But now they are being sold. I feel once you attach a price tag to the elaborate hard work that is done and try to quantify the creativity of the painter, which results in the art and artist being separated in a way from each other."

The subjective, objective, and inter-subjective alignments of the lifeworld of the scroll painters of Naya can, thus, be understood from the aforesaid elements that give shape to their lifeworld and define and describe its constitution. The objectivity

in the lifeworld of the patachitrakars is signified by their capacity to be ingenious when needed, self-reliant and keep the “personal” separate and distinct from the “professional.” The subjective alignments, however, lie in how each of them embraces his/her respective lifeworld and orients his/her individual social actions to his/her subjective understandings. For instance, while some of them choose to innovate the texture of pat painting by drawing it on objects of everyday use, some try to reduce the size of the pats to that of a person’s palm. In the same way, while their work ethic has no trace of their religious taboos, some believe that the conceptual understanding of religion in society is deeply flawed and there is no need to separate religion from one’s own professional commitment. The inter-subjective matrix, in such a case, therefore, is consistent with the everyday lives of the scroll painters, their shared opinion about the “larger society” and their matters of common cognition. This includes their apprehensions about the threat of the extinction of the community, the gradual erosion of their socio-cultural heritage in light of the continuously changing market and consumer tastes, and their belief in the role of patachitrakars as educators.

With this, what becomes inarguably congruent to the discussion is the transformative nature of the lifeworld, which changed across space and time. The scroll painters of Naya, whose lifeworld was invested in bringing social awareness, were persuaded to adapt to their surroundings and their requirements due to socio-economic contingencies. During the period when they identified with their abject status of “alms-seekers,” a colossal metamorphosis in market economics transformed their self-identified persona, and, ultimately, they opted to professionally engage with scroll painting.

Unpacking the Spatial Identity of the Patachitrakars

Spatial identity is “the identity that has a relational and positional binding to the space and spatial structures of the social actor, often distinguished from general social identity since it is rather assumed through various long term cultural, economic and political processes.” (Baker 314-335) Since religion has not been the sole determining factor in their everyday lives and their individual lifeworld, the scroll painters’ identity cannot be exclusively analyzed through strict religious or social parameters. Since viewing their social identity as preservers of cultural traditions would be equally reductionist, the essence of their identity must be examined in relation to their social space. The role of the village of Naya has been extremely important in defining the spatial identity of scroll painters through its enabling of its inhabitants in realizing their inner potential and acting accordingly.

Identity is sacrosanct to the rich cultural heritage of scroll painters and one of the main reasons behind the channeling of their efforts to survive as a community.

At this juncture, the question that might arise is what is more important for the patachitrakars, their individual existence or their existence as a community? While it is true that the community cannot exist and function without the survival of individual patachitrakars, it is also true that if the patachitrakars were to direct their ingenuity and creativity towards activities precluding scroll painting, it would result in the eventual decline of the community itself. Therefore, it is best to state that the community and the individual are separate and mutually exclusive when it comes to the question of identity since that happens to be an integral element of their “self(s).”

The patachitrakars have self-ascribed their spatial identity as a part of their coherent understanding of the “larger society.” This larger society regards the social space of Naya as an intrusive force bestowed with the power of affecting even those who are not a part of it. For example, their elder, Dulal Chitrakar, believes that the larger society and its additional elements are responsible for whatever has changed in pat painting:

You ask me whether we would have remained stagnant or not and I guess we wouldn't. But certainly, we would not have done anything that might just ruin the process of what we stand for. We have been reduced to businessmen from artists and our roles have changed from being agents of social responsibility to being sellers of a particular art form. It is true we think of our rich heritage and culture, but I think patuas are mostly concerned now with their expressive identity as patachitrakars who are in the business of pat painting, which automatically helps in preserving the art.

The spatial identity of the patachitrakars can be described as a construction of their cultural instrumentalities, which are integrated with their occupational dynamics. As Dulal Chitrakar points out, their identity as a community is preserved only to the extent of their being a part of their individual albeit commercial engagements⁵. Their spatial identity contains the possibilities of their adapting their “self(s),” as microcosmic orientations of the “larger society,” by aligning their creativity to the tastes, standards, and judgment of consumers who control the market economics. These microcosmic orientations of the larger society can be theoretically framed to include the everyday dynamics of those who are the buyers and patrons of patachitras, their ideologies, and the morphologies as well as simple understandings of the society around them.

Conclusion

The social space of Naya, reflective of the everydayness of the patachitrakars, tells the tale of a particular community's battle with uneven social landscapes. While the scroll painters' resistance to submit to the larger society or *bhrihottoro*

shomaj is embedded in market economics, the rationale behind their choices, the particularities of their historical oppression, and their resilience may be attributed to the nature and degree of the ingenuity, innovation, and integrity prevailing in the social space of Naya. Whereas the disjuncture between their religious orientation and their work is separated by their professionalism, the ideological ground that supports this professional separation is rooted in the constitution of their everyday lives. Their lives are constituted through mutual respect towards each other both socially and culturally, tolerance towards dynamic social realities and a strong sense of brotherhood. It is these aspects of their everyday lives that form the inter-subjective matrix of their aggregate understandings and proliferate to the extent of guiding their choices in relation to the meanings that they attach to various social actions. The question of identity, which seems to be an important and an integral part of the individual “self(s)” of the patachitrakars, revolves around the alignments of the social space in Naya for it is the socio-cultural landscape that creates the discourse of the patachitrakars’ identity. It is also important to state that their efforts to survive as an exclusive community of individuals endowed with idiosyncratic capabilities is equally significant thus giving a consolidated background to their “spatial identity.” At large and in essence, it is the ever-transformative nature of the lifeworld of the patachitrakars, with which they interact and associate with their distinct personalities that ultimately leads to the perpetuation of their community across time and space, irrespective of the cultural barriers, social discrimination, religious conservatism, market economics, and haunting memories of the distant past. Although the instrument of alienation creates a sense of separation between the art and artist, it is not strong enough in the present times to the erosion of patachitras and patachitrakars. Instead, it is important to accept it as part and parcel of the everyday lives of the scroll painters, who by their own instinctive rationality, do not allow alienation to affect the qualitative dynamics of patachitras as a whole and resort to improvisation to facilitate the smooth functioning of their community.

Notes

1. While Schutz’s exploration of the lifeworld can be viewed as an expressive process of the interplay of everyday dynamics, it is important to consider that it is only an “extension and developmental construction of what was Edmund Husserl’s philosophical project” (Collins 95-126) aimed at examining the consciousness of individuals through their subjective perceptions of everyday life. The contributions of Jurgen Habermas also cannot go unnoticed in this regard, especially for his unique definition of it as a “culturally transmitted and linguistically organized stock of interpretative patterns.”
2. Subordination is an expression of a strong authoritative framework that seeks to alter the way in which people attach meanings to things around them.

3. This may be illustrated through the life stories of some scroll painters like Yaqub, Anwar, Sanyubar, who had abandoned painting for other occupations before returning to their hereditary profession.
4. The process of covert demarcation is applicable to the previous situations in which patuas have been invisibly subdued in various ways that have made them feel separated from mainstream society. The contours of such covert demarcation include their being ill-treated by both Hindus and Muslim conservatives in subtle ways, and the absence of a market for their products.
5. This can be defined as painting pats for one's own survival, ignoring the historicity behind it as well as being unknown to the completeness of the art which also includes singing and composing songs.

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