Sustainable Development: Contribution from Engaged Buddhism

I have a personal motivation to write this paper. In the development discourse everyone is talking about sustainable development. There is a phobia of impending environmental crisis. Everyone is aware of the apocalyptic nature of climate change, sea rise, pollution and water shortage. Even the ordinary people in streets and homes express worries about the consequences of deteriorating quality of environment. From the time of submission of the Report of the World Commission on Environment and Development (UN, 1987) to the United Nations’ Sustainable Development Goals (UNDP, n.d.) sustainable development has become a new buzzword among policy makers, academia and planners. Sustainable goals are fixed by international bodies, adopted by nation states, sub-national agencies and civil society organizations. Then feasible strategies are worked out. But the destructive quality of development initiatives continues unabated. In the less developed countries the quest for development legitimizes increase in quantity and number of pollutants. The interesting part of the debate is that all over the world, there is environmental concern, and yet there is a big gap between ideals and practices. What we have learnt, known and thought about development is not linked with what we would jointly value to act. The utilitarian, modernist thinking on development, the theory of ecological modernization, is the best product of this age, and the axiom of utility maximizing individual self (i.e. utilitarian individualism) prevents us from adopting sustainable practices. This has encouraged scholars to exam in values and cultures which promote or destroy health of environment (Eisele, 2010). I wish to submit that Buddhism along with ecological modernization is the hope for the future.

The reason is simple: it is not enough to discuss issues collectively. “Collective consciousness can be a toxic food or a wholesome one” (Hanh, 2013, p. 183). We need to move towards collective action favouring protection of ecological balance. The Buddha reminds that there are many philosophies in the world and we can debate for endless time but all (sixty four philosophies were known to him) have some errors and they create difficulties. He suggested that to understand the truth we need practice of mindfulness and this would help us to understand the Truth – the truth of impermanence and inter-dependence of all beings (Hanh, 2008, pp. 397-398). This is useful for sustainable development. A beginning has to be made.

There is a dearth of literature on Buddhist sociology though some of the founding fathers of sociology like Sorokin had argued that there is a salient connection between sociology and
Buddhism (Sorokin, 1964). Bell (1979) is one of those very few sociologists who claim that Buddhist sociology can not only show us a way to enlightenment and ethical action it can also provide alternative methodology and alternative theorization of self. According to Schipper (2012) Bell’s essay, entitled “Buddhist Sociology: Some Thoughts on the Convergence of Sociology and Eastern Paths of Liberation” is the first essay in Buddhist sociology, little known in sociology proper. It is notable that his essay was rejected by *The American Sociologist* because a reviewer found it to be promoting fatalism and said: “such disengagement strikes me as being horrendously criminal, mad, malevolent, to ourselves, to each other, to children yet unborn. Yet the journal decided to publish Bell and Goodwin’s letter that protested against it non-inclusion (Bell and Goodwin, 1978). Bell published his essay later in an edited book, entitled *Theoretical Perspectives in Sociology* (Bell, 1979). Schipper (2012) shows how the four Noble Truths and mindfulness practice can contribute to theory making in sociology. He makes a distinction between pain, which is direct embodiment of pain, and suffering – the ideas of pain – and how to get rid of them. Suffering is therefore, second order of pain. For example, theories of environmental depletion, its causes and many actions theorized to stop it often lead to suffering in two ways – producing anxiety about the future and suggesting painful solutions at the present – and helps little. However, there is a caveat here. We have to go beyond mere presentation or discussion of Buddha’s thought on specific issues. For example, in discussing sociological thought of Buddha Gnanarama (1998) has merely discussed Buddha’s thought on social issues such as role of women. This does not integrate with academic writings on the subject.

In the above context, it would be useful to make a distinction between sociology of Buddhism and Buddhist sociology. The former would include the history of Buddhism, social base of Buddhism, varieties of Buddhist practices, and impact of Buddhism on social institutions and practices (e.g. Diaz, 2014). (This is similar to the idea of Buddhology as suggested by Wallace (1999)) The later would include dealing with the methodologies that Buddhism offers for studying society. This entails using the commonly accepted Theravadic Buddhist values as the basis of the epistemology, ontology and methodology of sociology (Wallace, 1999) and this cannot be equated with the Buddhist theological approach. Wallace calls it Buddhist theory. The work has to be interpretative, acceptable within the larger discourse on society and relevant. In the field of development, we need theoretical support as well as action. We need existential, moral, cosmological and ontological bases of sustainable development which the dominant development discourse lacks. It may be stressed, as done by
Wallace that while a Buddhologist need not follow Buddhism but a Buddhist theorist is a practicing Buddhist who is ready to combat Buddhist theology if the experience asks for it. To me Buddhist understanding provides the basis of productive thinking on development in the sustainable framework by linking fate of all life – nature, animals and humans. I am influenced by Puri’s discussion of engaged Buddhism (Puri, 2006). In her book, entitled Engaged Buddhism: The Dalai Lama’s Worldview, one full chapter is devoted to environment as a human rights issue. I am aware that to many people Buddhism is simply one of the several existing institutionalized religions but for many Buddhists, including me, Buddhism offers a non-sectarian, secular and non-religious approach to exploration of the world and has to be judged purely on the basis of direct observations and contemplation. I have also assisted in a project to translate some of Dalai Lama’s lectures in Hindi and that project helped me in clarifying my thinking on Dalai Lama as well as engaged Buddhism (Dalai Lama, 2015).

**Buddhism, sociology and environment**

Buddhist religious and philosophical literature is very vast. Original sayings of Buddha are compiled into 15,000 pages in Pali (Srikrishna, 2008, 154-158). Then Attakathayen based on the speeches of Buddha and their commentaries are collected into 35,000 pages. The Pali literature on Buddha runs into 50,000 pages. Basically Buddha’s education is contained in Tripitaks (i.e., three literatures in which religious speech is compiled). They are Vinay Pitak, Sutta Pitak and Abhidhamma Pitak. Vinay Pitak is about rules/disciplines to be followed by the Bhikhus. It contains five texts. Sutta Pitak contains preachings of Buddha. It also includes the preachings of Sariputra, Manglayan and Anand which were approved by the Buddha. Sutta Pitak is divided into five parts. Abhidhamma Pitak is the chief pitak of all. It contains the essence of Buddhist philosophy. All seekers of truth, Bhikhus as well as upasakas (i.e. the householders/followers of Buddha) must know it. It contains seven texts. As the Buddhism spread to many lands and the philosophers, litterateurs and intellectuals took keen interest in Buddhist thought. Today we have a vast literature on Buddha in many languages in many countries. In the last two centuries Buddha is rediscovered by the West and great scientists and philosophers have shown keen appreciation of Buddhist precepts. In recent times in India Dr. Ambedkar has produced some important works on Buddha: Buddha and his Dhamma; Buddha and Karl Marx (an essay); and Revolution and Counter-Revolution (incomplete treatise). Ambedkar also pondered on development and environment.
Ambedkar’s ideas on environment are based on two concepts: “nature for all” and “all for nature” (Kumar, 2014). To quote:

The ideas of Ambedkar reminds us that environmental governance should be crafted based upon the principle of equity and bio-ethical spirit to cater to the needs of all sections of human society. In a way, Ambedkar’s ideas enable us to focus on ecological democracy and inclusive environmentalism, meaning environment for all. Particularly his engagement with Buddhism proposes a bio-centric approach to look at social process. This means all species including human beings have equal rights over nature and at the same time all human beings has responsibility to participate in conservation of environment.

Sahni (2011) claims that early Buddhism may be seen as virtue ethics and the Jatak stories particularly show the concern about environment. Earlier Tucker and Williams (1998) demonstrated the usefulness of Buddhism for theory and practice in environmental action. Stephanie Kaza (n.d.), a professor of environmental studies at the University of Vermont has produced several books which provide a framework of Buddhist thought on sustainable development and for “economic, ecological, ethical sustainability for the long term”. She shows how mindfulness and relational thinking can help in dealing with inequalities and environmental crisis.

One of the most known books on sustainable development in academics is E.F. Schumacher’s *Small Is Beautiful: Economics as if People Mattered* (Schumacher, 1973). He is one of the first generation of economists conceptualizing sustainable development as the result of value based economics. Interestingly, he called his economic thought by the name of Buddhist economics. Schumacher is inspired by the eightfold path of Buddha that one needs to follow to attain the ultimate goal of life. This includes right livelihood among the eight paths. According to Buddha a man has to earn a livelihood but it should be done legally and peacefully. Dealing in weapons, dealing in living beings, working in meat production and butchery, and selling intoxicants and poisons should be avoided.

In Buddhist economy a man produces and consumes only as much as is necessary and leaves the rest of his time for artistic creativity, moral development and self-improvement. The reliance is more on renewable rather than non-renewable resources.

To quote from *Small Is Beautiful*:

Modern economics does not distinguish between renewable and non-renewable materials, as its very method is to equalise and quantify everything by means of a money price. Thus, taking various alternative fuels, like coal, oil, wood, or water-power: the only difference between them recognised by modern economics is relative cost per equivalent unit. The
cheapest is automatically the one to be preferred, as to do otherwise would be irrational and "uneconomic." From a Buddhist point of view, of course, this will not do; the essential difference between non-renewable fuels like coal and oil on the one hand and renewable fuels like wood and water-power on the other cannot be simply overlooked. Non-renewable goods must be used only if they are indispensable, and then only with the greatest care and the most meticulous concern for conservation. To use them heedlessly or extravagantly is an act of violence, and while complete non-violence may not be attainable on this earth, there is nonetheless an ineluctable duty on man to aim at the ideal of non-violence in all he does.

Buddhist economy is very similar to Gandhian view of society. Similar to Gandhian economic concepts of Sarvodaya and Swaraj Buddhist economy rests on application of local resources for local needs. To quote form Small Is Beautiful again:

From the point of view of Buddhist economics, therefore, production from local resources for local needs is the most rational way of economic life, while dependence on imports from afar and the consequent need to produce for export to unknown and distant peoples is highly uneconomic and justifiable only in exceptional cases and on a small scale. Just as the modern economist would admit that a high rate of consumption of transport services between a man's home and his place of work signifies a misfortune and not a high standard of life, so the Buddhist economist would hold that to satisfy human wants from faraway sources rather than from sources nearby signifies failure rather than success. The former tends to take statistics showing an increase in the number of ton/miles per head of the population carried by a country's transport system as proof of economic progress, while to the latter—the Buddhist economist—the same statistics would indicate a highly undesirable deterioration in the pattern of consumption.

Swaminathan, the world reputed agricultural scientist, says: “The conflict between environment and development can be ended only if we stop economic greed. Scientific skill, political will and people’s action should come together if we are to have sustainable development. The National Ecological Policy which I helped to develop 25 years ago had laid considerable stress on do-ecology, that is, to learn how to do right and not just abstain action.” (Nair, 2016).

The basic problems
There is a general dissatisfaction that the environmental policies have not produced the desired results. I hypothesize that the major reasons why sustainable development policies yield less results than desired are certain separations: for example, separation between analysis and action; separation between man and the nature; separation between man and man; separation between generations; separation between beliefs and experiences; and separation between ideas and actions. From global to local level these separations need to be addressed. These hypotheses may be verified in the context of self. Ask to yourself: Is the
environmental debate an academic matter or is also a subject about which you feel highly concerned? Although it is important to fix targets and develop appropriate strategies to achieve them in a limited time frame at various levels but do our exercises have any impact on the behaviour of those on whose everyday action quality of environment depends? Are we ready to make small sacrifices for the future generations because we see our continuity through them? Do we feel or experience a connection with animals, plants, or even with men living in other parts of the world or even those living in our neighbourhood? Are we prepared to act on the basis of our analysis, observations and simulations that we do for academics? Is greed not central to all our activities and thoughts, even to our academic strivings?

In a poem “Ekoham” Ramdhari Singh Dinakar (2011, p.426), the famous Hindi poet, said that “patte ka peela hona pure vriksha ka rog hai” (i.e. drying of one leaf tells about the disease of the whole tree). We have to identify that disease of the tree of civilization. It may come out to be the individual and collective greed born out of lack of understanding of life. Commenting on “Discourse on Right View” Hanh (1998, p. 274) quotes Buddha who said: “Friends, there are four kinds of nourishment that support beings who have already come to be and those who are seeking a new existence. They are edible food, coarse or fine; the food of sense impressions; the food of intention; and the food of consciousness. Nourishment originates where greed originates, and nourishment ceases when greed ceases. Greed is the basic problem. It is impossible to solve environmental problems without controlling the greed.

Where does solution lie?

Effective remedy lies in the correct diagnosis of the environmental pathology. If the above diagnosis of the roots of the environmental problems is not deemed right the proposed solutions have no meaning but to the extent the above separations make sense to you we can find significant help from Buddhism. The Path that leads to the cessation of nourishment is the Noble Eightfold Path. When a disciple understands this, he or she entirely transforms these tendencies.” (Hanh, 1998) I must say here that philosophers have raised issues about sustainable development and argued that only a change in environment paradigm can redeem the situation yet we have not found any practical solution because the common man felt helpless in taking any action. Interestingly, the common man also has suspicion regarding applicability of any philosophy in society or personal life. Yet among intellectuals like us, it is important to study comparative philosophy. In existing literature, there are three dominant paradigms to explore environmental question: shallow ecology, deep ecology and social
ecology. The shallow ecology deals with the adverse impacts of pollution and resource depletion on health and affluence. Demographers and positivists would find it attractive. Arne Naess, a Norwegian Gandhian philosopher and activist, argued that we have to go deeper into human psychological substratum to understand or stop the environmental degradation. He was a proponent of deep ecology. He avers: “To the ecological field-worker, the equal right to live and blossom is an intuitively clear and obvious value axiom. Its restriction to humans is an anthropocentrism with detrimental effects upon the life quality of humans themselves” (Naess, 1973, 95-100). Social ecology (Bookchin, 1993) stresses the socio-political roots of environmental crisis, world system inequalities, gender oppression, and ethnic domination; the latter also stresses that environmental crisis is rooted in anthropocentrism, a theory that treats humans as superior to nature, and maintains that only a change in anthropocentrism linked with Western modernism can help (Swarnakar, 2008). Recently the importance of the relationship between mind (mental models) and society and environment has gained recognition from none less than the World Bank Group (World Bank Group, 2015). Engaged Buddhism with its concepts going beyond the binaries and dualities gives us a hope. Buddhism suggests and it is not easy to take sides. A Buddhist understands that if he was born in the condition of those who are polluting environment and lived like them he would be doing the same thing. He can relate to everyone. Buddhism avoids all dogmas and theories and stresses direct experience and aims to benefit one and all. A few academics like Toh have already begun talking about the link between Buddhism and sustainable development (Toh, n.d.) and produced new and interesting ideas. Some of them are the concept of suffering and the possibility of ending it from life, concept of inter-being, dependent arising, self and non-self, emptiness, and the middle path. To quote Toh, “engaged Buddhism seeks to actively build a more compassionate, loving, nonviolent, just and sustainable world. For engaged Buddhists, their faith transcends individual-centred belief, understanding, rituals and a search for “enlightenment” to also encompass social action across all dimensions of life.” As examples of sustainable development Toh mentioned about efforts made towards sustainable livelihood action by Sarvodaya Shanti Sena (Peace Brigades) in Sri Lanka and The Soka Gakkai International community in Japan (A, 2013). It is noteworthy that the above concepts are not to be taken as independent concepts, however. They are so interwoven and intertwined that for explaining any one of them you have to invoke the others. In the present context they may be interpreted as follows:
**Concept of suffering:** The concept of suffering suggests that all humans are suffering. They are wanting to have what they do not have or they are wanting to remove what they have. They want to change their condition. Status maintenance is suffering. The desire for change, the definition of suffering, is itself suffering. This is true in all socio-economic, political and cultural contexts. In absence of industrialization and economic development we “suffer” from poverty; in presence of them we “suffer” from environmental consequences of them. It appears that the concept of happiness is vacuous. The Buddha proposes that happiness comes from wisdom and from avoiding the extremes, i.e. it comes from a middle position. We may also look for ways through which we can have development without environmental problems. Yet, this option has to be exercised carefully and reflectively. It requires a vivid recognition of the environmental problems, along with analysis of the problems, and search for solutions emerging from this analysis and not from old political and philosophical discourses. I propose that Buddhist sociology stresses direct observations and deconstructs what is taken for granted (McGrane, 1993).

**Inter-being:** According to the concept of inter-being, past, present and future, different countries, nations and peoples, and man, society and nature are all interdependent. An action which produces suffering for any one part produces suffering for the whole and any action or condition that affects the system negatively affects also all the parts all the times in the same way (not necessarily in the same way). To end the environmental problems not only all countries but different sections of society and different generations have to come to some agreement.

**Dependent arising:** The idea of dependent arising offers the concept of discontinuous continuity. It suggests that environmental and other problems are the product of diverse forces operating at different levels – all of which are difficult to identify – and they take different shapes in different contexts. They may be seen as mere labels used for practical convenience. There is no fixity about them and in case of both action and non-action they are going to change their complexions. Tipitaka states: “When this is, that is (Imasmim sati, idam hoti); this having arisen, that arises (Imassuppada, idam uppajjati); when this is not, that is not (Imasmim asati, idam na hoti); this having ceased, that ceases (Imassa nirodha, idam nirujjhati)” (Lay, u.d.) To quote Hopkins (1987):

Those which arise dependently
Schipper (2012) argued that as against the Western linear, causal thinking Buddhist concept of dependent origination suggests that origination of a suffering (depletion of natural resources is a suffering) originates from many factors including state policies and thought systems which are intimately connected with personal lives and thus with ignorance and prejudices. Mindfulness, and a more reflexive, insightful and social justice based approach has a potential to counter the suffering.

**Self and non-self:** Environment matters to me as self. I will hardly bother about sustainable development if unsustainable development does not produce any harm to my self. This also implies that actions having negative effect on environment would be welcome if they are seen as removing some suffering of mine, such as the phobia of cancer or the fear of poverty. As long as there are interests in destroying environment through industrialization, development, modernization and creation of affluence there will remain immense possibilities of crisis. It’s a matter of great challenge to involve environment destroying challenges to convert into environment protecting interests but you can ask a question to yourself about what is self if it is not constitutive of other things such as air, water, heat, and earth? Is it not constantly produced and reproduced? If it is a matter of convenience to define self which is not independent of non-self how can I end suffering of self without acting at the level of non-self? And this calls for self’s efforts towards sustainable development.

Rejecting the dualistic notion of self in sociology Buddhism presents the concept of a “fully interdependent self”, a self “free from endless matrix of contingencies”. Immergut and Kaufman (2014) used a constructivist approach to reflect on self, borrowing the Buddhist concept of non-self. Although both sociologists and Buddhists accept the changing nature and constructivist interdependence of self, sociology leads to dualistic understanding while Buddhism leads to self as non-self or “empty” (though existential signified by the metaphor of eddy). Immergut and Kaufman argue that dualisms, such as man-woman, human-nature and self-other, have led to domination of one by the other. The dualistic self is a threatened self, and in the context of ecological debate vulnerable and anxious.

The common perception is that the Buddhist notion of suffering produces a depressing thought that suffering is universal and unavoidable. The fact is that through analysis of suffering the Buddha showed us the way to peace and happiness (Hanh, 1998, 2015a, 2015b).
Hanh establishes a connection between environment and self when he says that the first contemplation practice is to see that “This food is a gift of the whole universe and the earth, the sky, and much mindful work.” (Hanh, 2015c, p.46). The other four practices are: (1) “May be eat in mindfulness so as to be worthy of it”; (2) “May we transform our unskilled states of mind and learn to eat in moderation”; (3) “May we take only foods that nourish us and prevent illness”; and (4) “May we accept this food to realize the path of understanding and love”.

Hanh also maintains (2015a, p. 110):

We learn not to discriminate because we understand that everyone has the seed of Buddha nature. That is why we are free from racial discrimination. And our practice is to help the Buddha nature manifest in as many people as possible, because collective awakening is the only thing that can bring us out of this present difficult situation.

In Buddism the aim of social action is also to transform oneself. It is based on love and compassion. To quote Hanh (2015d, p.16):

True love is made of four elements: loving kindness, compassion, joy, and equanimity. In Sanskrit, these are, maitri, karuna, mudita and upeksha. If your love contains these elements, it will be healing and transforming, and it will have the element of holiness in it. True love has the power to heal and transform any situation and bring deep meaning to our lives.

To quote the Zen master Thich Nhat Hanh (2015b):

We can learn to handle our own fear and pain. After that, we can help other people, because we have direct experience with how to handle the fear and the pain. Suffering and fear are not things that we just experience by ourselves. Our fear and suffering is also the suffering of our parents, our friends, and our society. You are me and I am you. If something wonderful happens to one of us, it happens to all of us. If something awful happens to one of us, it happens to all of us. This answer comes from the insight of the no-self. With the insight of no-self you see that your suffering, your fear, is a collective suffering. With the insight of no-self, you see that happiness is a collective happiness. We are not separated.

Emptiness: Understanding of the connection between self and non-self makes the self-interest vacuous. You realize that the self-interest is not different from other-interest. Emptiness is another concept for inter-being. If man is defined by the external conditions and external conditions are defined by man how do we conceptualize any one of them? Any concept of any of them will be empty. Self and non-self are so intricately related with
each other that any change in any will produce a change in the other. The Buddha would also propose that due to discontinuous-continuity it is not possible to comprehend in advance what changes any intervention in any one of them would produce.

*Middle path:* Buddhism does not advocate an extreme or impractical solution. It does not call you to do anything against your mindful acceptance. It proposes a middle path. The path cannot be separated from concepts of self and non-self. The path is shown by understanding and reflection. The fact that I have decided to talk about sustainable development but not in terms of logistic regressions and structural equation models is my middle path today.

**Discussion and conclusion**

This knowledge, not merely feeling, that suffering and happiness of one are linked with the suffering and happiness of all, and that the path chosen by one has consequences for all, is the great force that compels us to provide a critique of the existing model of development and think for a way to sustain fruits of development. Engaged Buddhism, associated with Thich Nhat Hanh, that acquired popularity during 1980s and 1990s, lays stress on world engagement rather than world abandonment and stresses that “the Buddhist doctrine of *Pratityasamutpada* (doctrine of dependent origination), shows that individual betterment and perfection on the one hand and social good on the other, are fundamentally interrelated and interdependent” (Puri, 2006), not contradicting as in the doctrine of “utilitarian individualism” (Haralambos and Heald, 1980).

Buddhists provide a framework for moving into Naess’s deep ecological mindset by involving both collective actors, at all levels, and all as individuals. It links sustainable development with inner development and inner happiness (Kittiprapas, 2013). Looked at from this perspective the concept of Gross National Happiness (GNH) is closest to measurement of sustainable development. Measuring happiness is a new phenomenon in the West. However, it was in the East that a Buddhist country, Bhutan has pursued the goal of Gross National Happiness (GNH) since 1972 (Johnston, 2010). GNH Commission (GNHC) evaluates development projects and policies based on 26 criteria which include culture, economic security, rights, gender equality, values and pollution (GNHC, 2011). Can we not operationalize similar measures for India? Development which is wasteful, inessential and which leads to unhappiness in the present generation or in the future generation needs to be questioned.
To quote the Buddha (Anonymous, 2015, p.67)

Let us live happily then,
Free from greed among the greedy,
Even amidst those who are greedy,
Let us live free from greed.

Social ecology will never solve the problem. We need a *Madhyamarg* between social ecology, deep ecology and happiness of humanity. Looking at the environment sociologically leads to three errors: (a) strengthening identities; (b) justification for more industrialization and more development; (c) absolving individuals from the destructive choices. Deep ecology makes sense but except criticising the Western anthropocentrism it does not provide productive hypotheses for action. The middle path of the Buddha shows the connection between individual transformation and the world. “And just like a soft breeze and a few blossoms on a branch that tell the coming of spring, so when a man attains Enlightenment, grass, trees, mountains, rivers and all other things begin to throb with new life. … If a man’s mind becomes pure, his surroundings will also become pure.” (Kyokai, 2011, p. 160)

In a religiously plural and often divided atmosphere it has to be said that Buddhism is not a separate religion though there are many varieties of institutional religions and sects in Buddhism. It talks about Dharma but not in the same sense in which sectarian religions in India use it. Buddhism supports inter-faith dialogue. The term Dharma has to be read in a particular sense. To quote Hanh (Hanh, 1988, p.46):

Every object of the mind is itself mind. In Buddhism, we call the objects of mind the dhammas. Dhammas are usually grouped into five categories:

1. Bodily and physical forms
2. Feelings
3. Perceptions
4. Mental functioning
5. Consciousness

These five categories are called *the five aggregates*. The fifth category, consciousness, however, contains all the other categories and is the basis of their existence.

Engaged Buddhism has the potential to link sustainable development at all levels – individual, national and global. A beginning can be made from anywhere. It also provides the reasons why doing so will not only make a world better but also a man happier.
References


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