Bodies in the Autobiographies of Ved Prakash Mehta and Firdaus Kanga

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Abstract

In his work, American Lives: An Anthology of Autobiographical writing, an American writer Robert F. Sayre states that, "Autobiographies...may reveal as much about the author's assumed audience as they do about him or her, and this is a further reason why they need to be read as cultural documents, not just as personal ones" (Sayre 13). In my present study, I would like to examine the autobiographies of two Indian writers Face to Face by Ved Prakash Mehta and Trying to Grow by Firdaus Kanga. Both the writers are settled in the U.S.A. and the U.K. respectively and happen to be writers with physical differences, which make their writings more important and interesting to read and work-on. Life-writing is not a new genre in literature though when it comes to the disabled life writing, there are only a few names around the world with biological-differences whose life stories are documented. In these two autobiographies, we will critically analyse the representation of differently-abled bodies and how that contributes in construction of identity. Ved Prakash Mehta's autobiography was published in the year 1956 just a few years after India's independence when majority of Indian population was uneducated and full of superstitions whereas Firdaus wrote his story in 1990 when majority of Indians were mature enough to understand physical differences. The paper also aims to understand how these authors that belong to two different epochs respond differently to society's perceptions on disability.

Keywords: - Autobiography; Body; Disability; Life-writing.

Introduction

In literature, Disabled bodies have been looked at through three different approaches. The first one which is also the oldest in all disability approaches is the "Religious" or "Karmic" approach. Neither eastern nor western cultures of the planet Earth has been thoughtful in representing the disabled body. Not only that, they are equally respon-

sible for constructing stereotypes and prejudices towards disability and disabled bodies. Generally in literature, disability is illustrated as a kind of physical deformity and is often linked with crookedness, fraud, demoness, and evil-spirit. Ahab and Richard III are characterized as demonic cripples in the Canonical secular literature. In the Old Testament, people with any kind of disability like being blind or deaf are represented as disfavoured people from God because of their sins. However, the New Testament regards the same people as cursed or possessed by evil (Shapiro, 1993), such attitudes (faith healing) are practiced, advertised on T.V. shows and can be seen in some of the Hollywood films even today. One of the best examples of this kind of attitude is visible in the Hollywood film The Curious Case of Benjamin Button. In that film, the protagonist of the film Benjamin was suffering from a rare disease of ageing and was not able to walk. Benjamin then was taken to the faith healing to cure his disease. At his turn, the priest said something very loudly and fell all of a sudden but Benjamin was able to walk afterwards. This incident in the film shows how religion was used as a tool to make fool of the common people in the name of curing their illness or disability. This is how religious people have been successful in constructing all kinds of prejudices towards disabled bodies. Paul Longmore in his work Screening Stereotypes: Images of Disabled People in Television and Motion Pictures, tries to explain the unconscious attitude towards disabled bodies:

Giving disabilities to villainous characters reflects and reinforces, albeit in exaggerated fashion, three common prejudices against handicapped people: disability is a punishment for evil; disabled people are embittered by their "fate"; disabled people resent the nondisabled and would, if they could, destroy them. In historical and contemporary social fact, it is, of course, nondisabled people who have at times endeavoured to destroy people with disabilities. As with popular portrayals of other minorities, the knowledge hostile fantasies of the stigmatizers are transferred to the stigmatized. The nondisabled audience is allowed to disown its fear s and biases by "blaming the victims", making them responsible for their own ostracism and destruction. (Longmore 67-68)

The above cited examples from different religious, other literary texts and by any other means of media like films and Television shows are more than enough evidences that show how disability has been depicted in the history of literature. And in few other fictive writings and films the same people are represented as angelic souls with extraordinary powers who can overcome any kind of struggles. This shows disability is dealt in an unthoughtful way in the media.

The second approach or model of disability is called 'Medical Model' of disability. In this model of disability, disabled bodies are regarded from the medical or clinical point of view in which disability is an individual biological problem which can or cannot be treated with the help of medication or the other means of medicine. In this approach, disability is treated as an individual problem and biological limitation. Hence this model is also known as 'Individual Model of Disability'.

The third perspective through disability is called 'Social Model of Disability'. This model of disability is the very recent one and coined by a British academician, author and disability rights activist, Mike Olivier in 1990. Social Model of disability is looking at the world developed by people with disabilities. This model of disability explains that people are disabled due to obstacles and barrier in society, not because of impairment and physical differences. These obstacles can be physical, like buildings not having accessible toilets and it is because society is developed by nondisabled for nondisabled. It can be caused by the attitudes of nondisabled towards physical differences. This model does not find any problem with an individual, instead it locates the problem in the environment which impaired people are not able to access. This model helps to recognise the problem that shows life is difficult for people with the disabilities. And it helps them in making environment barrier free which offers disabled bodies independence and control of their own bodies.

Life-Writing (Autobiography)

It cannot be true to say that all the means of literature are equally responsible for constructing the stereotypes and prejudices against disabled bodies and stigma attached to them. All sorts of life -writings like autobiographies, memoirs have accorded great importance in challenging the age old discourse of disability. Hevey (1992) in his work *Creatures Time Forgot: Photography and Disability Imagery* observes that "Disabled people, like black people/people of colour, women and so on, are aware that their bodies are constructed as the site of oppression....In my experience of being a disability photographer, disabled people need space to tell the story, the journey, of their body and in doing so, reclaim and be proud of themselves" (Hevey 117). In the quote above David Hevey questions the general image of people with disabilities constructed since ages through different medium and he advocates that autobiography can be a stronger medium than photography in challenging the conventional image of disability.

There is no doubt in that, non-disabled writers have lot more to say to cre-

ate the image of their disabled characters in their fictive writings, but disabled writers certainly will have much more to gain ground by narrating their life stories through different means of life-writings like autobiography and memoir, because these genres of literature are purely based on realistic approach. Hence non-fictional writings not only help the autobiographer overcome his/her own fears, insecurities and inferiority complex but it can contribute in improving the life surrounding him/her and the next generation that suffers from the same marginalisation; since the auto biographer, the characters and narration of autobiography are quite different from what we normally experience in fictive writings of any kind. And a marginalised auto biographer does not carry the unconscious attitude towards his/her own marginalisation unlike a mythical novelist and this is why autobiography became a stronger weapon to challenge the general assumption of people towards disability and disabled bodies.

In this study, I would like to analyse the two autobiographies Face to *Face* by Ved Mehta who is blind from the age of three and *Trying To Grow* by Kanga Firdaus who was born with brittle bones and experienced the locomotor disability. These texts are different for two reasons from other fictional disability writings which we come across generally: First is, both the writers were born with impairments or at least when they lost their limbs they were at a very early age of their childhood so there is no case of normalcy or abnormality because they look at their body the way they were born or at least they have seen themselves as they are now so that it became normal for the writers. Second reason is memory, from which a huge number of handicapped people suffer because they became disabled in a road accident or due to incurred illness, and they suffer from memory of attachment to the first part where they enjoyed their nondisabled selves. These elements can be very well observed in selected texts for analysis. In the own words of Ved Mehta from Face to Face: "It was good that I lost my sight when I did, because having no memories of seeing, there was nothing to look back to, nothing to miss" (Mehta 4).

While comparing the two writers coming from the same marginalised background we look at Kanga Firdaus' autobiography *Trying To Grow* to see how they share the same experience about disability. Here is the quote from *Trying to Grow*: "It's so much worse for people who are beautiful and then something happens, an illness or an accident, and they're suddenly ugly" (Kanga 55).

If we look at both the statements above we feel there are little elements of memory authors are sharing with their readers through their autobiographies and that is very clear and easy to identify in the first quote, but it is little complicated in second one, because here the auto biographer is trying to convey the message of memory and normalcy at the same time exemplifying the third person plural, emphasising that the individuals who were 'beautiful' struggle more when they accidentally become ugly, because they're reminisced by their beauty. But that is not the case with both the authors Ved Mehta and Kanga Firdaus whose works have been taken for analysis in this study. Rather, they appreciated the way they were born or the moment they lost their limbs, because they have no memory attached, or if at all they have any memory that would've been for very short period, which they've experienced as a child and unable to recollect. So they enjoy being what they are and they take lot of pride in their bodies in the way they look. There is another incident in the book *Trying to Grow*, in which the author seems positive about his disability. We read the line in the auto biographer'sown language: "No,' I said, 'my name is Daryus. I'm called Brit because I have brittle bones and I hope you are embarrassed" (Kanga 189).

This previous quotation from the text Trying To Grow indicates that author is not at all ashamed of the kind of disability he is experiencing. He is in fact making fun of the disability that he suffers from, thus he is representing himself as a brave and courageous person who is able to take his disability very lightly. This representation of disability of author is very unusual and contradictory to the image that we come across in any other kind of literary fictive genres like novels and mythical texts because usually the nondisabled writers position his\her disabled character at two extreme poles either making him/her very brave or rendering him/her an object of pity depending mostly on attitude and understanding of author about disability. And there are other things to be noticed in the text that not only the author but the author's entire family also took his disability not as a burden but a problem which can be resolved because author's pet name Brittle was given by his family members. And among all the family members, the author's mother was very brave who treated his child like normally any other mother treats her child without being very sympathetic towards but with extra care. There is another very interesting incident depicted in the text that shows the bravery of a mother on the birth of disabled child. Here is the conversation between doctor and author's mother on the day of the author's birth from the text Trying to Grow:

I am afraid I have bad news for you, Sera,' he said, looking down at his pudgy fingers. 'Your boy is born with bones brittle as glass. The ones in his legs are delicate as test tube; I doubt he'll ever walk. He'll probably be toothless, too; his teeth will break as soon

as he bites into anything hard.'

'Anything else, doctor?' said Sera with a mysterious smile. 'This is no laughing matter, I assure you...But he's not going to walk.'

'Then he must use a wheelchair,' said Sara. (Kanga 28)

This incident is a clear indication that despite being born with multiple disabilities, the author was not understood as any kind of cruse on his family and he was not treated as a burden on family but he was welcomed with lot of warmness. Even the doctors were quite worried, nervous and anxious concerning the medical fitness of the new born child but his mother was very hopeful about the life of her new born child and somewhere in deep she knew that her child will survive like any other human being in the world so the author's body was seen and accepted positively by his family members like any other new born child body. This shows the positive and empathetic behaviour of family towards a disabled body member.

Now, we look at the incident showing how Ved Mehta's disability was seen by his family members. Here we have narration from *Face to Face* in Ved Mehta's own language: "She did not have the medical experience of my father, and she blamed something in her past for the tragedy" (Mehta 4).

The text *Face to Face* was published in the year 1956 when more than half of the Indian were not even literate and it was very normal for common people to have this type of traditional and karmic or religious approach towards disability. But then Mehta was not understood as any kind of cruse or burden on his family but Ved's mother blamed herself for his disability because she was not educated enough to understand the bodies and illness of body based on medical approach. Ved Mehta's autobiography *Face to Face* basically focuses on medical model of disability and he spoke very less about his blindness. Other than that he spoke lot about his surroundings and he narrated incidents from 1947 partition. We have discussed how disability body was treated by both disabled and within their family and now we will see how author's body were seen in the society then. And here is an example taken from *Trying to Grow*: "To a lot of people you seem stupid because you are so short and, I know it's absurd, because you can't walk" (Kanga 68).

In general, that cannot be denied that we tend to judge people based on their appearances and vice versa most of us are judged by people based on the way we look. Most of the time people with disabilities were ignored and were looked down upon because of the conventional and very negative portrayal constructed by the different means of media since ancient times. Till date, people are carrying the same negative images of people with disabilities because of lack of education and unawareness about reasons of disabilities and strong belief in religious texts which are main reasons of constructing the negative image of disabled people. There are other incidents in the book *Trying to Grow* where disabled body was a symbol of weakness and was treated as inferior and seen asexual despite all these problems and obstacles were faced by writers in these two autobiographies, they love their bodies the way they are. One among few incidents show how Firdaus's body was looked at by his surroundings except his family members:

What do men want?' she once asked.

'Love,' I said.

'Food of course!' snorted Dolly.

'A firm hand,' said Sera, smiling grimly.

'Money!' spat Defarge...

'Wrong!' said Jeroo. Wrong as a moron's answer sheet. Its sex, sex and more sex!'

'Now, do be sensible,' Sera whispered fiercely... 'So sorry!' said Jeroo. 'I forgot about your son. You understand, when I say men, I mean-men. Not like you, Brit.'

I wasn't male. Not to them. The magic mirrors of their minds had invented a formula: osteo= sexlessness. (Kanga 40)

This description from the text *Trying To Grow* is a very vivid picture that shows that Firdaus was seen as a sexless person by the society he was surrounded. That very statement from the text *Trying To Grow* by Firdaus Kanga trying to explain that how people with any kind of impairments have been looked at as sexless irrespective of their genders since ages. These perceptions have been constructed through various means of media. And because of these age old perceptions and conventional images of disability, people with any kind of disabilities irrespective of their gender have been considered sexless person who do not have any kind of sexual desire and if they do then it is understood immoral and not good for them. In some cases disabled people are represented punished or disfavoured people from God for some wrong doing in their previous life and in some other they were shown close to the God and favourite people. But they were not understood and depicted like their non-disable fellow humans. Few examples of this kind are very much evident in the text by

Kanga Firdaus *Trying To Grow*. Here we listen the author's own words in the text *Trying To Grow*:

They were discussing us, as if were the clouds or the sea or the rocks. 'What does she see in him?'

'Pity?'

'God will reward her.'

'May be he is rich.'

'I wouldn't take him if he were rich as the Birlas.'

'This is how the Christian must have felt in the Colosseum,' I whispered to Amy. (Kanga 253)

In the citation above the oldest of all the approaches towards disability "Karmic Approach" is very much visible and which is learnt and taught at every home, school, church, and practised by almost majorities of the worldly culture on daily basis. But here, the author is trying to explain this is how religion and religious people look towards person with any kind biological limits because they were taught to have sympathy towards weak and disabled people, and women, and for that they will be rewarded in paradise after their death. Religious people irrespective of any religion of the world have made life of people with disabilities very worsen knowingly or unknowingly constructing disabled narrative using religious texts to portrays their images in front of society making them favoured and disfavoured people of God but they have never been seen and treated same as any other non-disabled person. And one another thing is to be noticed in pervious passage that person with any kind of biological problems have never been understood a perfect romantic partner let it be a men or women. If a non disabled person be it a men or women marry to a person with disability then generally people have a certain prejudice toward that person thinking that s/he married to that person because s/he is rich or maybe it is done out of sympathy but it will not be seen as an usual marriage.

Through these sentences, the author is trying to explain how disability is looked at through different spectrum like religious, capitalist etc. This conversation from the book 'Trying To Grow' shows that generally, people don't really understand the bodies and functions of its rather they become judgmental about a disable body. All these prejudices come from what they have read, what they have been taught, what they have listened about disability since ages but they don't have their own understanding of about body. In modern times too these old religious narratives

against disabilities keep influencing not only common individuals but privileged people like teachers, doctors etc. which we might came across in previous pages of selected works or we might evidence them in coming passages of selected works for this research paper. If we look deep into the matter and go through the citation given above these people mind is not only corrupted by the religious texts but capitalism also influenced their thoughts very much this is why people with any kind of physical or mental deformities have been considered burdensome on the healthy economy of a nation. And the second last phrase "I wouldn't take him if he were rich as the Birla" of the previous passage from the selected work *Trying To Grow*, it can be observed that this sentence is full of hatred towards impaired people and the very source of this sentence is nowhere but in religious narratives, mythical and fictive writings on disabled bodies since the history of human writings. And this is how all kind of fictive writings be it mythical or religious is able to construct the narrative against disabled bodies.

There are few lines from the same text where we can see author's disability was seen by society from 'Karmic' perspective and he was made to feel bad, inferior and less fortunate than his human fellow in front of his own friends. And the author writes:

Such people,' said someone, 'are often God's favourite: that is why he makes them different.'

'You wrong, wrong. He is punished.'

'You mustn't laugh,' someone said to urchins. 'Or the next time you are born, you will be unfortunate as him. (Kanga 253)

That is another example of 'Karmic Approach' illustrated in the text from which author disability has been seen by society. The Karmic approach which we have seen in the previous paragraph was usually used by Christianity whereas this approach is used by Hindu religious texts and people to show sympathy and cruelty same time towards people with any kind of disabilities. According to Hindu belief, disability is a punishment given to the people for their wrong doing in previous life and same time they believe that if someone laughs at them or does something wrong to the impaired person that person will suffer from the same kind of disability in his/her next life that is a common belief observed in Hindu religious scriptures or at least they practised in their day to day life. This shows the hypocrisy of religion or society, as on the one hand they were depicted as disfavoured people of God and on the other they are asking to people not to laugh on them because they think that if they will laugh on their con-

dition in this birth then they will suffer from the same kind of suffering in the next reincarnation. This very statement is illogical and not able to convince a really logical person if a person is really disfavoured by God then it was God's own wish then other people's laugh is not going to make any sense because that was the God's own wish if it was at all but that is simply a senseless statement by religion to create fear in people's mind. And these are the same people who are asking people not to laugh on disabled people constructed those religious narratives against disabled body.

The above phrases from the text *Trying To Grow*, are trying to explain the same notion of pitying the differently-abled but in a little different way like there is common saying "Do good to them to get good". All these sayings are very common to use for any kind of differently abled person. There is another thing which gets very clear here from the previous passage's conversation among the strangers that people do not respect and not want to respect the disabled bodies but they are simply mentally scared of stupid and senseless narrations of various religious texts. "Karmic Concept" is oldest among all the approaches of disability which influences almost all the Indians including literate, educated: doctors, teachers etc. and many privileged individuals. People, in India use this approach bluntly without even realising that their sayings might leave an individual with disabilities traumatised. Here we look at an incident which happened with the author in a rendezvous with an oculist. How the body was seen by doctor and how author is looking at his own body being a disabled person. Here is conversation between the author and the doctor: "The oculist glared at me, his mouth doing a jig. 'I know why you are this way,' he said, his eyes joining the dance. 'You are a wicked boy and God has punished you" (Kanga 144).

This incident from the text clearly shows that how the oldest of all the religious approaches of disability 'Karmic Approach' have been influencing people since the history of human life. And that shows how strong this notion has become with time and keep influencing our day to day life. This became so deep rooted in our culture even Nobel Professionals like doctors are not able to avoid it. But one good thing we notice here is that no matter how bad he was made to feel bad about his body using different religious narratives, common saying and capitalist thinking against disability but all the time he overcame from all kind of inferior complicity. That shows that how author was brought up and his body was seen by his parents and the kind of emotional support he got from his childhood which made him the kind of person now he is. There is an incident that took place with the author when he was sitting at the beach

with his female friend. Here is what the author has to say about that from the text *Trying To Grow*: "At least they should not come out, such people. Then loving in public –It's too much" (Kanga 253).

This incident from the text reminds me of the story of Mahabharat where Dhritarashtra was denied the throne of Hastinapur because of his blindness despite being the eldest son of King. Here in the text too, people are looking down upon at person with differently-abled and they think that this world belongs only to the non-disabled beings and all the rights of enjoyment are made for non-disabled people. And being alive is more than enough for people with any kind of disabilities. They have no rights to make love and marry like their non-disabled fellow humans. The citation cited above representing the exclusiveness thought of nondisabled people towards differently abled because they have always been made others by excluding them from the main society. The tone of sentence is a very harsh which shows the barbarous and conventional thoughts of elimination of people with biological issues by main society. Most of us at least who research on disability studies know that in history children born with any kind of abnormalities were left alone to die in isolation. This sentence also talking about the same kind of notion of elimination of people with impairments from the society but in a little different way like they should not be appeared in the public place. There is an incident from the text *Trying To Grow* that shows how some nondisabled people carry their bitterness not only against people with disabilities but to the nondisabled people who are associated or connected to the disabled bodies in anyways. Here are few phrases of conversation between the strangers and the author near a beach where author and few of his female friends went for a simple walk from the text Trying To Grow: "Then the man in the dhoti said, 'Maybe something is wrong with her inside, we can't see it. That's why she has to marry this cripple. She can't find anyone else" (Kanga 253).

In the above passage, the author is trying to show that how angry and full of hatred non-disabled people are towards disability and disabled body and because of that they have discriminatory and prejudiced behaviour not only towards the disabled people but also toward the people who are associated with disabled individual in anyway. Basically these people are influenced by religious approaches of disability and they think that people with disability are not lovable. When they saw the author kissing his female friend, they were shocked to see, a disable boy kissing a non-disable girl. And just to overcome from this incident they used prejudice as a defence mechanism against the author's female friend who is happened to be non-disabled. Both the writers Firdaus Kanga and Ved Mehta are trying to explain the idiocy and hypocrisy of all the re-

ligions of world same time through their texts *Trying To Grow* and *Face to Face,* respectively. Now we can observe the instance from *'Trying To Grow'* by Firdaus Kanga:

Where are you taking him?' asked the old man, a total stranger. Father liked talking on buses; it helped him forget his itch to walk it out.

'To a witch doctor,' said father gaily.

'What?' quavered the old man, hastily...

'I was joking,' said Father, laying a hand on his snapping fingers. 'I' m taking him to a holy man, Wagh Baba. May be he'll cure my son.'

'Shame on you!' said the old man, his colourless skin suddenly daubed with purple islands. 'Don't we have Parsee prayers for children like these? (Kanga 3-4)

"Although their analysis and remedies differed considerably, they all agreed that by doing penance for her sins, my mother could improve my chance of regaining sight" (Mehta 5).

In general, we might have heard people saying that this very creation is created by God himself and He create everything in a unique and perfect way and if everything is created and by the Almighty himself while making such statements they should never forget that people with disabilities are also part of this world and they are also his own creation, are also perfect in their own way. But these lines from the texts *Trying To* Grow and Face to Face respectively seem very paradoxical in nature what usually people say about God and his creation, because on one side these people are saying that God create everything uniquely but on the other hand they are same people who are challenging God and his own existence or the creation by criticizing and taking a disabled child to a 'Holy Man' like Wagh Baba for cure. They just don't stop here, in order to prove the superiority of their religion they make such statements which contribute nothing in the life of a person with disability but show idiocy and hypocrisy of religious people. These citations above from both the texts are sufficient enough to show that no religion is lagging behind in worsening the life of people with disability, so here we notice one thing that how religious narratives were used against disabled bodies in dehumanising and portraying them as evils or demons like. But the difference between these narratives is that one religion might use "Karmic" approach and the other might use another approach which is convenient for their religion but will never accept disabled persons as their co-fellow human.

Conclusion

As we know, these two texts are autobiographies of two different writers, with two different religious backgrounds, in two different time spans. The first one, Ved Mehta was born in British India and got education in the U.S.A. and he wrote this book in 1956. It will not be wrong to say when that book got published more than half of the Indian populati on were illiterate. So there was no question of education for people with disability and especially an individual experiencing blindness. And the other writer was born in an Independent India, and produced his autobiography in 1990. That time not all but few educated Indians were sensitive enough to understand the issues like disabilities and this is why the first disability act came in to existence in 1995. Despite all these differences like - they were born in two different eras, were broughtup in two different surroundings and experienced two different types of disabilities too, but one basic thing which is common between two writers is: - they had to go through same kind of experiences and suffering, at some point of time in life, i.e.:somewhere paying homage to religious places for being a disabled body for cure. While going through these texts we find that authors were quite happy, positive and negative same time about their bodies like any other non-disabled being. They too feel low like everyone feels at some point of time in life but they are not very positive and not very negative unlike we have read and seen in some fictional stories, novels or films which are written and directed by an individual who never tested the disability in his\her life in anyways. And that is what makes these writings more natural unlike those fictional writings which we have been going through ages but all in vain and no test of real disability literature.

Both the autobiographies are very informative and interesting to read and do research from the point of view of disabled body which became a mile stone in contributing positive attitude in people with disabilities' life. In these texts, the authors used Medical and social model of disability instead of using religious concept of disability. Since these texts are written by two different authors who are experiencing two different impairments and sharing their personal experiences about disabilities. Normally few among us might have noticed that usually a nondisabled writer finds all the problems with bodies by making an impaired person an unfortunate individual instead of geographical location which was in reality made for nondisabled by nondisabled society. But these two autobiographies give us entirely a new and different perception about disabled bodies as comparatively fictive writings since these are written by the writers who experience disability in person that made all the differences. First

thing we just not only require to educate society alone but we need to focus on educating the impaired persons in particular. As we know that people believe and practice what they have been taught, told, read and listened in their life time so secondly we need to encourage disable people to produce more and more life -writings like: - Autobiographies, memoiresetc.by sharing their experiences with their own bodies which will not only deconstruct the traditional approach of disability. But it will help them or their kind disabled bodies and nondisabled to understand their own body and its functions. In the end I would say we need more and more life writings from any marginalized section of the society to find the solution of their problems which will help in making society more inclusive that will result in more healthy and progressive nation. Because there is a saying "together we are, more progressive we will be".

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