Intellectual Resonance

DCAC Journal of Interdisciplinary Studies

Contents

Editorial

It is my great pleasure to present this issue of *Intellectual Resonance-DCAC Journal of Interdisciplinary Studies, Volume III, Issue V, March, 2017* as promised in our previous issue, September 2016, since all papers received by us could not be accommodated in that issue. The Journal is multidisciplinary in concept and welcomes articles on all disciplines. *Intellectual Resonance* offers its readers an eclectic selection of wide ranging articles from varied disciplines of social sciences, cultural studies and other related disciplines. All manuscripts submitted will be peer reviewed.

The authors, however, must follow the ethical code of sending us original unpublished articles and the onus of plagiarism, if detected, would lie on them. Moreover, the ideas and views expressed in these articles are those of the respective authors and the publishers of the Journal are not liable to any responsibility for them. The Delhi College of Arts and Commerce through its Journal, *Intellectual Resonance* is facilitating publishable academic space to authors for an expression of their intellectual ideas. However, the copyright of the articles remains with the respective authors.

We look forward to your continuing participation in contributing articles to make the Journal a success.

I would also like to thank and congratulate my Editorial Board for their continuous efforts in making this issue possible.

Dr. Rajiv Chopra,

OSD-Principal

1

Salman Rushdie and the American Empire

Uplabdhi Sangwan

Abstract- Salman Rushdie's novels till The Moor's Last Sigh (1995) have thematically engaged with the Indian subcontinent and particularly Bombay. This chapter looks atinstances that register an ideological shift in Rushdie's oeuvre from a critique of American hegemony. The authors writings on Iraq and Kashmir register a shift towards conceding moral sanction to the expansion of the American frontier beyond the Pacific in the twentieth and twenty-first century. The legitimacy is accorded through the trope of liberty, democracy and freedom. These ideas are not novel but draw from rhetorical configurations such as a 'city upon a hill' used by the earliest Puritan settlers, 'American Exceptionalism', 'Manifest Destiny', etc.. This paper illustrates that this shift in Rushdie's negotiates with cognisance of countervailing aspect of repressiveness with regard to the American military intervention on numerous instances.

The architecture of American 'imperial formations'[1] across Rushdie's non-fictional and fictional writings register a shift in his reactions towards the American empire. While his earlier writings engage with the theme of

deleterious impact of the American empire, the author subordinates this theme in his later writings. The Jaguar Smile (1987) illustrates Rushdie's critique of American intervention in Nicaragua. In The Jaguar Smile theauthor renders problematic the "US aid to la Contra, the counter-revolutionary army the CIA had invented, assembled, organised and armed…in violation of international law".[2] Laterin 1991 Rushdie's non-fictional writings critically contemplate the dramatic contrast between America's professed self-image as the "guardian of freedom and decency" on the one hand, with the ironical denunciation by American President of "an elected government (in Nicaragua) as a tyranny, while it is conveniently forgotten that for the previous fifty years it was America who supported the real, full-blooded Somoza tyranny."[3] The authoralludes to the role of CIA in giving the "Contras ground plans, blue prints and maps of key Nicaraguan installations, to help them with their terrorist programme."[4]

To conceptualise the expansionist impulse of the American foreign policy in the twentieth century, Rushdie invokes the Frontier Thesis provided by the historian F. J.Turner as a "useful lens."[5] Rushdie describes America as a"country born with the urge to push a frontier westwardshas needed, constantly, to find new frontiers, ever since itreached the Pacific".[6] The idea that military interventions insovereign states is a legitimate foreign policy is aligned to the"frontier psychology" where the "regeneration of fortunes" through "violence" became the "structuring metaphor" of the"American experience".[7] The idea of the Frontier has influenced"American political and historical debates since the 1890s" andwas evoked through the phrase "New Frontier" by Kennedy to rally the country against Communism and the "social and economic injustices that foster it."[8] This phrase also shaped the "language through which the resultant wars would beunderstood by those who commanded and fought them."[9] The military intervention in the purported rogue states is oneof the modus operandi used to expand the frontiers of theAmerican empire.

By 1999 Rushdie formulates the argument against whathe describes as the "anti-American sentiment."[10] He asserts that"freedom" exists "in greater quantity in the countries of theWest than anywhere on the earth" and the United States was"the best guarantor."[11] He enlists "freedom" as a "universal value" along with other universals such as "international conglomerates and

the interests of super-powers."[12] This is a shift in his writings from an earlier critique of the American empire in The Jaguar Smile and Imaginary Homelands mentioned above.

Salman Rushdie's quotes from "The altered states of anti-Americanism" and "Fight the good fight" below provide adefinitive evidence of a shift towards casting America throughthe rhetoric of 'Empire of Liberty'.

> "Many Kashmiris will be angry that their long-standing desire for an autonomous state is beingignored for the sake of US real politik…Apparently Osama bin Laden and Saddam Hussein are terroristswho matter; Hindu fanatics and Kashmiri killersaren't."[13]

> "…as the anti war protests grow in size and volume…there is a strong, even unanswerable case for "regimechange" in Iraq."[14]

These quotes are from articles that were written by Salman Rushdie as a reaction to the US invasion of Iraq. In the first quote Salman Rushdie appears to assess the conditionof human rights in Kashmir to be as dismal and as desperateas the one that existed in Iraq.[15] He seems to insinuate a need for an intervention of the kind undertaken by America in Iraq. The tacit moral sanction to military intervention in the firstquote appears to be reiterated in the second quote. The author distinguishes the military intervention in Iraq as a legitimate exercise and urges that "the world must stop sitting on itshands and join the Americans and British" in effecting the regime change in Iraq.[16]

Even as the author contemplates American military imperial intervention as a legitimate act to purportedly upholdthe idea of liberty in context of Iraq and Kashmir; the author also registers cognisance of countervailing aspect of repressiveness with regard to the American military intervention on numerous instances. Rushdie describes such interventions as "a highly selective pursuit of American vendettas."[17] This admission is reiterated in his subsequent article "Fight the good fight" from which the second quote above hasbeen taken. The military interventions reflect "preemptive,unilateralist instincts" that appear as "bullying."[18] The pro-imperial ideological shift illustrated above

therefore interactswith these contrasting perspectives. These interactions in the fictional writings entail narrative strategies that ultimately seekto emphasise the fundamental values of liberty and freedom that the empire is claimed to fortify. For instance the immigrants who are drawn to America in anticipation of freedom frompoverty and repression are a crucial leitmotif in Shalimar the Clown. They regulate the image of America as a space that upholds human rights, freedom and civil liberties. In Shalimar the Clown,the U.S is a sanctuary for the persecuted, those fleeing repressive regimes, or looking for opportunities. The novel depicts immigrants from the Philippines, Central and East European countries speaking "strange tongues" who "might have been Georgian, Croatian, Uzbek…the Baltic, from the Balkans, from the vast Mongolian plains."[19]   Other immigrants who receive sanctuary in America include the two key characters i.e. Max Ophulus, the Jewish French resistance fighter; and India, the illegitimate daughter of Boonyi, the Kashmiri girl Max seducesas the US Ambassador in India. Even Rushdie's own experience in Joseph Anton, depicts that America made possible his accessto freedom post the oppressiveness of years of living in hidingdue to the fatwa. He sought to relocate to America as the country gave Rushdie's family "a taste of…freedom."[20] The narrative later provides an account of New York where "hislife was in his own hands."[21]

When confronted by his detractors who interpreted these writings as reflecting a pro-American neo-imperialist stance, Rushdie proffered a rebuttal in "No fondness for the Pentagon's politics" and emphasized his participation in anti-war events and his vocal criticism of the Iraq war.[22] Inspite of his rebuttal the author appears to participate in the discursive practice is premised on a preexisting rhetorical identification of the Westas the site of fundamental universal values such as liberty and freedom; and conversely with their crises in the rest of theworld. The works of Samuel Huntington, Benjamin Barber, Robert Kaplan, Niall Ferguson etc. epitomise this discursive practice. In 2004 Robert Kaplan proposed "In Defense of Empire" that the value of American empire resembles that ofthose historically provided by empires.[23] This value is describedas a constructive role performed by empires by providing "themost benign form of order for thousands of years, keeping theanarchy of ethnic, tribal, and sectarian war bands to areasonable minimum."[24] Kaplan proceeds to describe the American role in Kosovo and Bosnia as such an instance. This

very logic under girds Rushdie's mandate to militaryintervention as a legitimate response albeit under the rubricof "a broad international coalition" to safeguard ideals of liberty.[25] This military aspect of the imperial formation is conversely accompanied by the fact that the US borders are more "closely policed" and "their porosity" is a function of "who (or what) is going through, and in what direction, in or out."[26] This scenario is contrary to the claims of a "decentered" and "deterritorializing" order of the "Empire"which Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri argue is accompanied by a decline of the idea of the nation state.[27]

Rushdie's shift towards the discursive practice described above has had serious ramifications as America has in recent decades invaded legitimate national territories in the ostensiblepursuit of liberty. This includes for instance war on Iraq mentioned above. In contrast to Rushdie's mandate to American military interventions, Noam Chomsky charges thatthe "pretexts for the invasion of Iraq" have suffered a collapseas "no weapons of mass destruction, no Al Qaeda tie to Iraq, no connection between Iraq and 9/11" were discovered.[28] As a result "Bush's speechwriters had to conjure up something new… conjured up his messianic vision to bring democracyto the Middle East."[29] Chomsky cites yet another commentator David Ignatius who irrespective of the lack of discovery of the WMD described the invasion of Iraq as "the most idealisticwar" as it "toppled a tyrant and created the possibility of a democratic future."[30] The disastrous consequences of occupation of another nation by the US unleashed horrific conditions for the residents. Chomsky describes the US siege of Fallujah by drawing a comparison with the genocide in Srebrenica in 1995. For instance during the siege the military age civilian men fleeing Falluja were turned back to their certain deaths. "The only difference is the United States bombed the Iraqis out of the city, they didn't truck them out."[31] Chomsky draws attention to the use of the term "genocide, when the Serbs do it. When we do it, it's liberation."[32] Rushdie's shifting position towards American war in Iraq has been asubject of controversy given his assertion in the Step Across This Line that "the authority of the United States were the best current guarantor of that "freedom"."[33] This mandate, despite assertions to lack of "fondness for the Pentagon's politics" hinges on selections and deletions. These include disregard of preceding acts of strategic alliance formed by the USadministration with Osama bin Laden[34] and Saddam Hussein.[35]

The moral sanction that Rushdie grants to the American military interventions in the purported rogue states circulate in conjunction with his attempts to draw attention to violations of human rights[36] in Kashmir.[37] Stephen Morton comments that Rushdie's recent writings express a "resignation to, and even at times a tacit approval for, America's unilateralist foreign policy."[38] Rushdie's reactions to the modus operandi of American imperialism unmask the dissimilitude in the parameters of legitimacy accorded to the expansion of the American frontier beyond the Pacific in the twenty-first century on one hand, and the illegitimacy accorded to the Indian sovereign territory on the other hand. Shalimar the Clown (2005) is shaped by such an uneven logic.[39] The two dissimilar gauges are configured to view America as a benevolent neoliberal state that asserts its "hegemony"[40] and in contrast the latter i.e. India is charged as an illegitimate occupier of Kashmir.[41]   The peripheral reference to American hegemony circulates in thenovel through allusions to military interventions in Philippines, Vietnam, and Afghanistan. These references areinstances of firstly a narrative strategy that subordinate the impact of the empire; and secondly the continued tension between attempts to depict American military imperial intervention as legitimate even as the very consciousness ofthese historical moments registers the countervailing aspectof the ruptures and repressiveness produced by them. These attitudes suggest affiliations to the official narrative of theOffice of the Historian de-emphasizes the imperial character ofAmerica through descriptors such as 'U.S. Involvement'.[42] The expansion of America has been naturalised through rhetorical configurations such as a 'city upon a hill' used by the earliest Puritan settlers, 'American Exceptionalism', 'Manifest Destiny',etc.. American military interventions in Vietnam, Afghanistan, and Philippines historically are entrenched in this logic. Adelinking of these historic events from the legacy of expansion of the American frontier and its simultaneous defence from communism and Islam renders abstruse the assessment thatt hese historical moments are derived from a long legacy ofimperialistic foreign policy. Paul Dukes observes in his TheSuperpowers: A Short History that the "US foreign policy since1945 had same foundations as before 1945: from the PilgrimFathers through to the Founding Fathers to Woodrow Wilsonvia the Monroe Doctrine and the frontier."[43] Shalimar the Clownappears to delink the imperial moments in American history itrefers to from this legacy. Even though the novel is

conscious of the extent and reach of the American power, the narrative eschews labelling it as an empire and rather uses the term"hegemony."[44] The American national space is forged in thenovel by using what Amy Kaplan calls the "paradigm of denial" of the American empire.[45] This exclusionary model denies"traumas, exclusions, violence enacted centuries ago" thatmight still linger in "contemporary identity formations."[46] The delinking and deemphasis of the empire from the legacy ofexpansion produces explanations that interpret U. Simperialism as an "aberration" or ascribes the motivations ofthe "fleeting episode" of imperialism to "momentary psychological lapse" causally linked to "misguided "moralidealism" of foreign policy elites, "public opinion"… "masshysteria" etc..[47] This exclusionary model infact helps effectuatea thematic focus on India as an illegitimate occupier of Kashmirin the novel Shalimar the Clown. Stephen Morton also observesthat Rushdie "subordinates" the "allegory of American imperialism to an elegy of Kashmir."[48] Thus a scathing critiqueof "Vietnamese children's bodies" being burnt with"unquenchable napalm fire" is accompanied by reparativevoices from within America.[49] These voices are led in the novel by Martin Luther King who marched against the Vietnam War to the United Nations in 1967.

The second instance of reference to the expansionist US foreign policy is of engagement with the mujahid so as tocounter the threat of "its own great enemy" i.e. the USSR.[50] The policy of defending the U.S frontier from a perceived threat of Soviet Union entailed giving "weapons, blankets and cash"to Afghans and the mujahid.[51] In the novel, Abdurajak Janjalani,a Philipino terrorist at the forward terrorist base camp called FC22 informs Shalimar that Max Ophulus visited "the base togive weapons and support".[52] Later during Shalimar's trial afterhis infiltration into the U.S and assassination of Max Ophulus,the narrative refers to 1993 WTC bombings and the contemporary possibility of "mind-controlled automata walking amongst us, ready to commit murder" following instructions from "voice on the phone."[53] The novel possibly hints at butdoes not make overt the connection between nature of U.S role in Afghanistan and Janjalani's information on one hand; with the sense of unease regarding the acts of terror and actions of "automata". The text also simultaneously glosses over the natureand source of motives of the terrorists. This narrative strategy is distinctly at variance from a clear denunciation of the Indian Army for having "poured" the "military hardware"

into thevalley that eventually transformed into the "iron mullah" thathad "human form" and preached "resistance and revenge."[54] American imperialism constructed the "Soviet Union as a state fanatically associated with communism" and "chose to fightone kind of fanaticism with another as represented by Islamicradicals."[55]

The novel depicts the act of political expediency of the US foreign policy where the alliance with the Muslim mujahids in Afghanistan is accompanied by policy support of Christians against the Muslims in Philippines. Philippines figures in Shalimar the Clown as yet another site ravaged by the Western imperial powers- firstly Spain and later in the twentieth century, America. The narrative of Mr. Khadaffy Andang, aFilipino neighbor of India describes "his home province of Basilan" which once had a "legendary ruler there, he said, Sultan Kudarat, but then the Spanish came and over threw him, and the Jesuits came too, just like the discovery ofCalifornia...a peaceful place but now there was trouble between Muslims and Christians."[56] A second reference in the novel ofthe impact of the expansion of American frontier is made by Janjalani. Janjalani trains along with Shalimar in the Forward Base Camp 22 and harbours an intense antipathy towards theU.S. As part of its imperial intervention in Philippines, the U.S provided support to the Catholics "against the wishes of the Muslims in Mindanao."[57] The local Muslims such as Janjalani deeply resented this and react by joining jihadi groups. Mindanao is, according to Encyclopedia Britannica, aMuslim outpost in the predominantly Roman Catholic Philippines. The Encyclopedia describes it as possessing the largest concentration of ethnic minorities in the Philippines."They include the Magindanao, Maranao, Ilanun, and Sangil; all are Muslim groups sometimes collectively called the Moro."[58] According to Janjalani the "Christians controlled the economy" while the Muslims were "kept poor."[59] As a result abreakdown of the social order in the Basilan "gun law hadbegun to rule" and in the seventies "one hun'red thou, hun'red twenty thou" people died in it.[60] The significance of Philippines in religious context of American frontier is alluded to by Timothy Marr in his essay" "Out of This World": Islamic Irruptions in the Literary Americas". Marr notes that

> "Islam stands as one of the primary exclusions uponwhich both national and hemispheric exceptionalisms in the Americas have been constructed. The diverse world of Islam (dar-ul-Islam) is

the most formidable frontier of alien difference embracing the breadth of the continents that are not American. Since before the settlement of the Americas by Europeans, the Islamic world has encircled its intertropical African and Asian rims, ranging on the Atlantic shore from the Arab Moors of the Maghreb (ironically a word that means "west," referring to the North African territories of Islam west of Arabia) to the Muslim groups further south in the Senegambia region of West Africa (Mandes, Fulbes, Wolofs) and on the Pacific shore to the Moros of Mindanao.."[61]

Human Rights Watch uses the image of the frontier in Bad Blood: Militia Abuses in Mindanao, the Philippines to expressthat the "Christian settlers can be seen as Nebraskahomesteaders" and the "Muslims …as the Indians."[62] The role of religious fundamentalism in this incidence is not new but has according to Tariq Ali played a powerful role in the very settlement of America.

Denial, de-emphasis and delinking of continuities of these American imperial practices in the twentieth century in thenovel is epitomised in the wistful rumination of Max Ophulus. Ophulus envisions an "America, free of the need to remain permanently at battle stations."[63] That Max who has beendepicted as a "representative" of "US imperialism, Western theftand destruction, racial dominance, and essentially an extensionof the neocolonial pattern that has had such an impact on India, Pakistan and…Kashmir" envision this image is logically incongruous.[64]

To conclude, the fictional and non-fictional writings of Rushdie register a shift towards American empire. The shift isnot uncomplicated but fraught with complex interactions between contrary impulses. Even as the author contemplates American military imperial intervention as a legitimate act that purportedly uphold the idea of liberty such as in context of Iraq and Kashmir; the author also registers cognisance of countervailing aspect of repressiveness with regard to the American military intervention on numerous instances. Narrative strategies subordinate and deemphasise the deleterious impact of the empire to negotiate with these contradictions.

Notes

1   Stoler, Ann Laura. "On Degrees of Imperial Sovereignty",128.

2   Rushdie, Salman (2007). The Jaguar Smile: A NicaraguanJourney. London: Vintage, p.5.

3   Rushdie, Salman (2010). Imaginary Homelands. London:Vintage, p.392.

4   Rushdie, Imaginary 364.

5   Rushdie, Imaginary 390.

6   Rushdie, Imaginary 390.

7   Slotkin, Richard (1973). Regeneration Through Violence: The Mythology of the American Frontier 1600-1860. Norman:University of Oklahoma Press, p.5.

8   Slotkin, Richard (1998). Gunfighter Nation: The Myth of theFrontier in Twentieth-century America. New York: University of Oklahoma Press, p.3.

9   Slotkin, Gunfighter 3.

10   Rushdie, Salman (2003). Step Across this Line. London:Vintage, p. 296.

11   Rushdie, Step 297.

12   Rushdie, Step 297.

13   Salman Rushdie, "The altered states of anti-Americanism,"The Guardian. Guardian News and Media Limited, 31 Aug.2002. Web. 27 July 2016. n.pag.

14   Salman Rushdie, "Fight the good fight." The Guardian. Guardian News and Media Limited, 2 Nov 2002. Web. 27July 2016. n.pag.

15   The 12 volume Chilcot Report (2016) refutes this idea in itsfindings.

16   Rushdie, "Fight the good fight" n.pag.

17   Rushdie, "The altered states of anti-Americanism" n.pag.

18   Rushdie, "Fight the good fight" n.pag.

19   Rushdie, Salman (2005). Shalimar the Clown. London:Jonathan Cape, p. 8.

20   Rushdie, Salman (2012). Joseph Anton/ Salman Rushdie: amemoir. London: Jonathan Cape. p 485.

21   Rushdie, Joseph Anton 557.

22   Rushdie n.pag.

23   Rushdie n.pag.

24   Robert D. Kaplan, "In Defense of Empire." The Atlantic. The Atlantic Monthly Group, April 2014. Web. 20 Aug. 2016.n.pag.

25   Salman Rushdie, "No fondness for the Pentagon's politics."The Guardian. Guardian News and Media Limited, 9 July2007. Web. 27 July 2016.n.pag.

26   Dirlik, Arif (2004). "American Studies in the Time of Empire".Comparative American Studies, 2(3) 289.

27   Hardt, Antonio and Michael Antonio (2000). Empire.Cambridge: Harvard University Press, p.xii.

28   Chomsky, Noam (2005). Imperial Ambitions: conversationson the post-9/11 world. Interviews with David Barsamian.London: Hamish Hamilton, p.116.

29   Chomsky, Imperial 116.

30   Chomsky Imperial 116.

31   Chomsky Imperial 127.

32   Chomsky Imperial 127.

33   Rushdie, Salman (2003). Step Across this Line. London:Vintage, p. 269)

34   Ali, Tariq (2003). The Clash of Fundamentalisms: Crusades, Jihads and Modernity. London: Verso, 2003. Tariq Ali refersto "President Carter's National Security Advisor Zbigniew Brzezinski giving open support to jihad" at the Pakistan border (323).

35   See Tariq Ali who writes that in the conflict with Tehran"The West had not favoured a direct military intervention…Itturned to an unfriendly neighbour. Saddam Hussain …had helped to wipe out the Iraqi Communist Party andmarginalised the more radical elements in the Ba'ath…Since the fall of the shah he had begun to receive most-favoured-nation treatment from Washington and London" (138).

36   The charges of extra judicial killings, disappearances, torture, and rape made by Salman Rushdie have been maderepeatedly by various groups. One such civil group formedin response to these allegations is Jammu and Kashmir Coalition of Civil Societies (JKCCS) which describes itself onits website as "an amalgam of various non-funded, non-profit, campaign, research and advocacy organizations basedin Srinagar, Jammu and Kashmir." Apparatus used by JKCCSto "speak truth" include "reports, programmes, systematic

documentation, litigation or other engagements in Jammu and Kashmir and outside." Its constituents are Associationof Parents of Disappeared Persons (APDP); Public Commissionon Human Rights (PCHR); and International Peoples' Tribunal on Human Rights and Justice in Indian-administered Kashmir(IPTK). JKCCS in involved, for instance in work towards addressing violations such as for instance the 1991-Kunan-Poshpora mass rape case. Similarly its constituent Association of Parents of Disappeared persons seek justice in Macchil fake encounter case of 2010.

37   Rushdie visited Kashmir numerous times as the roots of his family can be traced to it. This connection explicates his preoccupation with Kashmir.

38   Morton, Stephen (2008). "Fury and Shalimar the Clown."Salman Rushdie: Fictions of Postcolonial Modernity. NewYork: Palgrave, p.117.

39   Daniel Philpott discusses territoriality as an "ingredient" ofsovereignty. He describes sovereignty as supreme authority within a territory.

40   In the influential essay published in 1953 titled "Imperialismof free trade", the authors John Gallagher and Ronald Robinson upturned conventional wisdom to expound on therole of the "informal empire". The essay has been written incontext of British empire in the nineteenth century anddiscusses the informal controls that gave impetus to free trade which led to relentless imperialism. The insights of theterm "informal empire" has been used to interrogate American empire. In the novel the term "hegemony" has beenused to interpret American aid regime and militaryinterventions. This choice of term excludes various other descriptors such as anomaly, aberration, empire etc.. It is a conscious choice of term by the author from the linguistic and scholarly apparatus.

41   Rushdie, Shalimar 20.

42   Office of the Historian"U.S. Involvement in the Vietnam War:the Gulf of Tonkin and Escalation, 1964" *https://history.state.gov/milestones/1961-1968/gulf-of-tonkin andalso "Ending the Vietnam War, 1969–1973" at https://history.state.gov/milestones/1969-1976/ending-vietnam.*

43   Dukes, Paul (2000). The Superpowers : A Short History. NewYork : Routledge. Google Book Search. Web. 20 Aug. 2016.p.117

44   Rushdie, Shalimar 20.

45 Kaplan, Amy (1993). "'Left alone with America': The Absenceof Empire in the Study of American Culture." Cultures of United States Imperialism. (eds Amy Kaplan and Donald E.Pease) London: Duke University Press. p.13.

46 Loomba, Ania, Subir Kaul, Matti Bunzi, Antoinette Burton,and Jed Esty (2005). "Beyond What? An Introduction".Introduction. Post colonial Studies and Beyond. Ed. Ania Loomba, Subir Kaul, Matti Bunzi, Antoinette Burton, and JedEsty. London: Duke University Press. p.25.

47 Kaplan, Cultures 13.

48 Morton, Fictions 138.

49 Rushdie, Shalimar 198.

50 Rushdie, Shalimar 270.

51 Rushdie, Shalimar 271.

52 Rushdie, Shalimar 269. Tariq Ali cites an interview in LeNouvel Observateur of 15-21 January 1988 in which Zbigniew Brzezinski, President Jimmy Carter's National Security Adviser acknowledges American role in startingjihad in the twentieth century.

53 Rushdie, Shalimar 384.

54 Rushdie, Shalimar 115.

55 Harshe, Rajan (2008). "Unveiling the ties between U.SImperialism and Al Qaida." Economic and Political Weekly 43.51 (2008): 67-92. EPW. Web. 7 July 2016. p. 69.

56 Rushdie, Shalimar 38.

57 Rushdie, Shalimar 269.

58 "Mindanao". Encyclopaedia Britannica. Encyclopaedia Britannica Online. Encyclopaedia Britannica Inc., 2016. Web.22 May 2016. n.pag.

59 Rushdie Shalimar 269.

60 Rushdie Shalimar 269.

61 Marr, T.. "Out of This World": Islamic Irruptions in the Literary Americas." American Literary History 18.3 (2006):521-549. Project MUSE. Web. 23 May. 2016. p. 523.

62   "Mindanao: A Laboratory of Counter Insurgency." Bad Blood: Militia Abuses in Mindanao, the Philippines. Ed. Human Rights Watch. New York: Human Rights Watch, 1992. 17-19.Google Book Search. Web. 31 July 2016. p.17.

63   Rushdie Shalimar 20.

64   Murphy, Neil (2008). "The Literalisation of Allegory in Salman Rushdie's Shalimar the Clown." British Asian Fiction:Framing the Contemporary. Ed. Neil Murphy and , Wai-chew Sim. Amherst, N.Y.: Cambria Press, 354.

2

A Study of Indian Infant Mortality with respect to different Socioeconomic, Maternal and Environmental Factors

Nit Ranjan

Abstract

Infant mortality rates have been declining in India. From 140-120 deaths per thousand live births in the 1970s, it has come down to 44 deaths per thousand live births in 2011. However, the annual rate of decline is less than 2.5 percent. And with this the problem cannot be ignored, as the absolute number of infant deaths is not coming down. India is a large country and includes states with varying levels of economic indicators. They have different levels of development, health infrastructure and per capita income, which results in the different rates of decline in infant mortality. This paper tries to study the impact of these indicators on reducing infant mortality and explained the trends in IMR with respect to different socioeconomic, maternal and environmental factors and also proposed the regression model on a state level. The set of indicators was selected after a thorough review of empirical studies. The analysis suggests that institutional birth and improved sanitation played major role in the reduction of infant mortality.

JEL Classification: JEL:I12- Infant Mortality Rate

1. Introduction:

Children are the most important building blocks of a nation. These are the ones who, when nourished well with resources, become the most valuable human capital, which has the potential to build a strong nation. And so, reducing infant and child mortality are the most important objectives of the development Goals. These rates show the mirrors of the country's socio-economic development, quality of life and also environmental issues related to this. Child mortality helps us to look into the need for expansion of health facilities. These help us to plan our health programme and various policies with differential measures of influence. Latest data on infant mortality rate from the United Nations reflect that the developed countries have performed better than the developing countries. These estimates also state that 10 million infant deaths occur annually throughout the globe while one-fourth of these are reported in India. So, India has good reasons to study the infant mortality rate.

In the last four decades, there has been significant decrease in infant mortality rates in India. But it is not at all admirable in comparison to the Southeast Asian Countries. Countries like Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, and Malaysia etc. have outperformed India in controlling infant mortality and reducing it. After the declaration of 1978, the Government of India confronted the national goal of attaining the infant mortality rate of 60 (out of 1000 live births) by the year 2000. In the light of this, substantial resources have been put in child survival programmes over the last 35 years. The sixth and the seventh five year plans boosted the health and environment programmes to attain this goal. In 1977, maternal and child health became an integral part of the Family Welfare Programme. The integration was based on the logic of reduction in child and infant mortality through the reduction in the birth rate and contributions to safe motherhood (MoHFW, 1998).[1]

Infant mortality rates have been declining in India. From 140-120 deaths per thousand live births in the 1970s, it has come down to 44 deaths per thousand live births in 2011. However, the annual rate of decline is less than 2.5 percent. And with this the problem cannot be ignored, as the absolute number of infant deaths is not coming down. Studies of early childhood

indicate that the sex differential prevails there too. And the regional differential is favourable to urban areas vis-à-vis rural India. In the last decades, the average annual infant mortality rates were 64.5 and 39 for the rural and urban areas respectively.[2] Some of the states in India have continuously performed better, like Kerala. Southern states have better performance and have succeeded in reducing the infant mortality rate compared to the northern states. Still today, there is one death for every twenty children at national level, one death for every eighteen children at rural level and one death for every twenty nine children at urban level, as estimated by the Sample Registration System.

India is a large country and includes states with varying levels of economic indicators. They have different levels of development, health infrastructure and per capita income, which results in the different rates of decline in infant mortality and maternal mortality rates. Apart from medical causes of death, a major role is played by the social, economical, geographical, demographical, health infrastructure and environmental determinants in explaining the differential rate of decline in child mortality.

2. Literature review:

Infant mortality is a very sensitive issue which is also addressed by the Millennium Development Goals. In health economics, the issue of infant mortality is generally looked through micro and macro perspectives. The socio-economic indicators, demographic indicators and the environmental indicators normally give better insight to individuals or households while other indicators like growth, public expenditure on health, health infrastructure provide a broader view. Lots of empirical health studies have analyzed the various determinants of the infant mortality and maternal mortality throughout the world and in India too. Access to health facilities, immunization, income level, education, nutritional health and economic growth are some of the factors that have been found to determine infant mortality. This clearly reflects that the public policies intended to stimulate these issues through various channels have helped to reduce the mortality rate. Added to this, environmental factors like better sanitation, clean cooking fuel, electricity and access to safe drinking water have a positive impact on improving the health of the mother and her child. Various analysts have pointed out that government expenditure on health and building infrastructures lead to betterment of society. So the

different organizations like the World Bank, UNICEF etc have focused on these factors closely.

Caldwell (1979) in his earlier studies in Nigeria started a debate over the importance of maternal schooling (independent from years of schooling) for reducing child mortality.[3] Sen and Ostline (2007) studied the difficulties in access to health care facility in developing countries by women. Women with better education and empowerment have better access to the health facilities with limited barriers. While the physical and economical barriers prevent woman with no or less education and empowerment from accessing the health services.[4]

Amin(1990) studied the effects of women's status on sex differentials in infant mortality. The analysis was based on two broad principles: a) women's power, autonomy and control over resources enhance their ability to provide high quality care for children. b) Women's economic and social status determines the value of daughters to parents. The analysis found that education is strongly associated with reduced mortality. Specifically, educated mothers utilized resources more efficiently for their children's health and they do it so in a preferential manner to benefits more valued children.[5] Pande and Astone, (2007) tried to explained son preference with NFHS data for 1992-93. Their analysis showed that the women's education played an important role in the determination of son preference. Regardless of family size, women with secondary or higher level education were consistently and significantly affiliated with the weaker son preference as compared to less educated or illiterate women.[6]

Maternal characteristics that are mainly discussed in most of the literature are mother's age at child birth, birth order, preceding birth order, child sex, assessment of high risk birth, maternal nutrition, and the nature of assistance at childbirth. Child mortality appears to be higher for children born to mothers' age less than 20 years and lowest in the age group of 20-24 ages. For the age between 25-34 years, infant and child mortality remains low and above 35 years it increases sharply. This shows that it follows U shaped relation between the mother's age at birth and child mortality (UNICEF: The Infant and Child Mortality India Report, 2012). Syamala (2004), who studied the relation between the socio demographic factors and child survival in Goa with survey data from "The Levels of Fertility and Mortality in Goa" conducted

by International Institute for Population Sciences, shows similar outcomes as expected.[7]

Quamrul, Islam and Hossain (2010) used contingency analysis and logistic regression to show the relation between the breastfeeding, mother's age at child birth and birth order in Bangladesh. Their study reflects that the mortality was higher when women were married before 15 years of age and when the mother had late marriage but failed to breastfeed their baby. The logistic regression shows that neonatal mortality is highly influenced by breastfeeding practices but in post neonatal mortality all the high risk factors like age at marriage, order of birth, birth interval has significant effects.[8]

Infant mortality has some relation to environmental factors like access to safe drinking water, access to proper sanitation facility, use of clean cooking fuels etc. One of the major diseases like diarrhea, the second largest killing disease for children, is responsible for killing 7, 60,000 children per year throughout the globe (WHO report). Access to safe drinking water is higher in urban than in rural areas. Throughout the developing world, access to improved drinking water sources in the rural areas remains unacceptably very low. Coverage of safe drinking water has remained stagnant for urban areas from 1990-2004 at 95%, whereas in rural area coverage increased to 73% in 2004 from 64% in 1990. In 27 developing countries, less than 50% of the rural population has access to improved drinking water (WHO and UNICEF joint reports on water and sanitation, 2006). In India, between 1981 and 2006, families having access to safe drinking water had lower mortality than families not having it. It has been observed that the unsafe drinking water problem and poor socio- economic factors go side by side and have adverse effects on infant mortality. Environmental degradation is matter of concern in present time. Due to massive environmental degradation in the Central Asian Republic region, there has been excessive mortality observed in this area. Studies on child mortality and fertility in 61 developing countries, while controlling for exogenous socio- economic impact, health and environmental variables, have shown that it has influential impact on health and mortality (Franz and Roy, 2006).[9]

In developing countries, access to an improved toilet is an important determinant of child and infant mortality. In households that do not have such access, children have higher exposure to diarrhea and other intestinal

problems in contrast to children in households that do have such access (Serrano and Puffer, 1973).[10] The analysis also indicates that sanitation facility alone is not sufficient to prevent such disorders. It requires safe drinking water access and improved sanitation facility coupled with hygienic conditions to have a demonstrable impact on mortality (UNICEF: The Infant and Child Mortality India Report, 2012). Khanna, Kumar, Sreenivas et al (2003) found the principal causes of mortality in India to be low birth weight, birth injury, diarrheal diseases and acute respiratory infections. The number of male and female infants dying due to asphyxia, immaturity and congenital anomalies were matched and no significant difference was pointed out. However, in terms of the preventable and treatable illness of diarrhea, twice the number of deaths was recorded for girls as compared to male infants.[11]

In this paper we first examine the level and trends of the infant mortality rate from 2001-2011 and how the states are performing in these periods. Then we further examine the role of various indicators which leads to decline in IMR, i.e. to analyze the effects of socioeconomic characteristics, maternal and demographic characteristics and environmental factors in reducing infant mortality rate.

3.1 Data source:

To fulfill our objectives of study, secondary data from the Sample Registration System (2001-2011) and third round of NFHS-III (2004-05) has been used. In NFHS-III, more than 2, 30,000 women age 15-49 years and men age 15-54 years were interviewed by 18 research organizations throughout the India. Whereas, the SRS survey provides reliable estimates of the birth, death and infant mortality rates.

3.2 Descriptive analysis:

In this chapter, we analyze IMR trends of the major states of India with respect to different environmental, socio economic & demographical factors. Different factors affect IMR in different ways. We tried to establish the relations between the mortality rates with respect to different factors in the context of India. In this, we have undertaken the following analysis using SRS estimates of IMR & NFHS-III reports.

IMR & Different Factors Analysis:
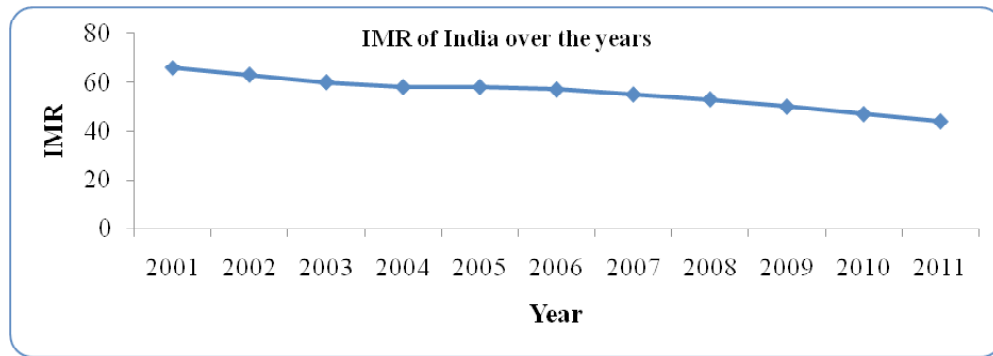
Fig 1: IMR of India over the years (2001-2011)

IMR of India has a decreasing trend from 2001 till now. The rate of decrease was low during 2004-06, but from 2008 it shows more rapid decrease.

The IMR has decreased for all the major states over the years. The states with higher IMR than others are Madhya Pradesh, Orissa, Rajasthan, and Uttar Pradesh. Kerala has significantly lower IMR over the years. Except at few points, the decreasing rate of IMR is significant which shows that all the states have decreasing trend over the years.
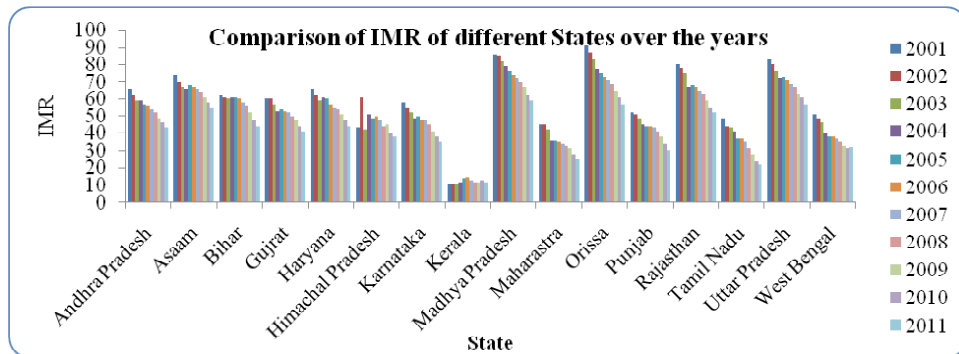
Fig 2: Comparison of IMR of Different States (2001-2011)

From Fig 2, it can be observed that Assam, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa, Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh have always higher IMR than IMR at national level for all the years. Bihar & Haryana have equal or higher IMR than the national level IMR for the time period 2004-2010. The states Kerala, Karnataka, Punjab,

Tamil Nadu, and West Bengal have lower IMR than national level IMR over the years.

Different analyses are performed based on different factors such as wealth index, delivery place, region wise etc. These analyses are performed based on NFHS-III data, using state reports mainly.
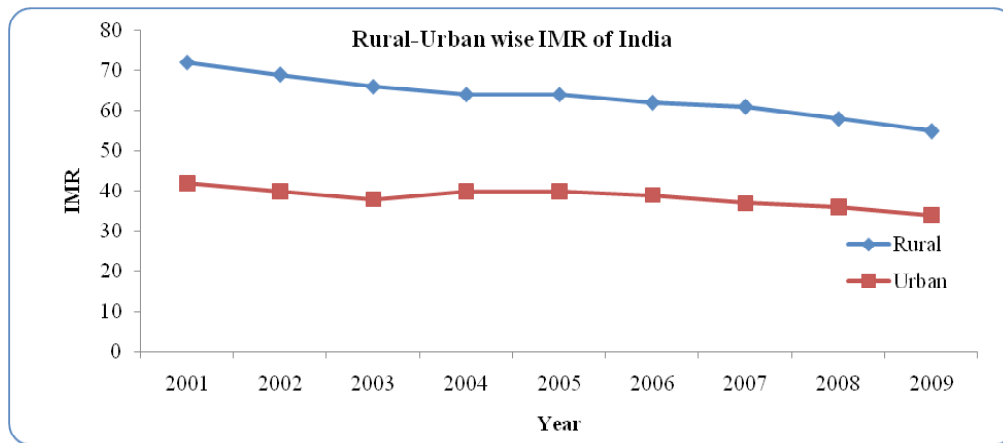
Fig 3: Rural-Urban wise IMR of India (2001-09)
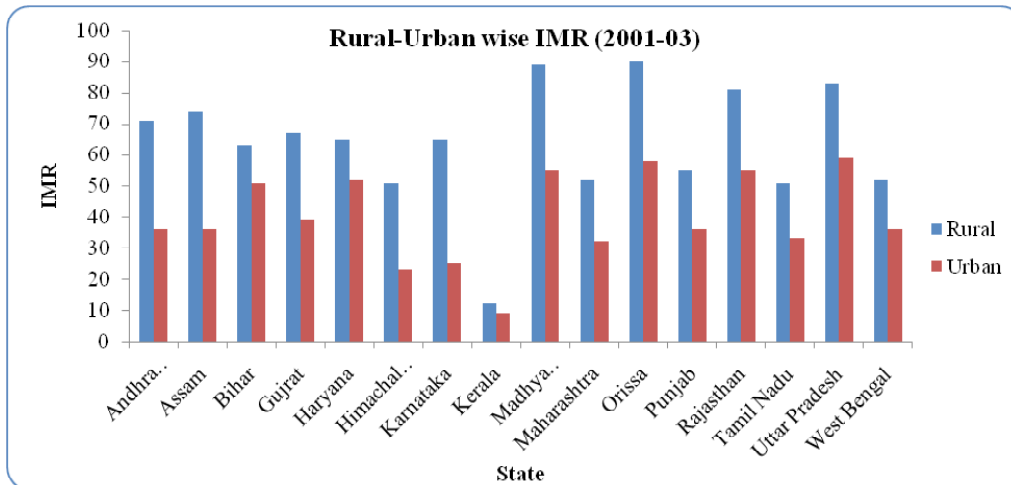
Fig 4: Rural-Urban wise IMR of Different States (2001-03)
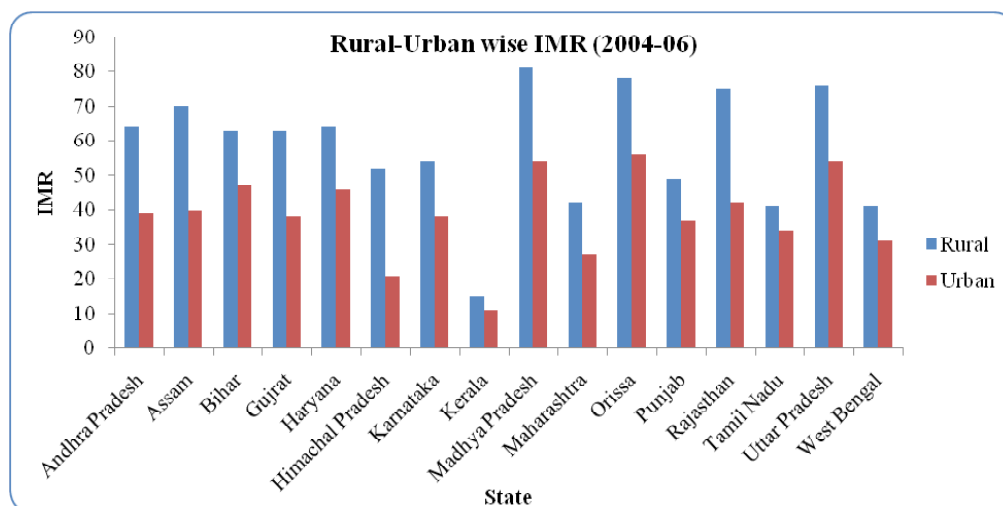
Fig 5: Rural-Urban wise IMR of Different States (2004-06)
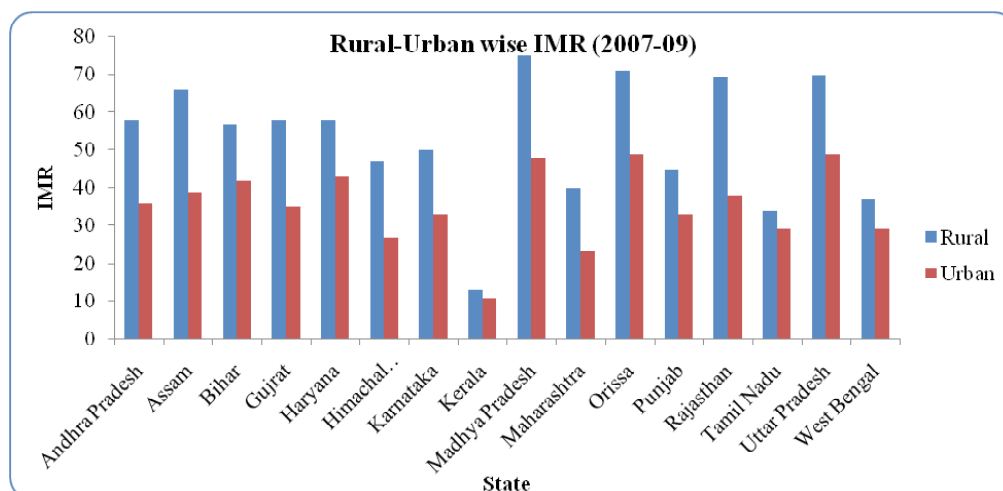
Fig 6: Rural-Urban wise IMR of Different States (2007-09)

Rural IMR in India has always been much higher than urban IMR over the years. Though the trends are continuously decreasing over the years for both rural & urban, the difference is still very high. The difference is least for Kerala and Delhi whereas this is very high for Rajasthan and Orissa.
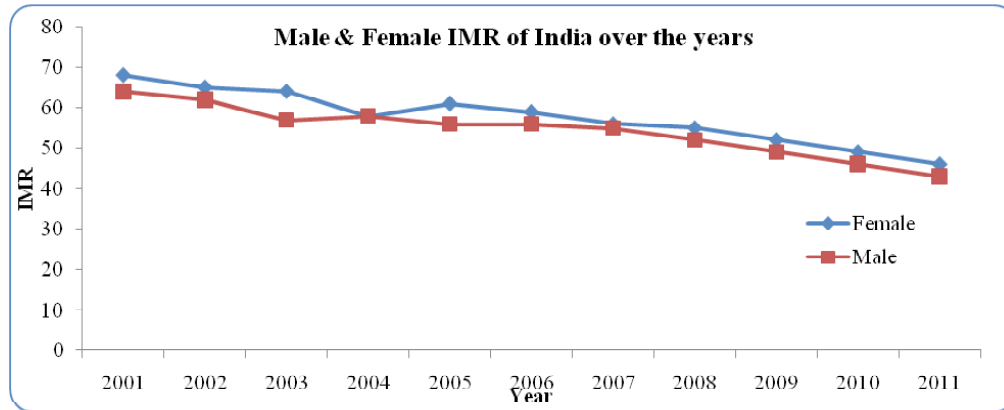
Fig 7: Male & Female of India over years (2001-11)

IMR of females has been higher than that of males in India over the years. Both male and female IMR show decreasing trends as observed.
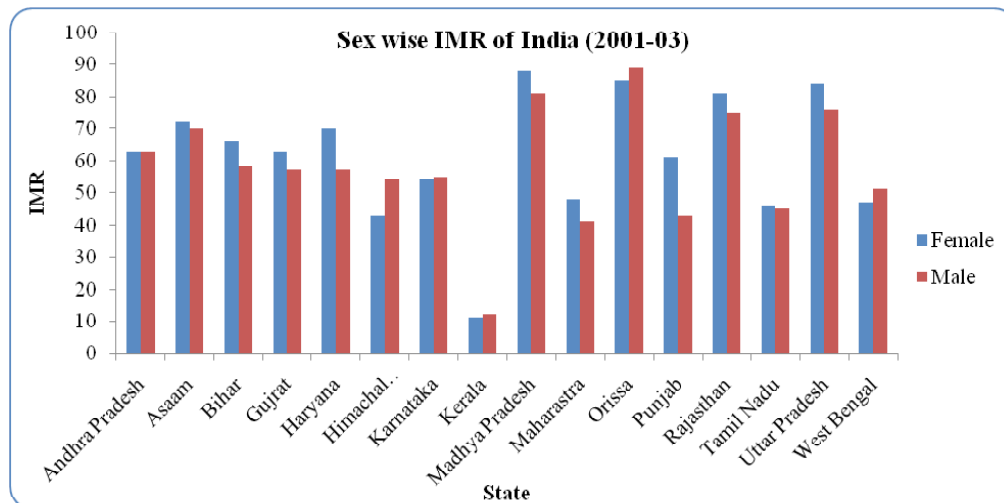
Fig 8: Sex wise IMR of Different States of India (2001-03)
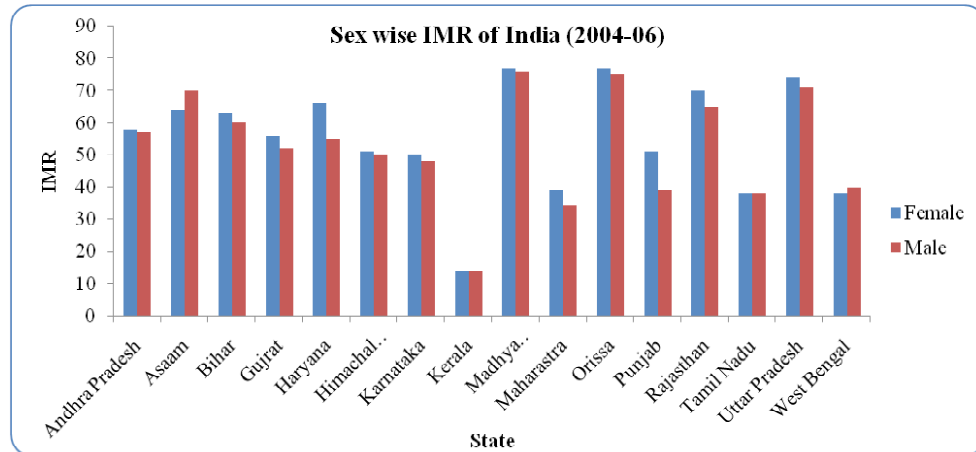
Fig 9: Sex wise IMR of Different States of India (2004-06)
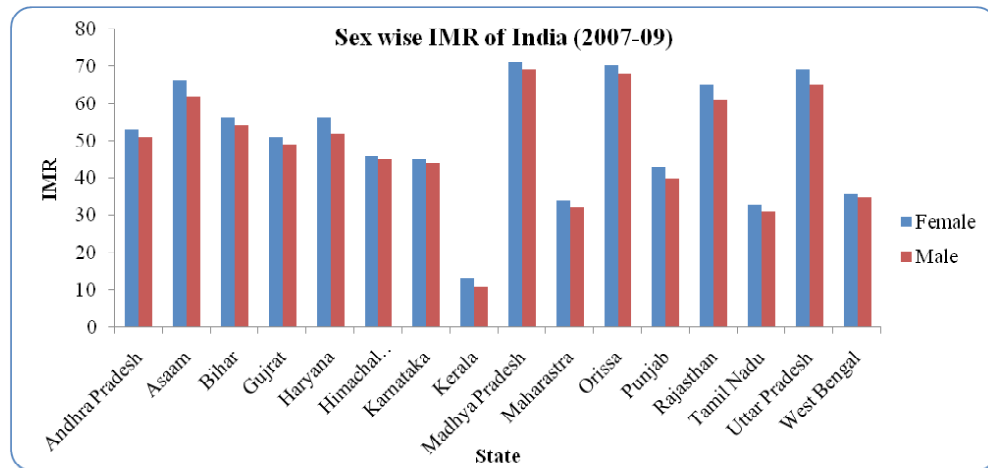
Fig 10: Sex wise IMR of Different States of India (2007-09)

In the Fig 8, Fig 9 & Fig 10: Male & Female IMR for different states over different time periods are shown. It is observed that in the years 2001-03, Bihar, Haryana, Punjab had higher IMR for female than male. In Himachal Pradesh, male IMR was higher than female in the early years (2001-04), but in recent years the female IMR is more than male IMR. Andhra Pradesh, Gujarat has higher female IMR than male in recent years. From this, we can conclude that gender gap exists in different states in context of IMR.

Different analyses are done between IMR (2005-06) of different states & different state level indicators of the same time period, such as percentage of household with improved sanitation, percentage of delivery by professional health personnel, percentage of household below poor wealth index etc. The Spearman's Rank Correlation coefficient between rank of the IMR of states & rank of states in terms of state indicator is computed. This measure is used to determine the statistical dependency between two variables. The range of the measure is between -1 to 1. If there is a negative association between two variables, then the value should be negative & if there is a positive association between two variables then the value should be positive
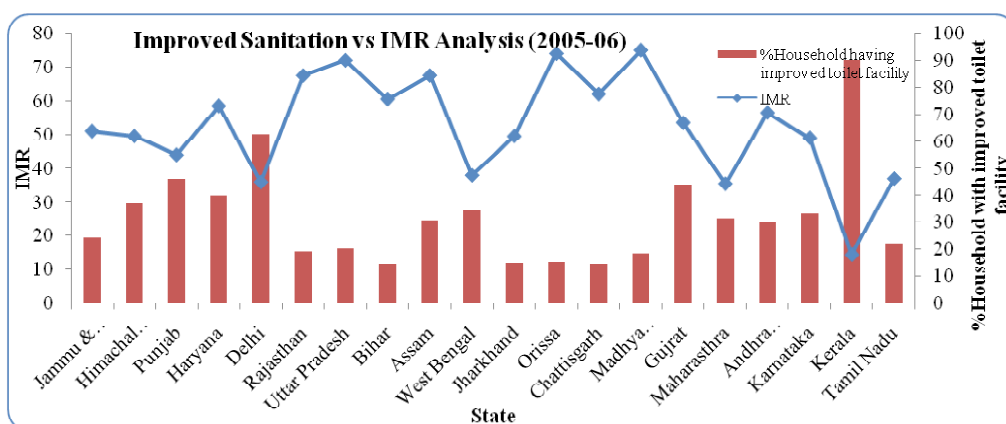
Fig 11: Households with Improved Sanitation vs IMR Analysis (2005-06)

Sanitation facility is directly related to hygienic status of people which effects health too. Fig 11 supports the fact that states with more improved sanitation facility have lower IMR. The Rank Correlation between IMR of different states & percentage of household with improved sanitation of those states is -62%. The measure of Rank correlation is high enough to support the conclusion for the period (2005-06).
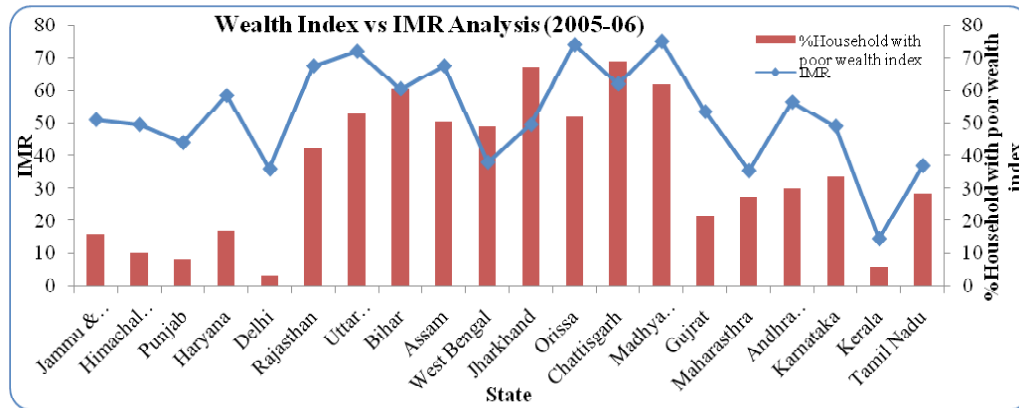
Fig 12: Household with Poor Wealth Index vs IMR Analysis (2005-06)

As shown in the Fig 12, the states with higher percent of household with poor wealth index also have higher IMR. Health care is directly related with the financial status of the household. Households with poor wealth index often cannot afford health treatment or child care after delivery. The Rank Correlation between IMR of different states & percentage of household with poor wealth index of those states is 65%. The measure of Rank correlation is high enough to support the conclusion for the period (2005-06).
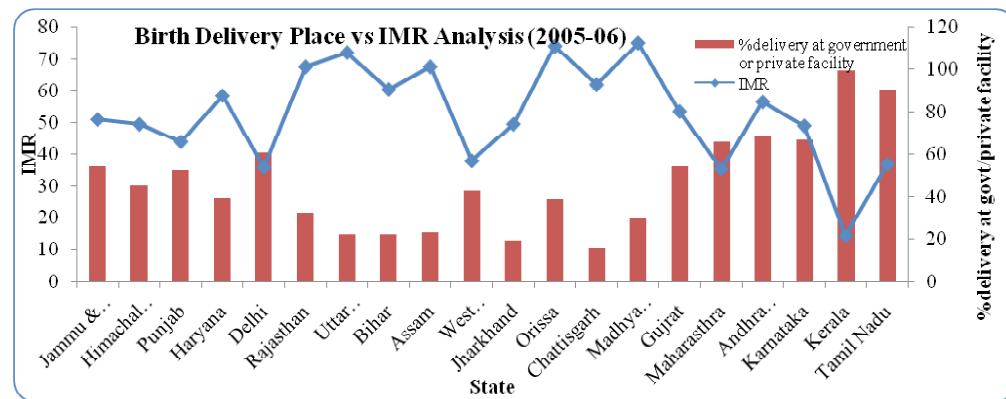
Fig 13: Birth Deliver Place vs IMR Analysis (2005-06)

From Fig 13, it can be observed that in states where there is a higher proportion of delivery at Government/ private facility, the IMR is lower

compared to others. As, different government/ private hospitals are equipped with better instruments, doctors, nurses, the delivery process is more safe & efficient. The Rank Correlation between IMR of different states & percentage of delivery in government/private hospitals of those states is -70%. The measure of Rank correlation is high enough to support the conclusion for the period (2005-06).

3.3 State Level Analysis

In this section, we have modelled Log (IMR) (IMR is converted into a percentage) with different demographical, environmental, socio economic factors by linear regression method at state & district level. We have considered the factors based on our intuitive sense & availability of the data in NFHS-III reports. Log (IMR in percentage) of 2005-06 for different states are considered as the dependent variable for modelling purposes. Different independent variables are considered to fit the model. The purpose of the modelling is to determine which combination of dependent variables has a significant effect on IMR at the state level. IMR is calculated as the average of IMR (in percentage) based on SRS data of 2005-06. Different variables are considered from NFHS-III (2005-06) state reports, RBI Planning Commission reports. [12]

The model is developed based on Linear Regression. Different environmental, socio-economic, demographical variables are considered for model development.

The final regression model is as follows:

$$\text{Log(IMR)}_{\text{Estimated}}$$
$$= -1.8 + (-0.005 \times \text{inst\_birth}) + (-0.011 \times \text{child\_food})$$
$$+ (-0.008 \times \text{improved\_sanitation}) + (0.005 \times \text{BPL\_card})$$
$$+ (-0.004\,\text{private\_hosp})$$

Variable Name	Description	Coefficient	Std Error	t-stat	p-value
inst_birth	Percentage of institutional births	-0.005	0.0027	-1.7441	10.31%
child_food	Percentage of children age 6-9 months receiving solid or semi-solid food and breast milk	-0.011	0.0050	-2.2292	4.27%
improved_ sanitation	Percentage of household having improved sanitation facility	-0.008	0.0032	-2.4258	2.94%
BPL_card	Percentage of household owning a BPL card	0.005	0.0034	1.6142	12.88%
private_hosp	Percentage of household covered by private medical sector	-0.004	0.0022	-1.6812	11.49%

Following Fig 14 is the graph of observed & estimated IMR (in percentage) for different states:
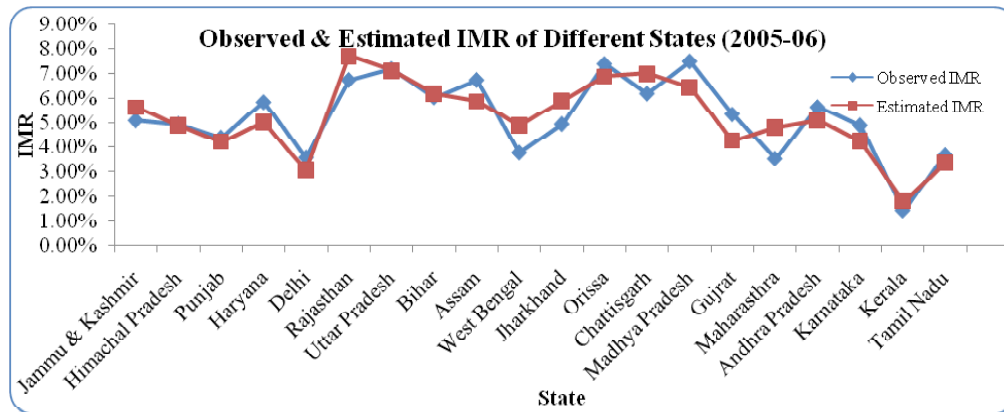
Fig 14: Observed & Estimated IMR of Different States (2005-06)

From Fig 14, it is observed that the "observed" & the "predicted" values are very close to each other & the model is fitted well enough.

Following are the different validation measures computed based on the observed IMR & estimated IMR:

R-Square	Correlation	MSE	RMSD	MAD
77.12%	87.82%	0.01%	0.74%	0.64%

The R-square & correlation coefficient values are high, so it can be concluded that the model fitted values & observed values are highly correlated as expected. For other measures all the values are very small, on the average the residuals between the fitted model & observed values would be very small in absolute term. From these values, we can say that the fitted model is good in terms of predicting IMR.

State level analysis of this combination of factors has good impacts on infant mortality rate. It shows that the factors like institutional birth , children (aged 6-9 months) receiving breast milk, solid and semi- solid food, household with improved sanitation facility, household owning BPL card and households covered by private medical sector have a significant impact on the infant

mortality rate. Institutional birth is negatively correlated to infant mortality rate, i.e., percentage of institutional delivery increased there will be a decrease in infant mortality rate (for 1% increase in institutional delivery, Log(IMR) would be decreased by 0.005, hence the decrease in IMR too). Most of the infant's death at delivery time caused due to last minute complication. Regular checkup and better health care facilities in the medical institution provide good precautionary measures for safe delivery. Availability of necessary equipment and professionals in private and public hospitals help in taking good care of maternal problems at delivery time. And, it is advisable to seek safe delivery from professionals to avoid unpredicted problems during the pregnancy periods. But, the demographic and social- economic constraints can repel people from using the medical institutions. For them, government policies like Janani Suraksha Yojna (JSY), Shishu Yojana Programme and ASHA worker models gave an incentive to opt for the safe institutional delivery system. Public Health Centre (PHC) at village level also helps in safe delivery by professionals. All these policies help the people to opt the safe delivery system and reducing the chances of infant and maternal mortality.

Children (aged 6-9 months) having breast feeding, solid and semi-solids foods have positive impacts in reducing the infant mortality (for 1% increase in the variable, Log(IMR) would be decreased by 0.011, hence the decrease in IMR too). (Quamrul, Islam and Hossain, 2010) studies also show that the significance of breastfeeding in early stage of child life in reducing the infant mortality in Bangladesh. Similar finding comes from this model in terms of breast feeding. The breast feeding milk is rich in nutrients and antibodies which help to protect the child in earlier stage. This milk contains the right amount of fat, sugar, water and protein and helps the children to attained healthy growth. This also protects from respiratory illness as well as a diarrhea problem which are the two major problems that leads to infant death. Breast feeding helps both mother and child. And, it also helps financially by lowering the health care cost.

Improved sanitation facility, an environmental factor, has a significant impact on reducing the infant mortality rate (for 1% increase in household with improved sanitation facility, Log(IMR) would be decreased by 0.008, hence the decrease in IMR too). Children in household with improved sanitation and better hygiene facilities have lower risk of mortality. (Serrano

and Puffer, 1973) shows that the improved sanitation facilities in the third world countries have potential influence in reducing the infant mortality. Although the Total Sanitation Facility (TSC), a flagship programme of the Indian government has been able to improve average health but due to substantial incomplete coverage, the true potential of sanitation programme is far from realisation. On the other hand, Nirmal Gram Puraskar (NGP) programme provide incentives to the village government and have performed better where it required the most. The potential benefit of the sanitation coverage on infant mortality is enormous. So, policy should be directed to increase the coverage of improved sanitation facilities and better implementation of this will have a good impact on infant mortality rate.

Households owning below poverty line (BPL) card have prominent influence on the infant mortality rate in a negative direction (for 1% increase in household holding BPL card, Log(IMR) would be increased by 0.005, hence the increase in IMR too). The number of households owning BPL card increased, the mortality will also increase. The BPL card helps the lower strata of income group with limited means to have food and other goods at concession rate. This is due to lack of nutritious food, basic amenities and accesses to the health centre deteriorate the problem. Although, Janani Suraksha Yojana (JYS) and its relation with BPL card household could have a positive effect on infant mortality. BPL card eases the problem of food and JYS- an integrated package helps the child and the mother in safe delivery. But, the overall impact is not favourable and infant mortality increases with the increased in BPL card holders. There is potential to improvise the situation through efficiency and efficacy of policy measures understanding the needs of the low income group people.

Increase in households covered by a private medical center has significant impact in reducing the infant mortality (for 1% increase in household covered by private medical sector, Log(IMR) would be decreased by 0.005, hence the decrease in IMR too). The recent growth of private sector in the medical field, with better sophistication and equipment, has a good indicator for the health infrastructure. Both the government and private medical institution have done well while the expansion of the latter with the better facility and caring units have massive impact on the health care. The R & D (private sector) team helps in developing medical tools and necessary medicine and well supported

by government policies helps in growing of private medical centre recently. The Cost to access private medical centre is moderately high, but still has good opportunities in creating better health facilities. The policy should be focused on creating environment for both the institution to reach the mass population and helps to attained nation with less health problems.

If we look at these factors closely, we found that the preventive measures for the mother's health should be more in focus to curb the infant mortality and maternal problem. So, it is prudent to focus on the mother's problem for coming generation and designed the policy such that it has inclusive effect on children's health too. Since, the problem of infant mortality and maternal mortality has an impact on the future of the human capital of the nation, so it needs to diversify our efforts to optimal level to get the desired result in health related issues of infant mortality.

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3

The Culinary Shakespeare

Dr. Prerana Sinha

This paper is yet another attempt at situating William Shakespeare's art in the contemporary times, even after 400 years he and the efficacy of his thoughts are always felt in the mundane day to day living, as well as in the existential or deep philosophical moorings in different time and space. Its quite intriguing that inspite of thousands and thousands of scholarly pursuits he remains timeless and immemorial. Thereason is inevitable; his works offer a plethora of insights, fresh and animating as many times one reads his tragedies or comedies or sonnets.

One can get several shades of his genius; but what Ihave found worth exploring is 'Food and Eating', in Shakespeare's works, hence I wish to see an interesting facetof him as 'Culinary Shakespeare'. To analyse him, I have chosenjust three of his texts, one Festive comedy, 'Twelfth Night', andtwo tragedies, 'Antony and Cleopatra' and 'Macbeth'.

This study becomes more invigorating as while it enablesus to take a peep into Shakespeare's Festive World, itsimultaneously introduces us to various vicissitudes of Food and eating as it enters different geographical stations, imaginary and real alongwith the corresponding sensibilities.

Franco is Laroque in his book Shakespeare's Festive World'[1] tells us that

under the influence of Puritanism, gravity was beginning to be regarded as a virtue; hence those who were devotees of popular festivity were first and foremost fundamentally attached to laughter. Keith Thomas makes thepoint in a long article in The Times Literary Supplement:

> The new cult of decorum thus meant that it was only thevulgar who could go on
>
> laughing without restraint. In 1649 a contemporary observed that'
>
> Those most apt to laughter were children, women and the common people;[2]

In fact a succession of men of letters and writers of satire, from Philip Sidney to Joseph Hall[3], expressed their distaste forscenes in which the clown was represented alongside personages of great dignity. While tragedy was beyond any doubt considered a noble and 'high' art, the rustic antics of theclown are out of place. Hence, festivals were essentially associated with popular culture seen in the forms of folktales, folksongs, decorated marriage chests, mystery plays and farces; and above all festivals, like the feasts of the saints and the great seasonal festivals such as Christmas, New Year, Carnival, May and Midsummer. It was in the masques, music, dancing and cuisine of the various festivals that this culture, which was so much apart of everyday behavior, was most fully expressed.

But the larger use of jigs and jokes among the countryside and villagers rendered the traditional songs and dances seem uncouth to the upwardly mobile social strata whoin quest of refinement made popular festival synonymous withvulgarity. And one major criticism of popular festivity was that they fostered practices linked with paganism and distracted the faithful from the proper respect due to Sunday services and prayers and this encroachment of popular culture and festivity upon the strictly religious festivals was frequently deplored during this period. Preachers of Puritan persuasion went so far as to call upon the judicial and municipal authorities to ban all these practices, which they considered to be profane.

In Shakespeare's The Twelfth Night, the festive mood isalready going too long exemplifying lingering mood of festival till the twelfth day of Christmas. The experience of satiety is confirmed in Orsino's opening words which however is conditioned as he says,

'If music be the food of love, play on;

Give me excess of it, that surfeiting,

The appetite may sicken and so die….'[4]

The uncertainty about the festive mood is evident in the terms that follow,

Excess, surfeiting, appetite may sicken or die and so on and so forth.

This scene nevertheless evokes the spirit of festivity, a revelry that needs to go unabated. However, rather than the temporal flow of music, it's his own contemplations and comments that take precedence. The play does not open with music but with a precise, detailed analysis of Orsino's subjective reaction to music with the projection of his consciousness. The festivity therefore gets jarred and punctured at the very initial stage.

We then confront the actual scene of revelry in Act 2, scene 3 of the play where Sir Toby, Sir Andrew are shown along with Feste(the clown), Maria and Malvolio. Sir Andrew would clearly be happy to go to bed, but Sir Toby insists on keeping the party going. He is determined that by all mean she has to indulge in the festivity inspite of any kind of resistance. Sir Toby is a knight with no substance, he drinks, plays practical jokes and evidently a parasite who lives on his niece and extracts money from Sir Andrew on the pretext of helping him win her hand. For an unemployed, good for nothing man like him a 'holiday' is a meaningless concept. His holiday depends on his permanent freedom from responsibility. He uses the mechanism of revelry and celebration so as to create a private and fundamentally selfish holiday world. Therefore, he appears very contemptuous in the gulling scene where he punishes Malvolio, the Puritan who wants to oppose their festivities.

Although few would argue that through Malvolio Shakespeare portrays a Puritan, most accept that Malvolio embodies the modern emphasis on economy, that as Oscar James Campbell has written, Malvolio is

"an enemy to the time-honoured English hospitality and liberality because of the strain it puts upon his lady's purse."[5]

To an extent, Malvolio seems a representative "modern", partially because he resists the traditional hospitality of the English great house that supports

such aristocratic ne'er-do-wells as Sir To by and Sir Andrew, more so because, Malvoliofinds his vocation to be a humiliation and, hence hopes for atemporary restriction.

Sir Toby taunts him,

"Art thou more than a steward"(Act ii, scene iii, 114)

His sense that he is not bound to his vocation or degree but autonomy that can be recognized and rewarded by societybut as the one possessing personal autonomy. In fact, his intervention to put an end to the riotous drinking bout is anatrocious act as he blatantly accuses them of gobbling "liketinkers" and turning an aristocratic manor into"analehouse"(Act ii, scene iii, 87-89).

Malvolio nevertheless intends to exercise his proper rolebut at the same time, being their subordinate, he transgresses it. His biggest error is he fantasizes reaching for upward social mobility as he dreams of becoming Count Malvolio, imagining Olivia to be in love with him and simultaneously imagining Sir Toby and Sir Andrew to be his subordinates. Hence, they decide that he rightfully deserves punishment for hisoutrageous act, for which the two alongwith Maria, hatch aplot to befool him by making him believe that Olivia has written him a love letter. Already living in his make believe world,he gets easily gulled as he stupidly ventures to reveal his love for Olivia who considering him mad sends him into adungeon.

The letter he assumes to have come from Olivia is aprecious marker; a license for an exclusively aristocratic privilege; to transform a private, narcissistic fantasy into public behavior.

Malvolio is labeled a Puritan not just because of his strictness and anti-theatricalism which in all likelihood would have hardly earned any sympathy among the Elizabethan audience. When Maria brands him "a kind of Puritan" she is not suggesting that he is a religious zealot intent on reformingthe hierarchy of the Church of England, instead she

> "identifies the Puritan in Malvolio as a matter of social ambition and exaggerated self-worth."[6]

Greenblatt even goes to suggest that Shakespeare might be sharing

Malvolio's desire for social mobility. No matter how unattractive Malvolio's ambition and self-love might appear, he avers, the steward may be "the shadow side of Shakespeare's own fascination withachieving the status of a gentleman".[7]

Malvolio's resolution to avenge on the whole pack ofthem definitely does not result in the comic happy ending as it does for other characters; it rather brings Shakespeare's in sinuation that the effort towards social mobility might be the beginning for those desirous of becoming gentlemen with the passage of time. It in fact ascertains the aspiration of several ambitious and adventurous commoners willing to make inroadsinto England's aristocratic ranks during Shakespeare's time.

The intense feelings and anger of Malvolio followed by desire for revenge may also signal Shakespeare's belief that thegenre of romantic or festive comedy can no longer be both credible and serve the social status quo.

Ever since the publication of C.L.Barber's landmark study Shakespeare's Festive Comedy[8]

a number of critics have understood the many manifestations of social and gender reversals in

Twelfth Night in the context of Saturnalian holiday festivals.

Barber argued that Shakespeare's Festiveplays explored the

"social form of Elizabethan holidays," and that the basic "Saturnalian

Pattern appears in many variations, all of which involve inversion, statement and counter-

Statement and a basic movement which can be summarized inthe formula, through release to Clarification."[9]

Thus we see Shakespeare's insinuation in The Twelfth Night pertaining to the contemporary times in the garb of Festive Comedy.

The next play that I have chosen is Antonyand Cleopatra, a play that A.C. Bradley[10] had excluded fromhis study of Shakespearean Tragedy. He could not see this play as a rivalto the best four tragedies, viz; *King Lear, Othello, Macbeth* and *Hamlet* on the ground that

'it is not painful', 'not as exciting dramatically'. Above all, it has 'no scenes of action or passion which agitate the audience with alarm horror, painful expectation, or absorbing sympathies and antipathies.'[11]

Nevertheless, the play Antony and Cleopatra doeslack the high seriousness of the tragedy which the other four possess. Moreover, Bradley valued Shakespeare's tragedies for their capacity to interpret the world and man's place in it withoutrecourse to Christian theology.

Antony and Cleopatra is way far from any such generalization or perfection that a reader would expect fromthe main protagonists. As a matter of fact, both these charactersare too human and imperfect, even too complex for any kindof idealization and yet, in some ways Antony does resemble Shakespeare's other tragic heroes, exceptional men in that theirfate, as Bradley says,

'affect the welfare of a whole nation or empire,'[12]

Both he and Cleopatra are exceptional too in their capacity for extreme and spontaneous feeling which manifestsit self most powerfully when they are responding, whether infury or delight, to each other.

Unlike the other tragic heroes, Antony apparently undergoes no apparent struggle, never defines or articulates the nature of his choice or seems to for e see its consequences, nor does he intellectualize; he acts always on impulse. In fact, he is even inferior to Caesar; an ideal Roman soldier and also to Cleopatra as far as the sharpness of her mind is concerned.

Honingmann remarks on Antony's limitations in the early scenes,

"It is Cleopatra who rails and mocks, and Antony is always at the receiving end, and not amused. She laughs, he glooms…[13]

Nevertheless, Antony and Cleopatra, from Bradley, amoralist's point of view lacks the high seriousness and sublimity associated with a great tragedy. The question thenarises, what exactly one finds in this play that it was accordedsuch recognition! The answer perhaps lies in this discussion by Rajiva Verma in his essay where he brings out the efficacy of the twoplays, Antony and Cleopatra and Macbeth; written in quick succession, yet being so different

in their aesthetic and psychological appeal. He avers that while Macbeth is full of violence not onlyin its action, but also in its imagery, "In contrast, Antony and Cleopatra is, among all the playsof Shakespeare, the richest in the language of erotic love. Whatever violence there isin the play's imagery is actually in the service of a voluptuous sensuality: instead ofwounds made by keen knives we have here only lovers' pinches; there are no batteries to'ram down' the defences of a country or a maiden, only 'fruitful tidings' which Cleopatra would have rammed down her ears.(ii.v.24)[14]

Indeed, the Egyptian imagery used in the language of Cleopatra and her court is suggestive of the voluptuous sensuality. While Egypt is associated with the Nile, the harbinger of fruitfulness and of carrion-eating insects, harvest and deadly serpents, and Cleopatra is termed as

'Serpentofold Nile', (1, 5, 26) where the river reflects the opposite characteristics; she is life enhancing as well as fatally poisonous, while Rome is associated with the Tiber.

Thus Antony's passion and desire for Cleopatra is expressed in these popular words,

'Let Rome in Tiber melt, and the wide arch

Of the ranged empire fall! Here is my space!'(1, I, 34-5)

He assumes his oneness with her in a figurative language, identifying his space like a common lover, unlike atriumvir of the Roman Empire.

Egypt is known for feeding and drinking to excess, where

eight wild boars are roasted for a breakfast for twelve people(2, 2, 189)

and Antony calls for wine both in defiance of his defeatas well as celebration.

In this play, Food becomes a major denominator of lust, fun, happiness, victory as well as defeat. Cleopatra too is repeatedly described in terms of food which, according toEnobarbus, is always enticing and never satisfying:

…………………………. Other people cloy

The appetites they feed, but she makes hungry

> Where most she satisfies
>
> ……………. (2,2.246-8)

On the other hand, not many images are associated with Romans for they are recognized for their moderation, theirtemperance and their ability to control their feelings. Temperance is a virtue Caesar admired in Antony before hemet Cleopatra.

Antony may lack the heroic prowess of Caesar in the physical sense but ironically comes the realization,

> "Tis paltry to be Caesar."

At the end of the play it is Cleopatra who wins the cat-and-mouse game that Caesar plays with her, and the latter forall his 'policy', turns out at last to be merely vanquished when Cleopatra has already prepared herself to be one with Antony in the next life. Both the protagonists, Antony and Cleopatra seem content to live in the present which they would like tostretch into the eternity of pleasure.

Another facet of food, entirely different from thepreceding ones is evinced in negative and violent connotationin Shakespeare's Macbeth, generally categorized as a darktragedy. To explain the chaos and tragedy Rajiva Verma suggests 'ironic reversals' pervading the play. Among them what concerns me in the present connotation are those occurring at the very outset, viz;

Where nothing is but what is not,

Where fair is foul and foul is fair;

Where the innocent flower hides the deadly serpent;

Where the castle in which heaven's breath seemed to smellwooingly

turns out to be a hell on earth;

Where drink provokes desire but……

Where all the sound and fury of our lives ultimately signifies nothing;

Where in short, milk turns into gall and victory intodefeat.

The very edifice of Macbeth is breach of trust which unfoldsin Macbeth

and his wife fulfilling their over vaulting ambitionby killing King Duncan who comes as their venerable guestat Macbeth's castle for the night. After he has supper the couplecarries on with their plan and successfully executes it.

The play opens with the three witches predicting Macbeth, Thane of Glamis, soon overtaking the kingship from the king Duncan suggested by their injunction,

> Fair is Foul, Foul is Fair',

leading Macbeth on to first murder and further usurp Malcolm, the Prince of Cumberland's claim to the throne.

The 'serpent' is indicative of Macbeth who has the reputation of being king's great loyalist, a very brave soldier who earned victory for Scotland. Duncan, oblivious of the Macbeths' intention, addresses Lady Macbeth as

> 'fair and noble hostess' (1.6. 24)

Most suggestive and revolting images are those expressed by Lady Macbeth in her invocation to the dark forces to"unsexher" and fill her "

> from the crown to the toe top-full
>
> Of direst cruelty"

She also invites "the murdering ministers" to come to her "woman's breasts" and

> *take her " milk forgall".(1.v.40-50)*

Such determination and cruelty on her part further givesin to more heartless and violent images when she observes her husband's infirmity in carrying out the plan to kill Duncan;

> *I have given suck, and know*
>
> *How tender 'tis to love the babe that milks me:*
>
> *I would, while it was smiling in my face,*
>
> *Have pluck'd my nipple from his boneless gums,*
>
> *And dashed the brains out, had I so sworn….(1, vii, 54-59)*

Several kinds of interpretations have followed Lady Macbeth's merciless

and unwomanly nature, she is seenfiendish, yet she is neither the fourth witch in the play, nor ascruel as Euripides's Medea who kills her sons. Nevertheless,these expressions do point out to her resolve to tempt her husband to commit the act and she too is determined to strengthen herself against all odds, not to become weak, afrail woman; her basic instinct of motherhood should not become an impediment in her husband's ambition, hence there is reference to milk and the milking act.

Shakespeare has indeed supplied the metaphor of food, first through the image of the two protagonists held 'anoblehost', but 'asaserpent', providing supper so as to murderand second through Lady Macbeth's invocation to exterminate her weak motherly feelings lest it mars her husband's desire. In rejecting her femininity, Lady Macbeth challenges her socially circum scribed position and enters the realm of paradox bybeing a woman and yet not being one. She is the decision maker and chooses the role of the perpetrator. Of course shefalls short of committing the final crime as she says:

> *"Had he not resembled*
>
> *My father as he slept, I had done't"[15]*

The continuous violence plays truant with her body and effects a psychic disintegration.

The development of the tragedy irrevocably points tothe gradual destruction of both as it leads to more murders,more wrath, frustration, unhappiness coupled with guiltresulting into somnambulism and later her suicide culminating into Macbeth's utter desolation and degradation. Worst of all, her wish to unsex herself makes her barren as violence leaves no space for anything to germinate.

Thus we see how Shakespeare has effectively used different metaphors of food to bring out different themes in the texts cited leaving an impending effect on readers' mind, at the same time allowing many more reflections to appear on the mental horizon.

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4

Media Influence on Voting Patterns: Analysing Urban-Rural Differentials

Tarjeet Sabharwal

The urban population in India is estimated at 31.3% according to the 2011 census with an estimated rate of urbanisation for 2010-2015 being 2.47% annually. But in the recent times, much of India's hinterland has gone through a major transformation as reflected in the latest consumption data put out by the National Sample Survey Office. For the first time, more than 50% of the increased rural spending is on non-food products and services, including mobile phones and television sets. According to the Telecom Regulatory Authority of India, as of June 2013, India had 873 million mobile connections. TRAI reported that there were 842.34 million active connections in the month of January 2015. Of these nearly 522 million were in urban areas, with the remaining 351 million in rural areas. There are 46 million active Internet users in rural India, according to an i-Cube report, titled "Internet in Rural India", published by lobby group Internet and Mobile Association of India and IMRB, a market research firm. More than 70% of India's population lives in the rural areas and yet, the connectivity of telephone and internet is poor. This obvious digital divide includes the issue of lack of literacy, infrastructure and skills in the rural areas. It may be pointed out also that this digital divide is not just on the rural-urban front but also includes gender, age, culture, language and other variables.

On the political front, India is a federal parliamentary democratic republic and the most populous democracy in the world. In the year 2009, the elections involved an electorate of 714 million which further increased to 814.5 million in the 2014 Lok Sabha elections. Such large electorate mandates led us to hold that the election in 3 phases. The 2014 Lok Sabha election conducted in nine phases was the longest election span to be held in Indian history.

It is interesting to note that there has been an emergence of regional players like Samajwadi party, Lok Dal, Bahujan Samaj Party, Akali Dal, TDP, Janata Dal, RJD, DMK, AIADMK and many others across India. These parties are based on regional aspirations and are strongly influenced by caste considerations. All modern democracies operate on the basis of representation and these representatives are chosen through free and fair elections. The spirit of a citizen of a democratic nation is participation through voting as an important political act (Anderson & Stephenson, 2010). The most interesting questions about an election are not concerned with who won but with such questions as why people voted the way that they did or what were the implications of the results.

One of the major concerns that characterize the study of electoral behaviour is explaining the election result by identifying the sources of individual voting behaviour which means attempting to understand the election outcome by understanding how the voters made up their minds. A number of attitudinal and social factors are related to individual voting behaviour. Among attitudinal factors, assessments of the personal characteristics of the candidates, evaluations of government performance, orientations on specific policy issues, party identification, and ideology may be some of the primary determinants of candidate choice. For social factors, race, religion, region, social class and caste appear to be the characteristics that have most closely related to voting over the past several decades. Examining how these factors are related to the vote in particular elections not only explains the election outcome, but also can provide with an understanding of electoral dynamics (Prysby & Scavo, 2004). All election campaigns seek to lure maximum voters in their favour in order to be able to win seats in the Parliament. A section of voters who are ignorant of politics and worldly affairs are susceptible to political manipulation. They are easily misled by politicians

and are incapable of electing the leaders based on the nation's best interest. This can be traced to the deluge of unprecedented access to information with the actual consumption of it because only a small percentage of people take advantage of the great new resources at hand (Shenkman, 2008). In a study about Franklin D. Roosevelt's election campaign and the effects of media messages, the magic bullet theory was disproved establishing that audiences are not passive receivers of the messages by the media and added that interpersonal messages are more influential than media messages (Lazarsfield, Berelson & Gaudet, 1944). However, the effects of media cannot be treated as a general phenomenon. The diversity in the content and form of the media affects different audience differently. It also depends on how much and how well is the public informed. The more informed the public, the less is the effect of media on them (McQuail, 1979).

Family is the most important source of partisanship. When deciding how to vote, decisions take place within a social context. Variations in that context affect the voting pattern. A politically homogeneous circle of friends or co-workers can lead to strongly held partisan views. Moreover, it is generally preferred to be with friends and co-workers who reinforce existing biases. Families also tend to have similar views and mass media further reinforces these existing biases due to selective media consumption. Thus, campaigns rarely change views; they merely reinforce the original views. It may be inferred that media and campaigns have minimal effect on voting behaviour (Berelson, Lazarsfeld & McPhee, 1954).

Social scientists associate urbanisation with modern societies and it is often presumed that it is an important variable in understanding political change. But, it is necessary to look at alterations in traditional patterns of human interactions. These alterations are not restricted to urban environments (Schoultz, 1972). Urbanism as a way of life is not restricted to the areas which are regarded as 'urban'. The urban life-style is increasingly diffusing and urbanism is radiating its influence outward (Anderson, 1960).

Wirth (1938) also observed that urbanisation has brought about profound changes in almost every phase of social life but while city is the characteristic locus of urbanism, the urban mode of life is not confined to the cities. For sociological purposes, a city is a relatively large, dense and permanent settlement of heterogeneous individuals. This leads to individual variability,

the relative absence of interpersonal acquaintance, segmentation of human relations which are largely transitory, anonymous and superficial. He observes that heterogeneity breaks down rigid social structures and produces increased mobility, insecurity and instability. The individual becomes effective only as he acts through organised groups. Hence, the complicated phenomena of urbanism may acquire coherence if the sociological analysis proceeds in the light of such a body of theory. On the other hand, Lerner (1958) concludes that urbanisation leads to reduction of illiteracy and higher consumption of media which leads to more intensive political participation. According to Campbell, Converse, Miller, and Stokes (1960), changes in party identification are rare and occur as a result of events of greater changes. Such changes occur at an individual level when there are adjustments in the social status of the subjects or when changes occur in the broader field of social or political organisation. However, Popkin(1994) bases rational choices between candidates on low information rationality of the voters. The voters gain such low information rationality in their daily lives through media and through personal interactions to evaluate candidates and facilitate electoral choices. It is also argued that most information voters learn about politics is picked up as a by-product of activities and pursued as a part of their daily life. Media helps to explain what the politicians are doing and the relevance of their actions while campaigns help to clarify issues. Voters develop affinity towards like-minded opinion leaders whether in media or in personal interactions. Interpersonal communication is seen as a way of developing assessments about parties and candidates. Information received from the media is discussed among peers and helps create opinions. Voters often function as clinicians who gather limited information and infer from it a broader narrative instead of as statisticians who weigh only facts in order to make a decision. Election outcomes are in substantial part responsive towards objective changes occurring under the incumbent party. They are not irrational or random or solely a product of past loyalties or of campaign rhetoric (Kramer, 1971). Thus, the most important dimension is who people vote for and how they make that decision.

In the backdrop of these arguments this study attempts to examine the voting preferences in two villages on the basis of their proximity to an urban centre. The purpose is to assess the differences in these voting preferences and the influence of media on the same.

Review of Literature

There are several studies conducted on electoral behaviour and voting patterns, and what influences the political decisions made by the voters. Most studies conducted in the United States have studied the impact of media on voters during Presidential elections. Some of them have been highlighted here as they give an understanding of the variables of media use and voting patterns.

In a study conducted by Seth C. McKee in 2008 titled 'Rural Voters and the Polarisation of American Presidential Elections', it was revealed that there is a considerable impact of place on politics. The social networks that exist in the rural and urban places are markedly different and this is reflected in the economic, religious, racial and political differences between the urban and rural voters, and that their political preferences were greatly divergent. Similar observations were made in a study conducted by Martin Plesivcak titled 'The Regional Dimension of the Socio-Political Urban-Rural Conflict in Slovakia'. The nature of electoral support manifested by rural and urban electorates were significantly different in several regions of south and south-western Slovakia. But they were also similar in certain regions of eastern Slovakia.

Another study by Andrei V. Berezkin, Mikhail Myagkov and Peter C. Ordeshook in 1999 on 'The Urban-Rural Divide in the Russian Electorate and the Effect of Distance from Urban Centers' refines the interpretation of the urban-rural cleavage in Russian politics. Apart from relying on the variables of age, education and economic opportunities between urban and rural areas, it also considered the influence of local and regional political bosses. It was found that at least a part of the urban-rural cleavage appeared to be the consequence of such political bosses at the region's centre.

In 1982, a study was conducted by Lee B. Becker and Sharon Dunwoody called 'Media Use, Public Affairs Knowledge and Voting in a Local Election' which drew a relationship between knowledge about public affairs and media use. The finding was that newspapers were the most common sources of political information and that those who obtained their information from newspapers were more knowledgeable than those dependent on other sources. It also concluded that knowledge was an intermediary link between media use and voting behaviour. Churchill L. Roberts conducted a study on 'Media

Use and Making of Political Decisions' in 1976 which concluded that increased media usage, particularly newspapers, at the time of elections leads to higher level of political participation which accelerates the process of decision-making. On the contrary, low involvement with media leads to lesser political information. This leads to slower development of distinct attitude towards the different candidates and hence, greater difficulty in making a voting decision.

In the same year, Marilyn Jackson Beeck conducted a panel study called 'Interpersonal and Mass Communication in Children's Political Socialisation'. It established a relationship between communication and political socialisation. It also revealed that sex did not alter this relationship, and that interpersonal communication was less important in political socialisation than mass media. In a study conducted by Gary Kebbel on 'Importance of political activity in explaining Multiple News Media Use', it was found that sex, age, income and education were correlated with media use. Men had more multiple media use than women, the older used media more frequently than the younger as did the more educated compared to less educated.

Berelson et al. in their 1954 study titled 'Voting: A Study of Opinion Formation in a Presidential Campaign' examined the factors that make people vote the way they do. Carried out during the 1948 presidential campaign, one of its finding shows that voting decisions take place within a social context and that media and campaigns have a minimal effect on the voting behaviour. They observe that many voters vote not for principle in the usual sense but for a group to which they are attached. They do not support electoral decisions on reason. However, they also argue that the democracies have become stronger because of this. If all voters had high degree of knowledge and political motivation, that would lead to a greater division among voters and lead to greater political cleavage and antagonism which could threaten the system itself. Rather than individuals who are highly motivated and interested in politics, a democracy needs heterogeneous groups to ensure plurality of ideas and political proposals.

In the light of the above scholarly studies, the theoretical framework for this research suggests that one has to look at a sociological approach to understand the nature of relationships between groups. In this context it is important to understand some theories emphasizing on social participation.

'Primary Groups' are small social groups which share close, personal and enduring relationships. They are categorised by intimate face-to-face association and co-operation. Within a primary group, the process of socialisation begins; an individual starts becoming a social being from within the primary group he/she belongs to. Attitudes, behaviour, beliefs, and social identity are shaped and nurtured within the primary group (Cooley, 1909).

The changing nature of social participation was given in a model elaborated by Robert Redfield referred to as the 'folk urban continuum' He speculated regarding the significant changes from the folk to the urban end based on studies conducted by Yucatan during the early 1930s. According to this perspective, as communication moves from folk to the urban end of the continuum, there occurs shift from cultural intimacy and organisation to disorganisation, a shift from collective or community orientation to individualism. Folk society is traditional and spontaneous and leads similar lifestyle while modern civilisation is loosely integrated. A cultural change is seen depending on the varying degree of contact with civilisation and it differently affects the folk culture. The 'hypodermic needle theory' implies that mass media has a direct, immediate and powerful effect on its audiences. The mass media in the 1940s and 1950s were perceived as a powerful influence on behaviour change. Also known as 'magic bullet theory', it suggests that the mass media could influence a very large group of people directly and uniformly by 'shooting' or 'injecting' them with appropriate messages designed to trigger a desired response (Katz & Lazarsfeld, 1955). Modernization theory is a description and explanation of the processes of transformation from traditional or underdeveloped societies to modern societies. Lerner's (1958) empirical studies in several Middle Eastern societies identified empathy, the capacity to take the perspective of others, as a product of media, literacy, and urbanization and as a vital ingredient in producing rational individual behaviour conducive to societal development. To be a modern individual, one must be able to empathise with others.

The mass media plays crucial role in the modernisation process. The more exposed people are to media, the greater is their capability to imagine themselves as strange persons in strange situations, places and time than did people in any previous historical epoch (Lerner, 1958). The 'Two Step Flow Theory' examines the influence of media messages. The influence of social

groups to which the individual belongs has a crucial effect on the voting decisions. The opinion leaders pay close attention to the mass media and receive its message. They pass on this media content and in addition their own interpretation as well. The term 'personal influence' was coined to refer to the process intervening between media's direct message and the audience's reaction to the same. Opinion leaders are similar to those they influence and hence, are more influential in getting people to change their voting behaviour and attitude. This explains why certain media campaigns have failed to influence their audience's attitude and behaviour (Lazarsfeld, et al. 1944).

'Media System Dependency Theory' states that the more a person depends on media to meet needs, the more important media will be in a person's life, and therefore the more effects media will have on a person. But dependency on all media is not equal. It depends on two factors. First, a person tends to depend more on a media which fulfils various needs than the one which fulfils only a few. The other factor is social stability. When the social conflicts are high and established institutions and practices are challenged, people are forced to re-evaluate their choices and this increases their reliance on mass media. During stable times, such reliance on media may decrease (Ball-Rokeach & DeFleur, 1976).

Blumler and Katz's 'Uses and Gratification Theory' suggests that media users play an active role in choosing and using the media. Users take an active part in the communication process and are goal oriented in their media use. Theorists say that a media user seeks out a media source that best fulfils the needs of the user. Uses and gratifications assume that the user has alternate choices to satisfy their need (Blumler & Katz, 1974).

The theories discussed here have suggested that media use and political participation have inter-linkages. The study proposes to find out within this theoretical framework of the folk-urban continuum whether media use and political participation are complementary. To examine and understand this proposition, the researcher formulated the following specific objectives and hypothesis.

Objectives

1.   To understand the demographic profile of the two villages and

       compare them on the dimensions of gender, age, religion, category, income, education and occupation.

2. To evaluate the level of exposure to media in each village and draw a comparison between them.

3. To examine the sources of information of the respondents in both the villages with respect to political information.

4. To assess the level of political awareness of the respondents through a political awareness test and assess whether the level of media exposure is related to political awareness.

5. To examine which source of information (interpersonal or media) is influential in formulation of opinion to vote in favour of a particular political party and understand the voting patterns of the two villages drawing comparisons.

6. To study whether the vicinity of the two villages with respect to being near to Delhi has an observable impact in terms of voting patterns.

Research Questions

The study attempts to answer the following research questions:

1. Is there a difference in the voting preference for a political party between the two villages?

2. Is there a difference in the influence of differential media on voting preferences?

3. Does higher level of media exposure lead to voting for a particular party?

Hypothesis

This study hypothesised the following:

1. Village closer to Delhi has higher media exposure and therefore will have higher political awareness.

2. Village closer to Delhi has higher education levels and hence greater level of political awareness

Methodology

For the purpose of this study, a survey research design was adopted. Universe for the purpose of this study encompassed all villages within a radius of 100 km radius. Since the research proposes to study one village close to Delhi and the other further away from Delhi, it was decided to select through the method of simple random sampling two villages: one less than 50km and the other above 50km but less than 100km from Delhi.

Kishangarh referred to as Village 1 henceforth which was within a radius of less than 50km and Baroli Chauth, referred to as Village 2, which was more than 50km but less then 100km were selected through the following process.

A census list was obtained in which about 200 villages in 100km radius were listed. All villages up to 50km radius were listed separately and those above 50km but less than 100km were listed separately. A simple random sampling technique was adopted to select the two villages.

Sampling to Select Respondents

To select respondents, systematic random sampling was adopted by choosing every nth person from the electoral roll of the villages as available on the website of the election commission. The population from which samples were taken included only the registered voters from the two villages.

Tool of Survey

A structured questionnaire was used as a tool of the survey. Questions related to their media exposure and voting preferences. A political awareness test was conducted. 50 respondents were selected from each of the two villages, with the total sample size comprising 100 respondents.

Media Use Index

A media use index was set up in terms of the frequency of media usage for newspapers, TV and radio. The frequency was classified as daily, few times a week, few times a month, less often and never. For the purpose of analysing the data, the daily users were given a score of 3 for each of the three mediums. Those who consumed such media few times a week or few times a month

were given a score of 2 and classified as those who 'often' used such media. The less often users were given a score of 1 and seen as rare users and a score of 0 was awarded for 'never'. Such scores for all three media were added up with 9 being the maximum score. Those with a score of 6 or above were seen as media information rich and those scoring 5 or below were media information poor.

Political Awareness Test

The political awareness test constituted a total of 15 questions on technicalities of the elections, current political scenario as well as on some popular legislation. The questions for this purpose were finalised from 50 questions submitted by 15 teachers on political awareness from schools in villages near Delhi. 15 common questions submitted by them were selected to be a part of the final questionnaire that tested political awareness. It was, for most part, a multiple-choice questionnaire and respondents were asked to choose a correct answer. A score of 1 was awarded for each correct answer. Those who scored between 11-15 were classified as having high political awareness, those with 6-10 score were termed as having medium political awareness and those with a score of 0-5 as having low political awareness.

Media Use and Political Awareness

The relationship between media use and political awareness and its effects on voting preferences was examined. The respondents were asked to indicate their main source of information on politics and their source of influence on voting preference.

Operational Definitions For the purpose of this study, the following terms were operationally defined:

- Electoral Behaviour: The attitude of the voters which explains how and why voting decisions are made. It is reflected in the reasons for their voting preference.

- Voting Preference: It is the party that the respondent favours and intends to vote for in elections.

- Media influence: The power of the media, like newspaper, radio and television, to produce an observable response without any apparent

exertion of force. It is reflected in if, how and to what extent the content consumed affect the decisions made by the audience

- Media Use: It is the frequency of use of mass media, like newspapers, radio and television, in terms of daily, few times a week, few times a month, less often and never. These are subsequently analysed as daily, often, rarely and never for the purpose of allotting scores.

- Political Awareness: It is the awareness of the respondents regarding the various political issues and elections in general. It also includes their knowledge regarding important legislations.

After analysing the data the following observations were drawn from this study:

It was found that Village 2 had a greater number of registered female voters than Village I. Age-wise both villages had a majority of their population between the ages of 26-40 years. The working population belonged to the age group of 41-65 years. All the respondents in Village 2 were Hindus whereas in Village 1, majority of the respondents were Hindus but there were respondents belonging to other religions as well. Village 1 had majority of its population belonging to the general category whereas Village 2 had a majority of the respondents belonging to scheduled caste, with general category coming in a close second.

It was observed that with respect to the educational qualifications, the majority of the population in both villages had attained an education level between 6th-12th standard. However, the analysis also showed that Village 1 had more number of graduates than the other village. The education level of the respondents of Village 2 ranged between 1st -5th standard. It was inferred that respondents of Village 1 had a higher education level than Village 2.

A majority of the population in Village 1 were labourers whereas the main occupation of Village 2 was found to be farming. Majority of the respondents of Village 1 had an income level above Rs 4000 a month whereas in Village 2 the income level ranged between Rs 3001-4000. The rest of the respondents had their income level ranging between Rs 2001-3000 per month. It was inferred that income-wise, Village 1 was economically better placed than Village 2.

Media Exposure:

In both the villages, TV was the most widely used medium. Newspapers followed television in terms of use and radio was the least used medium. However, the percentage of radio users was particularly low in Village 2.

It was inferred that the majority of the population in Village 1 was richer in media exposure as compared to Village 2. It was inferred that the level of media exposure was greater in Village 1 as compared to Village 2.

Sources of Information for Political News:

In both Village 1 and Village 2, majority of the respondents watched news and current affairs on TV. However, current affairs programmes were more popular among the respondents of Village 1.

In both villages, respondents tuned to radio to listen to music. However, a small percentage of respondents from Village 1 listened to news and current affairs on radio whereas this is not the case with Village 2.

Respondents of both the villages read about politics in newspapers but while Village 1 the preferred content was national politics. On the other hand, village 2 respondents preferred local or regional politics. Residents of both villages showed interest in their local village news but respondents of Village 1 were also interested in sports. It was observed that sports news was not a priority for Village 2.

Political Awareness:

Majority of the population of both the villages had a medium level of political awareness as per the index drawn to measure their level of political awareness through a test. However, a higher percentage of the respondents of Village 1 had a better level of political awareness than the respondents from Village 2.

Media Exposure and Political Awareness:

It was observed that over all, respondents from both villages had a medium level of political awareness. It was also inferred that Village 1 had a majority of its population as media rich. Also, 46 percent of the respondents

of Village 1 had a high level of political awareness. On the other hand, a majority of Village 2 was media poor with very few respondents having high political awareness. Thus, the hypothesis stating that the village near Delhi had a higher media exposure and therefore higher political awareness was found to be true.

Education and Political Awareness:

From the inference already made above, it can also be concluded that the second hypothesis which states that the village closer to Delhi has a higher education level and hence higher political awareness was also found to be true.

Influence of the media on Voting Preference and Understanding Voting Patterns:

It was observed that majority of the voters in both villages indicated that they would cast their vote in favour of the BJP. However, Village 1 felt that some respondents were loyal supporters for AAP as well whereas this is not the case in Village 2. Hence, in response to the first research question, despite the fact that the same political party enjoyed majority support in both villages, it can be concluded that there is a difference in voting preference between the two. It is also observed that most respondents from Village 1 have made decision of their voting preference based on the information imparted through the mass media. However, in Village 2, interpersonal communication played a larger role in influencing voters' decisions. Hence, a significant difference was observed in the influence of the media on voting preferences of the two villages. The second research question can therefore be answered affirmatively.

In response to the last research question, it is observed that Village 1 has greater media exposure as compared to Village 2, yet majority of both villages were in favour of voting for BJP. Hence, it could be concluded that a higher level of media exposure was not the only factor which led to voting for a particular party. Though both villages predominantly would vote based on the candidate's credentials, a larger percentage of voters from Village 1 were be considering the political parties as well.

Views on Infrastructure and Development:

A major portion of respondents from Village 1 felt that the condition of their village had remained stagnant for the last five years. However, in Village 2, respondents felt that the condition of their village had improved. In both villages, a large proportion of the respondents did not give credit to the current government for improvement in their condition. While most respondents in Village 1 feel that a new government could help improve the condition of their village, a major portion of respondents from Village 2 felt that even a new government would not work much towards improvement in their condition.

Inferences:

The following inferences and conclusions were drawn from the study:

It was inferred that there were differential voting preferences between both the villages. The village with a higher proportion of urban population preferred to vote in favour of different political parties whereas the other village preferred to vote in favour of one particular party. The village closer to Delhi had a major influence of the mass media in deciding to vote in favour of any political party whereas the village further away from Delhi was influenced by their participation through interpersonal communication. The study also indicated higher political awareness among respondents of the village closer to Delhi. There was also a higher use of differential media among the respondents of the village closer to Delhi.

The study substantiates within the theoretical framework of the folk-urban continuum that media use and political participation are complementary. This research also substantiates the two-step flow model of Lazarsfeld where it states that the social groups engage in interpersonal communication for political awareness and voting preferences in the village further away from Delhi. The interplay between media use and political awareness was significantly highlighted in the study.

In the backdrop these inferences it was concluded that there are urban-rural differentials in the patterns of voting behaviour as well as influence of the mass media.

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5

The Experience of Tranquility in Kalidasa's *Meghadutam*

Enami Chopra

Abstract

This paper aims to elucidate *santa rasa* as the predominant primary sentiment through a close textual analysis of Kalidasa's narrative poem, *Meghadutam*. In the framed narrative of the poem, the protagonist and speaker (*yaksa*) of the poem simultaneously acts as a spectator to his own dramatic monologue resulting in a split in the poem's topography which neatly divides the poem into two realms viz. the real/substantive and the imaginary. Coinciding with these two realms, two different sets of emotions are produced, that is, one for the speaker-as-spectator and the other for the reader/spectator. In the poem, the journey that the cloud as a messenger undertakes to inform the *yaksa*'s beloved of his well-being is an internalized process in the mind of the *yaksa*, so that the *rasa* as derived from the *yaksa*'s mental experience emerges as a suspect category which cannot be pinned down in either of the sentiments of *srngara* and *karuna*. It becomes difficult to predict whether a substantive reunion of the *yaksa* and the *yaksi* will take place because the poem is open-ended without a mention of the actual reunion between the lovers. The focal point of the poem is the journey that the cloud-messenger undertakes in the speaker's imagination. In this sense, the monologue of the speaker assumes a lot of importance in the poem and by expressing his

innermost desires and anxieties to the cloud, the *yaksa* is partly purged of his pain. By relating his aesthetic accounts of the twin worlds of the earthly and the paradisiacal, the *yaksa* experiences a process of mental penance and gradually grows wise with the culmination of his reverie. What emerges in the end is an acceptance of his situation with a new-found understanding that explains the arbitrariness of life. The ultimate *rasa* which then emerges in the text is neither *srngara* nor *karuna,* but *santa* or the tranquil because it is precisely a tranquility which the speaker develops after a period of eight months of suffering on Rama's Hill (a symbol of penitence and purification). By spending a troubled time on earth, devoid of all superhuman powers, the *yaksa* is punished for his transgressions and molded into a sagacious observer who philosophizes about the inexplicability and absurdity of life. On a superficial level and as a matter of narratology, the-curse-and-fall motive of the poem serves as the source (seed) of the journey of the cloud-messenger (*meghadutam*) and its consequent erotic and aesthetic experiences on the Indian landscape. The journey of the cloud-messenger assumes a celebratory tone which enjoys the cultural and topographical vagaries of the subcontinent and gradually turns mournful on entering the mythical city of *Alaka,* where a sorrowful heart weeps at separation from a beloved. At the very end of the poem, when the journey of the cloud-messenger terminates with a focus on the speaker, the tone of the speaker (*yaksa*) becomes controlled and peaceful, so that he seems to have grown wiser through the pain of separation from his beloved and developed patience to tackle life as it unfolds as its own pace. Therefore, in the end, the reader/spectator experiences the predominant sentiment of tranquility in the narrative of the poem, which is established through a new-found peacefulness in the speaker of the poem.

The Paper

Kalidasa, a renowned Classical Sanskrit writer, is widely regarded for his literary masterpiece, *Meghadutam: The Cloud Messenger*. Like William Shakespeare, Kalidasa too borrowed ideas from the realms of history and myth, and fleshed out a minute thought into a full-fledged plot. The source of the current poem, *Meghadutam,* is alleged to be a legend of a certain *yaksa* who was cursed and banished into exile by his master, *Kuber* (God of wealth in Indian mythology), because the *yaksa* was smitten by his beloved to the

extent that he failed to perform his duty of guarding *Kuber*'s beautiful groves and gardens (one of his nine treasures). This failure of the fulfillment of duty and the consequent curse as inflicted by the master upon the *yaksa* serves as the *bija* (seed) of the journey of a cloud in the *yaksa*'s imagination. However, Kalidasa's narrative poem, *Meghadutam*, departs from where the legend ends and embarks upon an aesthetic journey as created by the speaker's imagination. This imaginative journey of the cloud initiates when the *yaksa*, crestfallen and pining for his beloved, 'observes' a "cloud embracing the crest of the hill" (Chandra Rajan, *Meghadutam*, 137) from Rama's Hill, in the last month of summer, *Asadha* (which heralds rainfall and the union of lovers). In the original text the word used to describe this act of observation on the part of the *yaksa*, is *praksaniyam*, which suggests double meanings. The first meaning of the word pertains to the act of viewing something spectacular with eagerness and attention. The second meaning of the word suggests the viewing of a spectacle or a play. It is the second meaning of the word, *praksaniyam*, which is emphasized in the paper, corroborated by the argument that the journey of the cloud as internalized by the speaker (*yaksa*) becomes the spectacle which is viewed by the speaker himself. In this sense, the reader/spectator is presented with two scenarios in the poem – the first is the substantive scene in the text viz. that of the *yaksa* talking to the cloud and urging it to embark upon a journey from Rama Hill's (in the Vindhaya range) to the *Alaka Nagari* (in *Kailasa*, Himalaya); and the second is the imaginary expedition of the cloud as desired and fantasized by the *yaksa*. It is precisely this journey which forms the subject matter and major portion of the poem. However, in the poem, a schism between the two worlds of the real and the imaginary prompts one to take recourse in the rules expounded in Bharata's *Natyashastra*.

Meghadutam has certain features similar to ones in Kalidasa's celebrated play, *Abhijnanasakuntalam*. In *Meghadutam*, between the terrestrial realm of the Vindhya Range and the celestial realm of the Himalayan Range, lies the elemental world of the cloud which makes a detour to the luxuriant cities of Madhya Pradesh before making an entry into the intended destination. This tripartite structure of the worldly domains in *Meghadutam* is quite similar to the natural (hermitage of *Kanava*), gilded (*Dussanta*'s capital) and heavenly (Mount *Kailasa*) areas as presented in *Abhijnanasakuntalam*. Again, in both the genres one observes that, as Chandra Rajan puts it, the "curse-fall-

restoration motif" (Chandra Rajan, Introduction to *Kalidasa: The Loom of Time,* 50) plays a major role in the development of the plot. The failure in the performance of one's duty (the *yaksa* in guarding *Kuber*'s gardens and *Sakuntala* in serving *Durvasa*) gives rise to an angry indictment in the form of a curse upon the delinquents. In order to rise above such an accursed state, the punished go through a process of severe pain and penance before they can be rewarded in the heavenly world of *Kailasa.* Though these are some of the striking similarities between the poem and the play, there are two major differences too that mark both the texts. In *Abhijnanasakuntalam,* a reunion does take place at the end of the play and, therefore, it emerges as a classic case of a play that exudes *srngara rasa.* However, in *Meghadutam* no substantive reunion takes place between the *yaksa* and his beloved, which is why it becomes difficult to define the predominant rasa of the poem in terms of *srngara* or *karuna.* What gets established at the end of the poem is a form of acceptance of fate on the part of the speaker (*yaksa*), who by philosophizing about the arbitrariness of life leads to a tasting of the *santa rasa* by the reader/ spectator. Herein lays the greatest difference in the two texts and the uniqueness of the poem.

The speaker-as-spectator hopes to taste *srngara rasa* by uniting with his beloved (*kanta*) and this he does through the faculty of his imagination, because a physical reunion between the lovers is made impossible by the power of the curse. Such an imagination is concretized in the form of a cloud which is deemed worthy and capable of uniting the lover with the beloved in the form of not only delivering one's message to the other but also by tasting the pleasures that the cities, mountains and rivers hold up to it during the course of its expedition. In this sense, the *yaksa* derives a vicarious pleasure from the journey that the cloud undertakes in his imagination and attempts to suck the erotic sentiment from the entire venture. What is unfortunate is that fate even in the *yaksa*'s imagination "will not suffer our [their] reunion" (Chandra Rajan, *Meghadutam,* 162). In this sense, the entire notion of the erotic sentiment is rendered unavailable in the poem and the reader/spectator along with the speaker (*yaksa*) of the poem does not taste the pleasures of the *srngara rasa.* A part of *srngara* is definitely present in the poem, which being *vipralambha srngara* or the erotic sentiment in separation. But there is always the danger of *vipralambha srngara* transmuting into *karuna rasa* in case of a failure of a

reunion between the lovers. Such a catastrophe is possible owing to the fact that the cloud does not undertake a substantive journey in the poem. Even if the cloud-messenger was to undertake such a journey, there is always the danger of "delay while you [it] loiter[s]" (Chandra Rajan, *Meghadutam*, 142) or the melting of the cloud messenger in the presence of *Mahakala* or of its attaining an eternal station as an attendant to the lord. There is likelihood that the cloud may delay the process of conveying the message to the beloved and the beloved may die of sorrow. In this sense, the hope of reunion between the lovers may turn out to be impossible, so that the erotic sentiment in separation may translate into the pathetic sentiment. Whatever may be the nature of the ultimate emotion that the lovers are fated to experience, it is *srngara ras*a or the erotic sentiment which the speaker aims to derive from his imagination. To prove this point, some of the places which the cloud visits in the course of its journey are delineated below.

The cloud's journey begins from Rama's Hill which is now identified as Ramtek in Nagpur, Maharashtra. From this hill, where the *yaksa* is confined to a year's banishment, the cloud wanders to the city of *Alaka* via Maikhal Hills (a part of the Vindhaya Range in M.P.) to *Citrakuta* and *Amrakuta,* where the cloud floats above the river *Reva* (Narmada), to *Dasarnas* (in modern Bhopal) and *Vidisa* to the river *Vetravati* (Betwa) to *Ujjayini* to *Nirvindhaya, Sindhu, Avanti, Sipra, Candesvar, Gandhavati, Mahakala* (Ujjain), *Gambhira* (a river in Malwa), *Devagiri, Carmanvati* (Chambal), *Dasapura* (modern-day Mandasor), *Brahmavarta* (West of Jamuna and modern Delhi), *Ganga* near Kanakhala Hills to, finally, the Himalayas via Krauncha Pass to mount *Kailasa* wherein is situated the *Alaka Nagari* near the *Manasarovar* lake. We see how the cloud travels all the way from Maharashatra to Tibet. The direction that this journey takes is from central and western India to the northern part of the subcontinent. Hence, the journey is divided into two parts as corresponding with the central-western and northern terrains. This division is not presented in the English translation used for this paper. The two sections as originally devised in the poem are called *Purvamegha* and *Uttaramegha,* where the first means the former cloud and, the second, the subsequent cloud. It is in the first part of the journey where *sambhoga srngara* or the erotic sentiment in union foregrounds. The second part of the journey begins with a description of the city of *Alaka,* where resides the beloved who is pining in

sorrow at the separation from her lover. Therefore, the second section of the poem swells with *vipralambha srngara*. In spite of a presence of both the integrated states of the erotic sentiment in the imaginary journey of the cloud, the aesthetic experience of the erotic sentiment is rendered incomplete in the poem because even in his imaginative rendition, the *yaksa* does not make a mention of uniting with his beloved. Instead he requests the cloud to inform his lover of his well-being and console her that he will be back in no time, so that she takes heart and lives to see the *yaksa's* homecoming.

In both the sections of the journey, nature assumes a status of a living entity and becomes instrumental in dramatizing the voyage of the cloud. The mountains as *nayaks* (heroes) and the cities and the rivers as *nayikas* (heroines) engage with the main actor, *meghaduta,* in culling out *sambhoga srngara* in the first half of the text and *vipralambha srngara* in the second half of the text. But the second half of the poem, as had been pointed out before, has all the probability of changing the entire mood of the poem from Eros to Pathos in case of a failure of the reunion of the lovers. Till the time the cloud lingers over Madhya Pradesh, it dallies with mountain peaks that are "breathing out burning sighs born of long separation" (Chandra Rajan, *Meghadutam,* 140), rivers that display "women's first statements of love" (Chandra Rajan, *Meghadutam,* 144) and welcome the cloud with "dazzling upward leaps of glittering white fishes bright as water-lillies" (Chandra Rajan, *Meghadutam,* 147), and cities that "put on a new beauty at your [its] approach" (Chandra Rajan, *Meghadutam,* 142). The lover-beloved concept works at various levels in the text, which being *yaksa* and *yaksi,* clouds and mountains, clouds and rivers, clouds and cities, clouds and women, men and women, and, finally, clouds and lightning. The cloud is conjoined with all of these natural images, so that the theme of the erotic sentiment is underlined in the poem. The cloud-messenger is allowed to flirt with all and sundry, so that the long-awaited desire of the speaker to unite with his beloved is partially fulfilled through a vicarious pleasure that he derives from the spectacle of his imagination. Let us focus on the *Purvamegha* section of the text where the first part of the erotic sentiment, namely, *sambhoga srngara* gains prominence.

In the first segment of the journey, all the *vibhavas* or determinants of *sambhoga srngara* are enumerated. The first and foremost indication for the

development of the determinant for the *sthayibhava* (permanent state of being), *rati* (love), is the rainy season, which gets accentuated in the poem. The rainy season serves as an archetypal cause for all that is bright, beautiful, joyous and lovable. It is a pleasurable season owing to the fact that rain results in a bursting of "early buds along the edge of every pool" (Chandra Rajan, *Meghadutam*, 142); the harvest depends on it which makes the rustic women's eyes "moist with happiness" (Chandra Rajan, *Meghadutam*, 140); peacocks, hens and *catakas* swell with pride at its approach and call for mating; men and women grow restless and amorous for each other, so that men travelling far and wide hurry homes to their wives; women adorn themselves with flowers and gems, and rub their bodies with unguents; Siddhas obtain a "flurry of unexpected embraces from their beloved wives" (Chandra Rajan, *Meghadutam*, 142); women grow tired "after passion's ecstatic play" (Chandra Rajan, *Meghadutam*, 145); young women venture for a midnight tryst and young lovers enjoy a "fleeting together-ness" (Chandra Rajan, *Meghadutam*, 143); earth's thirst gets quenched; the temple-dancers obtain "pleasure as from a lover's nail-marks" (Chandra Rajan, *Meghadutam*, 146); and all grows resplendent like "Visnu's [body] in his cowheard guise, lit up by iridescent peacock-plumes" (Chandra Rajan, *Meghadutam*, 140). All of the above-mentioned states serve as typical causes for love to develop and blossom. As a consequence of love, its effect or *anubhava* shows in the form of "trembling at the sound of your thunder", "eyes moist with joy" (Chandra Rajan, *Meghadutam*, 142), "knitted brows of tremulous wavelets", "thrilling with delight at your touch" (Chandra Rajan, *Meghadutam*, 143), "tremulous eyes of the city's beautiful women that dart in alarm", "charming unsteady gait" (Chandra Rajan, *Meghadutam*, 144), "piercing cries of love-maddened saras-cranes" (Chandra Rajan, *Meghadutam*, 145), "sidelong glances streaming like a line of honey-bees" (Chandra Rajan, *Meghadutam*, 146), the garment of the river, Gambhira (which also means a kind of *nayika*), "slipping off the sloping bank of her hips, still cling to the reed-branches as if lightly held up by one hand" (Chandra Rajan, *Meghadutam*, 147), etc. Similarly, the *vyabicaribhavas* (the transitory mental states of being) are also present in the form of suspicion at "Philandering husbands" (Chandra Rajan, *Meghadutam*, 146) and consequent jealousy, anxiety at the arrival of husbands, pride, recollection, contentment, shame at being caught with one's lover, unsteadiness, joy, excitement and impatience. In the light of the above-mentioned *vibhavas*,

anubhavas and *vyabhicaribhavas,* one can claim that till the time the cloud floats above the cities of central India, it derives immense erotic pleasure which is not only voyeuristic but also experiential in nature. Thus, the cloud as an alter ego of the speaker seeks to enjoy the implications of love, and in the process of doing so, simultaneously, absolves the *yaksa* of his sins by observing all of its appointed duties and rituals.

Duty plays a crucial role in Kalidasa's texts because it serves as one of the components of *dharma.* By neglecting one's *dharma, Sakuntala* and *yaksa* are cursed with repudiation and banishment respectively. *Sakuntala* is relieved of her repudiation only when *Dussanta* performs his duty of a righteous king by fighting with the forces of *Kalanemi* and, in the process, incidentally unites with his beloved, *Sakuntala,* and their son, *Bharata.* The cloud-messenger, on the other hand, can only hope to release the *yaksa* of his sins because only by performing its duty of a rain cloud, that brings relief to the distressed, and by-the-by paying homage at the shrines of *Siva* and his emanation, *Skanda,* can it release the *yaksa* from the anxiety of separation (if not the banishment because there are four months still to go before the *yaksa's* curse dissolves). In this sense, a deviation from duty on the part of the protagonists gives rise to anger (the furious sentiment) on the part of sage *Duravasa* (who curses *Sakuntala*) and *Kuber* (who banishes the *yaksa*), and an adherence to the same leads to a substantive or imagined reunion of the lovers and a fuller realization of *srngara rasa.* Conversely, if such duties are not fulfilled, there is always a danger of a failure of a reunion between the lovers which then prompts the predominant emotion of the text towards the pathetic sentiment. Such a peril is hinted at in the second half of the poem, namely, *Uttaramegha,* where the tone of the speaker, as opposed to the celebratory tone used in the first segment of the text, becomes mournful.

The second section of the poem begins with a description of the city of *Alaka* and gradually settles into a depiction of the *yaksa's* home, where his wife lives "mourning like a cakravaki her companion far away" (Chandra Rajan, *Meghadutam,* 156). The *cakravaki* is a classic symbol of a painful separation of lovers. Legend has it that a pair of birds were cursed to spend nights at opposite ends of a pool and wail out to each other throughout the night. An analogy of the beloved with the *cakravaki* immediately draws attention to her passion for the *yaksa,* so that on contemplating upon her

distress, the tone of the speaker grows feverish and pathetic. It is precisely in this section of the poem, namely, the *yaksa*'s home, that the erotic sentiment in separation assumes full force and leads to a climax in the narrative. It is precisely at this moment when a detailed account of the lover's disheveled state is recounted by a delirious *yaksa*. The *visaya alambana* for *vipralambha srngara* is the obvious separation of the lovers, where as the *uddipan vibhava* is the rainy season and the fantastical setting in the city of *Alaka,* one from which the *asraya alambana,* namely, the speaker, is so far away. The *anubhava* of the same manifests in the form of mourning "With the passing of these long days, racked by intense longing" (Chandra Rajan, *Meghadutam,* 156), weeping passionately till "her eyes would be swollen and her lips withered by burning sighs", forgetting so that the beloved "forgets again and again the sequence of notes even though she composed it herself", remembering by "savouring imagined pleasures of love treasured in her heart" (Chandra Rajan, *Meghadutam,* 157), "longing for sleep, hoping in dreams" (Chandra Rajan, *Meghadutam,* 158) that at last she would be with her lover. But, here again, "a sudden torrent of tears might wash away these hopes" (Chandra Rajan, *Meghadutam,* 158). Hope of reunion is continuously washed away in the poem, which makes one wonder whether the beloved "seeming like the last sliver of the waning moon in the eastern horizon" (Chandra Rajan, *Meghadutam,* 158) may disappear into darkness forever; meaning to say that the beloved may die before an actual reunion takes place.

One can argue that death can also be considered as a part of *srngara rasa* because there is a possibility of the lovers reuniting in death just as *Aja* unites with his beloved, *Indumati,* in Kalidasa's epic, *Raghuvamsham.* One can also claim that an analogy of the beloved with the waning moon can render the entire question of death unsuitable because the moon after waning, waxes, and so there is hope of reunion of the *yaksa* and the *yaksi.* But there is a flip-side to this argument. The hill on which the *yaksa* is banished is fabled to be the place where *Rama* lived in exile with his brother, *Laxman,* and his wife, *Sita.* Besides, the beloved is likened to *Sita* and the cloud messenger to "the Son of the Wind", *Hanuman* (Chandra Rajan, *Meghadutam,* 161). These analogies hint at an impossibility of the lovers' reunion because *Rama* and *Sita* are symptomatic of a chaste couple which exhibits extreme forbearance through a series of trials and tribulations but, unfortunately, despite a reunion,

they are eventually forced to separate from each other. In this sense, though, the "news of husbands brought by a friend are to women the closest thing to a reunion" may prove to be transient (Chandra Rajan, *Meghadutam,* 161).

Furthermore, the only empirical reunion with the beloved that the speaker seeks to achieve is in the forms of "syama-vines", "gazelles's startled eyes", "face in the moon", "tresses in the peacock's luxuriant train" and "the stream's small waves". However, such a union is again apparently incomplete because the speaker gives an anguished cry saying, "O cruel one! I see not your whole likeness anywhere in any one thing" (Chandra Rajan, *Meghadutam,* 162). The fractured image of the beloved as presented in the above-mentioned lines becomes analogues with the individual consciousnesses as present in the individual spectators. A union of the lovers can be metaphorically read as a realization of the ultimate consciousness that expands from the individual consciousnesses. This idea links with the concept of "Brahmasvadanasahodarah" which was formulated by Abhinavagupta. The concept of "Brahmasvadanasahodarah" can be translated as, in Princy Sunil's words, "Rasa is akin to the realization of Brahma". Thus, at a deeper level, the desire of the speaker (*yaksa*) to become one with his beloved (*yaksi*) can be interpreted as a desire akin to the realization of a higher consciousness in the form of the eternal principle. This eternal principle can be tasted by either a physical tasting of the orgasmic pleasure that stems from the sexual act or by a tasting of the *srngara rasa* in all its fullness and complexity. Sadly, none of these tastings is materialized in the poem, so that in the end, all one is left with is a hope of reunion and not an actual meeting between the lovers. Therefore, the open ending of the poem balances on two opposing possibilities of Eros and Pathos, and any of these possibilities is probable owing to the uncertainty of the rain cloud, which may at any point in time dissolve in its elements of "mists and light, winds and water" (Chandra Rajan, *Meghadutam,* 138). Hence, the *rasa* that emerges in the imaginative world of the poem is incomplete and a suspect category, and most probably, it is not as important as the *rasa* which the reader/ spectator tastes in the substantive world of the poem.

As has been pointed out before, the poem is schematized into the twin worlds of the real/substantive and the imaginary. The real/substantive constitutes the beginning and the ending of the poem, that is to say, it focuses on the present condition of the *yaksa* as one who is "luster dimmed" (Chandra

Rajan, *Meghadutam,* 137) and "love-sick" (Chandra Rajan, *Meghadutam,* 138), where as the imaginary manifests in the form of the *yaksa*'s imaginary journey of the rain cloud between the earthly and the paradisiacal realms. The imaginative world is what constitutes the major portion of the poem and has been discussed at length in the preceding paragraphs. It is the real/substantive world of the poem which will now be briefly touched upon to explore how the *kami-kamarta* or 'passionate' and 'sick with passion' speaker grows wise and peaceful through his mental outpourings. The entire venture of the monologue turns into a talking cure whereby the self of the speaker, in Chandra Rajan's words, "attains to some measure of understanding that is more than resignation or sheer acceptance of the inevitable" (Chandra Rajan, Introduction to *Kalidasa: The Loom of Time,*72). In the end the speaker devotes an entire stanza to a philosophical musing:

> But no more of me; reflecting deeply
>
> I bear up, drawing on my own inner strength;
>
> you too, lady most blessed,
>
> should resist falling into utter dejection.
>
> Whom does happiness always attend
>
> Or misery always befall?
>
> Man's state on earth like the rim of a wheel
>
> goes down and comes up again (Chandra Rajan, *Meghadutam,* 163).

This stanza draws attention immediately to the hope of a reunion as hinted through the image of fortune likened to "the rim of a wheel," which will, eventually, turnabout and pull the fortune of the lovers back to zenith. However, what has been killed by the time the *yaksa* speaks these lines is the anxiety that the state of separation entails. The speaker assumes a stoical stance and abnegates all that is restless, anxious and nervous. In other words, the *sthayibhava* of the speaker transmutates from *rati* to *nirveda,* so that the ultimate *rasa* derived from the poem as a whole is neither *srngara* nor *karuna,* but *santa rasa.* The whole focus of the poem spins around this new-found tranquility in the speaker-as-spectator, so that not only does he draw strength and courage from his inner being, but also resists his lover from "falling into utter dejection".

Chandra Rajan in the introduction to the text, *Kalidasa: The Loom of Time, a Selection of his Plays and Poems,* explains this ending very efficiently. She states the following:

> ..a curse is also a metaphor for the arbitrariness of life; it points to that inexplicable, even absurd element that is of the very essence of life and which is not only beyond explanations and justifications, but beyond all comprehension…It concretizes that troubling question which faces every human being at one time or another: Why did this happen? Why does it have to be so? The curse also shapes the answer to that question in the form of that uncertain certitude with which man has to shore up his crumbling faith in order to survive, call it Fate or *Karma* or 'the absurd', or simple acceptance—-'This is how things are; this is life.' Sakuntala herself blames her own actions in a former life for her unhappiness in the present: the Yaksa's response is acceptance, with the faith that things have to change for the better (Chandra Rajan, Introduction to *Kalidasa: The Loom of Time,* 50-51).

Thus, the *yaksa*'s acceptance of his fate reflects a tranquility which necessarily stems from the pain and the suffering he undergoes on Rama's Hill. *Ramagiri* is a powerful symbol of suffering and penance (*tapasya*), which is established right at the beginning of the poem and becomes necessary in the realization of, in Rajan's words, "learning and growing up; sometimes it is the only way to gain that maturity which is at the bottom the ability to see life steadily and as a whole" (Chandra Rajan, Introduction to *Kalidasa: The Loom of Time,* 72).

Hence, in the framed-narrative mode of Kalidasa's poem, *Meghadutam,* by studying the protagonist, *yaksa,* as the seer or spectator of his imaginative world, the reader/spectator tastes the *santa* or the tranquil *rasa* as the predominant primary sentiment of the poem. Of course, in order to sufficiently enjoy this *rasa,* the mental plane of the reader has to be devoid of all obstacles and correspond with the *sthayibhava, nirved*a, of the *santa rasa.* Thus, the overall sentiment that Kalidasa's *Meghadutam* emanates is undeniably that of the tranquil, because in the framework of the imaginary neither a realization

of the erotic sentiment (*srngara rasa*) nor that of the pathetic sentiment (*karuna rasa*) is made apparent. Therefore, the overarching sentiment established in the poem is, undoubtedly, the *santa ras*a or the sentiment of tranquility.

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6

Legitimate Policy Objectives of Multilateral Trade and Indian Environment Measures

Bhavana Rao

Abstract : There is a direct link between Trade and Environment. The agreements of the World Trade Organisation(hereinafter referred to as WTO) and other intranational bodies like United Nations Commission on Trade and Development (hereinafter referred to as UNCTAD) mention about concerns related to environment. However, Environment and Economy have always been in opposition to each other. Trade requires environment to take a back seat and environment can be used as a justification for prohibiting trade. International trade has as one of its objectives the development of the people. Now does it mean sustainable development? Or the development which is envisaged in WTO mechanism only development without environmental concerns? From Stockholm to Rio, the discussions on environment developed not only the content of these declarations, but also there has been a great shaping of world trade policy and an eventual trickling down of trade policies concerning the environment at the domestic level. This article explores how and where there is a clash and the necessity to rebuild current law to bring out a balance.

Keywords: Trade, EIA, WTO, Environment, Sustainable Development, Hazardous Wastes, Globalisation, Liberalisation.

Introduction

Before the advent of factories which came into being in England and Europe, there was a large scale industrial production for international market and this did not take factories as base. This phase is referred to as proto-industrialisation. There was free trade but the concerns of environment were obviously not present in those times. Then came the industrialisation period and the only restriction in trade to least developed countries and the developing countries was that there was an upper hand of the industrialised countries. Industrialisation then led to globalisation and the current scheme of agreements of world trade.

There is a direct link between Trade and Environment. The agreements of the World Trade Organisation mention about concerns related to environment. Sustainable development also is recognized in the Agreement of Marrakesh.[1] Several recommendations have been made on the need of the committee on trade and environment to deal with the link between trade measures and concerns of the environment. This is to endorse sustainable development. Environmental dangers do not have a reverence for borders of nations. Countries have understood that to remove this hazard they should notify and take advice from the other countries on various big projects which are for consideration which may have negative environmental impact across the border. The Environmental Impact Assessment of India relates not just to its own policies but depends largely on the treatment meted to it by other countries under the Agreements which are a part of the World Trade Organisation.

Before the great depression, the policy of the United States and most other countries was protectionist in relation to trade. That is to say that the domestic suppliers and tradesmen were supported and imports were restricted only to those commodities which could not be produced locally. After the great depression[2] the protectionist policy of the United States was meant to change to a liberal one and the United States was among the first to initiate trade talks. Environmental concerns were never in focus. All countries wanted trade to be liberalised for mutual benefit. The theories of Adam Smith and David Ricardo further boosted the idea of free trade. At this stage the debates on environment were missing. What was needed was a push to the trade and

commerce.

The Post liberalisation period saw a great development in the jurisprudence of the impact of trade on environment but the dispute settlement understanding of the World Trade Organisation and discussions in general did not go beyond findings and reporting. The domestic judgments did not have any persuasive value on the reports of the panels set up for dispute settlement under WTO and not also in the consultations between members when objections were raised as to the obligations of the parties and the related impairment of the right under WTO in relation to free trade. This was in relation to the first block of countries, namely the developed countries of yesteryears and also today. Poverty could be alleviated in the second block of countries only through economic growth.

Environmental Policies as Barriers to Trade

Environmental policies or measures in relation to protection of environment at the national level are definite barriers to trade. But these barriers have not been given their due in terms of restricting imports as the panel reports of these mechanisms only limited itself to the finding of whether there was any nullification or impairment of the rights of the contracting parties under the scheme of GATT agreement or the related agreements of the WTO.

All the agreements related to trade under WTO provide for exceptions to free trade in a country, if the measures a member country takes, are of such a nature as which fall under the WTO scheme of exceptions. These include those measures which relate to public health, morality and environment among others. One Article which stipulates this is Article XX of the General Agreement on Tariffs in Trade[3], GATT in short.

On the other hand, the most significant problems that the country faces today are concerned with relationship of dilapidation of environment, having lack of suitable living conditions and its consequences as well as growth of the nation from an economic perspective. These issues are related to ecological wealth including air, water and land. The National Environmental Policy 2006 says

The proximate drivers of environmental degradation are population

growth, inappropriate technology and consumption choices, and poverty, leading to changes in relations between people and ecosystems, and development activities such as intensive agriculture, polluting industry, and unplanned urbanisation.

Foreign Direct Investment

For development, in contrast to some of the peer countries, India does not have a financial institution tasked with the singular responsibility of overseeing national development financing needs.[4] Instead, the Reserve Bank of India, its central bank, plays a direct role in supporting developmental activities.

Now trade agreements also talk of Foreign Direct Investment. Right now a lot of debate on this and the environmental concerns revolves around the concept that companies would shift their business location to places having less regulations and purposefully a lot of countries undervalue their environmental concerns to draw investments from offshore.[5]

Apart from being a critical driver of economic growth, foreign direct investment is a major source of non-debt financial resource for the economic development of India.[6] Foreign companies invest in India to take advantage of relatively lower wages, special investment privileges such as tax exemptions, etc. For a country where foreign investments are being made, it also means achieving technical know-how and generating employment.

The Tuna Dolphin Case

The differences between trade agreements and environment legislation reached disrepute after the 1991 Tuna-Dolphin case, determined in the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade.[7] While declaring that a American environmental provision was not at par with U.S. commitments under the agreement on trade, the Tuna/ Dolphin finding told that trade protagonists could disagree with the rationale of local and multiparty environmental legislations, also these differences can be paid attention to by trade tribunals prejudiced and on the side of the commitments under trade agreements.[8]

Since the early 1990s, environmentalists have proposed several reforms

to resolve this conflict. Yet although governments have discussed the proposed reforms, they have not adopted them in any political agreements.

However, the green protagonists wished for reforming the trade system in the beginning of the nineties to save environmental legislations at the domestic level clashing with the general obligations under trade agreements while taking care not to detroy the principles of which are basic to trade law and the freedom of trade. Governments were requested to take on some reorganization in political agreements but in vain.

National governments surrendered these disputed to the trade tribunals that helped to create them. Also these pacts made stronger the authority of these tribunals by declaring that their pronouncement would constantly remain but for if the parties to the agreements decided otherwise. Opponents forecasted that the consequence had to be a large number of findings saying that environmental laws are not in tune with these trade agreements. But a very powerful of these tribunals, the Appellate Body of the World Trade Organisation, has done what governments failed to do.

> It reached a comprehensive resolution of trade/environment legal conficts that incorporates most of the proposed reforms.

This tribunal has upturned a lot of components of the Dolphin understanding of the agreement on trade and had kept away from interpreting trade agreements in methods that would lead to disputes with environmental laws, and also hailed suggestions into its considerations by environmental experts.

This researcher seeks to find if trade agreements have in any way kept environmental concerns in India on a back foot. Does the environmental policy of India have enough guard to assess the environmental degradation due to foreign investments, imports and exports? Whether the policy objectives of trade clash with or are in tune with the environmental policies of India. Also the environmental policies have generally been given a back seat when it was the question of implementing WTO agreements. For example, in the Shrimp Turtle Case[9], in the name of free trade, negated the ability of the United States to protect the turtles, simultaneously undermining the international environment and national sovereignty. There were protests by anti globalisation

campaigners during the Ministerial Conference at Seattle. It is widely understood that the direct affects of globalisation on the Gross Domestic Product are remarkable but the concern is of the non economic benefits.[10]

> Of these, some, such as labour rights, might be considered to be a subject properly of national sovereignty, with each nation bearing the responsibility of deciding to what extent it wishes to protect its own labour force, based on its own values, capabilities, and politics.

In relation to the environment and the influence on it there have been observations that countries intrude into the policies of each other and the case of sticking their noses into each other's business is stronger. The reason is that they all divide up their territories on the same global platform.

The Agreements of WTO

The law of WTO emanates from its agreements which are rules for its members brought forth after a series of negotiations between them. The present set of negotiations included a review of the old GATT agreement on trade law. The General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade is presently the norm setting book for trade in goods. This round also created a scheme for trading in services, intellectual property, dispute settlement and a review mechanism for trade policy.

The WTO's rules are the result of negotiations between the members. The current set were the outcome of the 1986–94 Uruguay Round negotiations which included a major revision of the original General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. GATT is now the WTO's principal rule-book for trade in goods. The Uruguay Round also created new rules for dealing with trade in services, relevant aspects of intellectual property, dispute settlement, and trade policy reviews.[11] The complete set runs to some 30,000 pages consisting of about 30 agreements and separate commitments (called schedules) made by individual members in specific areas such as lower customs duty rates and services market-opening. Through these agreements, WTO members operate a non-discriminatory trading system that spells out their rights and their obligations. Each country receives guarantees that its exports will be treated fairly and consistently in other countries' markets. Each promises to do the same for

imports into its own market. The system also gives developing countries some flexibility in implementing their commitments.

Globalization and Environment

The first question is if globalisation has had its impact on the environment and how far the environmental concerns have should weigh over the policy of world trade liberalisation. Economic growth definitely is important. Trade surely contributes to investments and technological growth and eventually national richness. It also removes poverty and alleviates the condition of the masses. The nation then becomes capable of taking care of the environmental concerns too. Many argue therefore that poverty has impact on the environment and therefore to remove this defect in a nation the liberalisation of trade is most important. Initially the trade may be bad for water and air pollution as many would argue, but studies have shown that cross border trade may not have environmental effects and increase in pollution levels. Trade has some of its effects through the channel of accelerating economic growth, because trade contributes to growth analogously to investment, technological progress, and so on. Although growth is bad for air and water pollution at the initial stages of industrialization, later on it reduces pollution as countries become rich enough to pay to clean up their environments.[12] Some researchers have recommended border measures to control affects on environment which do not affect world trade.

Researchers have spoken about extreme form of environmental activist ideologies which mention that the clock should be turned back to the stage before industrialisation to reverse the affects of environmental degradation and man made pollution. They argue that hunter gatherer stage if still existed in a significant population it would save the environment.[13]

Committee on Trade and Environment

The committee on trade and environment was created in the 90's to understand the relationship between trade and environment and also to push for sustainable development. It was open to the whole of the membership of WTO and also had some members were given the observer status. The committee's mandate is broad, and it has contributed to identifying and

understanding the relationship between trade and the environment in order to promote sustainable development.[14]

Conflict between MFN and Domestic Environmental Laws

In spite of the fact that the General Agreement controls international trade, two non-discrimination requirements are at its centre. One, known as the *most favoured nation* and the other *national treatment* standards. Article I of GATT requires every member nation not to discriminate between like products from different trading members. That is to treat products from all other countries the equal to the way it treats goods from her most favoured trading partners. Article III requires each member to accept and treat goods from other countries no less favourably than it treats its domestic products.

Trade and the Environmental Jurisprudence

Domestically and in relation to domestic traders and businesses the Environmental Impact Assessment rules have been instrumental in judging the tradeoff between trade and environment. The rules of the Ministry of Environment categorize and assess the environment worthiness of the projects and disputes have been settled by the courts in several cases including *Abhilash Textiles* v. *Rajkot Municipal Corporation*[15]. In this case the main question was

> Is there any right to carry on business or trade in unregulated manner and cause nuisance to the public and also become a health hazard to the society at large? If no, can the petitioners claim any right to be heard before they are asked to discontinue or prevent the nuisance?

The court observed this question and held that the fundamental right of trade is subject to reasonable restrictions under Article 19 itself. If a business activity becomes a health hazard to the entire society, there is no right on carry on such business. Though the courts reasoning was good but it was an anthropogenic approach to dealing with trade. Environmental laws were in that era repeatedly scrutinised by the Indian Judiciary not from the perspective of the environment itself but human beings as part of that environment. The court said

> One cannot carry on the business in the manner by which the business activity becomes a health hazard to the entire society. The fundamental right to carry on trade or business is subject to reasonable restrictions and regulations that may be placed in the interest of the general public.

Till the beginning of the first decade of 21st century, the imports of hazardous substances from India were not banned if they were meant for recycling and a big quantity moved into India through this loophole. The international trade on hazardous waste was governed by the Basel Convention to which India was a party.[16] Imports of such kind were virtually exempt from controls. [17]

Imports and Environmental Goals

The Foreign Trade Act[18] regulates the imports into India. It says in Section 11 (1) that[19] "No export or import shall be made by any person except in accordance with the provisions of this Act, the rules and orders made there under and the export and import policy for the time being in force." Under 11 (2) it says "Where any person makes or abets or attempts to make any export or import in contravention of any provision of this Act or any rules or orders made thereunder or the export and import policy, he shall be liable to a penalty not exceeding one thousand rupees or five times the value of the goods in respect of which any contravention is made or attempted to be made, whichever is more.[20]

According to the provisions of this Act, the Government of India can make and announce Export and Import policy. It can also amend it from time to time. A policy like this is chiefly meant for India, as the exports and imports of goods has a crucial role to play in balancing budgetary goals, as well as in the economic development of the country. Foreign Trade Policy of India which is currently for the years from 2015 to 2020 is based on these provisions.

India-US Solar Cells Dispute

In the India US Solar Cells dispute[21] the complainant United States maintained some concerns in relation to the domestic content requirements

of India the respondent, for the National Solar Mission. This requirement forced on solar power developers who are selling electricity to the Indian government, deal with solar cells and modules which are put to use during the generation on solar power.

The WTO Panel established that these DCR measures are trade-related investment measures related to words enclosed in paragraph 1(a) of the Illustrative List in the Annex to the TRIMs Agreement. The Panel found that this suffices to establish that they are inconsistent with both Article III:4 of the GATT 1994 and Article 2.1 of the TRIMs Agreement. In relation to the government procurement derogation mentioned in Article III 8(a) of the GATT 1994, the Panel had made a finding that the Domestic content requirement measures are not any different from the one established by the Appellate Body in Canada - Renewable Energy / Feed-In Tariff Program. Here is a reproduction of the text of the dispute.[22]

> Following the Appellate Body's interpretation of Article III:8(a) of the GATT 1994 in that case, the Panel found that the discrimination relating to solar cells and modules under the DCR measures is not covered by the government procurement derogation in Article III:8(a) of the GATT 1994. In particular, the Panel found that the electricity purchased by the government is not in a "competitive relationship" with the solar cells and modules subject to discrimination under the DCR measures.

India disagreed and said that the DCR measures are warranted due to general exception in Article XX(j), on the basis of a requirement of domestic manufacturing capacity building in solar cells and modules, and/or the risk of a disruption in imports, makes these "products in general or local short supply" within the meaning of that provision.[23]

Environmental Impact Assessment and India

Impact assessment is the process of identifying the future consequences of a current or proposed action. It is used to ensure that projects, programmes and policies are economically viable, socially equitable and environmentally sustainable.[24] Indian measures in relation to imports for Environmental Protection can be assessed by the following:

    a.   Imports into India and EIA

    b.   Indian Exports and EIA of other GATT contracting parties

While imports in India are dealt with for a licensed importer, the erasable restrictions on the number and tariff barriers are definitely hampering the environment and the EIA does not cater to it. EIA is largely dealing with mining, tourism and energy sectors and the hazardous products which have an impact on the environment are dealt with by the HW Act, the water and air acts deal with water and air pollution. Projects are scrutinised under the other Acts when violations take place, whereas EIA is a pre screening process. All sectors should therefore come under the EIA when dealing with international trade.

Conclusion

For India, environmental intra generational equity has been the approach to be followed due to its basic nature of a continuous reconciliation between man and environment. Indian legislations are at par with most of the world legislations in relation to sustainable environmental goals. The Environment Impact Assessment mechanism which India follows under its rules is at par with Conventions like the Environmental Impact Assessment Convention of Europe. The importing countries have to take a permit from the regulator for any investments and imports affecting the environment. Policy in India is aimed at the promotion of trade as well as taking care of its environmental needs. The Hazardous Waste (Management and Handling) Rules, 2000 which were framed under the Environment Protection Act are catering to regulating imports which affect the ecology.

However there is no comprehensive assessment of the imports under the EIA and the environmental effects of those falling out of the scope of both the HWA and the EIA rules are a grey area. For example if India had a comprehensive legislation in relation to not just hazardous but also other trade related measures, then situations like the solar case can be avoided. The legislation in such case could have an in built mechanism to invoke the relevant provision of GATT to form an exception to free trade. The trade off between trade and environmental policies however have to be delicately balanced. The reasons why this is to be done are manifold. One can be the need of the hour to have a healthy competition for the consumers, and the other is to

protect the environmental need of the current and future generations. The EIA has rules only related to large scale projects in the oceans and forest areas largely, whereas hazardous wastes act is limited in scope in terms of penalties for example. Trade and Environment are interrelated.

The trade objectives of the world might clash with the domestic environmental policy objectives of India. But when it comes to construing the environmental conditions as exceptions to agreement like GATT then the panel of the WTO gives an upper hand to the legitimate policy objectives of trade. The loophole lies in having a comprehensive measure in relation to imports into the country which would clearly set a benchmark as to what would constitute an environment policy and what a trade policy. The quality of legislation therefore has to improve in order to have an automatic invocation of the provision when there is certain kind of imports. While on the one hand there needs to be a stronger legislation for environmental concerns for the reason that in a polity like India development cannot take a back seat, trade needs to be promoted and the trade conditions for foreign players have to be very easy so as to give its populace a clear growth by alleviating poverty and improving the quality of life. The provisions under other legislations like Water and Air Act are not sufficient mainly for the reason that they are not punitive in nature and civil penalties do not have a prohibitive scope.

Notes and References

1   S. B Verma, *WTO and Development Opportunities,* 127 (Deep and Deep Publications, New Delhi, 2005).

2   www.history.com/topics/great-depression. The Great Depression (1929-39) was the deepest and longest-lasting economic downturn in the history of the Western industrialized world. In the United States, the Great Depression began soon after the stock market crash of October 1929, which sent Wall Street into a panic and wiped out millions of investors.

3   Article XX, GATT.

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Ethnographies of Privacy: Frameworks for Analyzing Popular Culture Practices on Social Media

Aakriti Kohli

Introduction

This paper sets out to think through some of the emerging questions around the idea of privacy and the concomitant popular culture practices on social media. Additionally this paper will map the existing scholarly theorizations on cyber cultures, the cyber space and popular culture practices on social media especially with respect to privacy concerns. The paper will then attempt to think through possible methodological frameworks in research approach towards studying social media practices and lived experiences of online privacy.

The cyberspace and cyberspace cultures in particular have opened up enquiries from various perspectives. Some have argued that computers, the Internet, online technologies and social media in particular will enable an "inclusive and participatory popular culture".[1] First, this utopian perspective however negates the topographies of class, caste and gender terrains on which access to digital technologies is disproportionately distributed and accessed. Second, the 'popular' in popular culture is certainly political and while the

definitions and approach to popular culture remain contested, oscillating between extremes of domination to subversion and resistance, the extent and level to which these technologies offer democratic participation in production and consumption needs to be investigated. Power in the cyberspace operates through sociological, cultural, political, economic and technological modes.[2]

As argued by Adorno and Horkheimer in the context of mass culture[3], social media technologies and practices as a culture industry are firmly integrated and enmeshed in structures of the larger global capitalist economy. And while some suggest that there is a blurring of lines between social media producers and consumers,[4] I argue that we need to interrogate the social media structures within which producers and consumers emerge and make agentic choices.

One emerging and pertinent concern around new media technologies broadly, and social media technologies in particular is that of privacy. Castells has argued that the historical change because of the transition from an "industrial age to the information age" has made information as a commodity ubiquitous to economic productivity.[5] To extend his argument, I see information (personal information, photographs, purchasing patterns, geo-spatial tagging, images, emails and private conversations etc.) on the Internet as fundamental metadata crucial for generating further information about users/citizens/subjects. Hence some questions emerge: Who controls this information? Who has access to this information? Who generates and provides this information? How is this information mined and processed? And how is this information utilized?

While the cyberspace offers a certain sense of anonymity in online actions and projections, it also at the same time, makes it very easy to identify, locate and mark its users. Social media activity and participation is predicated upon wilful volunteering of personal information, name, location, phone numbers and other information. As a specific instance, the ubiquity of smartphones in urban cities provide downloading of third-party applications which requires wilful surrender of the phone camera, personal messages and other database in the phone by the user. For example, a popular social media networking site, Facebook demands access to these before a user can download its application onto their phones. This access is knowingly or unknowingly

provided by users, sometimes with little or no understanding of its implications.[6]

Emerging Questions and Concerns

In the background of developing new media technologies and the concomitant rise of social media technologies and practices, I'd like to argue that we must (i) revisit, rethink and re-imagine the idea of privacy in general and social media privacy in particular. Additionally we need to undertake (ii) mapping of contemporary Youth cultures around social media practices and concerns of and about privacy from a gendered perspective. In the sense that how do social construction of the ideas around masculinity and femininity feed into privacy concerns among young men and women? Specifically what are the "technologies of the self" that young men and women learn and activate in their social media practices? Related to these broad queries is also studying (iii) the default ways in which social media technologies offer 'settings' and ideas of privacy to social media users and what are the ways in which the users understand, make sense of, process and act upon these settings. These questions on social media privacy also exist in the context (or lack of) public policy on privacy. There is a social, political and cultural context to the idea of online privacy in India and the State has a role to play in its defining, limiting and policing the idea of online privacy. This also feeds into the perceptions of surveillance in the minds of social media users.

Since popular culture is a site of contestation between forces of domination and subversion, it is imperative to engage with (iv) how young men and women revise/resist and subvert social media structures to protect their concerns of privacy. What are those techniques that they employ to transgress social media structures which may or may not be designed with inequities and are pre-dispositioned in unequal ways in their relationship with social media users.

The concerns in and around privacy are manifold. The first level is that of the user/consumer of social media technologies. The second level is that of business enterprises using social media technologies to reach out to possible consumers. The third level is that of the State in its surveying of social media practices of its citizens.

The first level involves users practices of sharing their personal information online including their names, addresses, phone numbers, education and work profile. It also includes information exchange with other users on social media including messages, posts, and photographs whose privacy may or may not be entirely protected with access provided to third-party applications for building their databases and perform targeted marketing activities online. One pertinent concern to highlight here is that of personal photographs shared by users with each other on social media, this includes among other things, photographs in personal setting, place of education, work, family photographs and also photographs or selfies that are sexual in nature. While the last example may not exactly constitute pornographic content but lack of privacy or protection structures around sharing of such selfies and photographs may lead these photographs to be available elsewhere for pornographic consumption.

The second level is that of business enterprises who are tracking online movements of users. Online activities of users can be tracked by the internet applications that users use, this information is also shared and made available to other third-party applications. For instance, while Facebook may have information about the user's personal information, photographs as well as online surfing habits, this information will also be shared with third-parties such as other businesses promoting themselves/advertising on Facebook. While this can constitute as a violation of privacy, it also lays bare the opaqueness of social media structures. Ironically a lot of these permissions have been unknowingly and wilfully surrendered by the user when they make their accounts on these portals. In many cases this transfer and sharing of information is completely unknown to the user, who will also be targeted with specific advertisements on the basis of their online practices.

The third level is that of State surveillance on the internet via the Information Technology Act 2000 and 2008. While the Supreme Court struck down the contentious Section 66A of the Act and watered down Section 79, thereby safeguarding users and their comments on social media, some sections still allow the state to monitor and decrypt information through any computer. This continues to have far-reaching implications for concerns around privacy.

Perspectives on Theoretical Approaches

In this section I will make an attempt to discuss texts which can be formative in developing an approach to engage with some of the concerns and questions pertaining to this issue. I will briefly discuss some works which can work as sign-posts from where further exploration can be pursued.

Sasken argues that analysis of digital technologies must not restrict themselves to a technological interpretation but recognize how they are embedded in everyday social life. She suggests that they may give rise to entirely newer social orders or may re-constitute older forms of hierarchy.[7] She stresses the importance of engaging with this interaction of the digital and the material worlds, and also the mediating cultures which make possible this interaction.

Haraway's conceptualization of the Cyborg is an important work for some of the initial questions put forward by this paper.[8] Haraway speaks of hybrid identities as social constructions formed at the intersection of gender, nature, technology and culture. I would like to read her work along with the concerns of the public/private divide especially in reference to her iteration on borderlands and boundaries and the imprecision of the difference between the physical and non-physical in reference to newer technologies, and particularly social media in this case.

Related to the Cyborg is also the idea of the 'networked society'. In writing about the 'information age' and the economic, social and cultural import of the 'network society', Castells foretold how the world as we know it will pivot around information, and how it would become a crucial element of an increasingly globalized world.[9] His theorization on the networks and flows of communication, both at the level of production and consumption have an important bearing on some of the initial formulations and research questions outlines in this paper. His work on the 'Power of Identity' lays special emphasis on the State and the construction of meanings and identities in the 'network society'.

If we were to re-read and take ahead Haraway's Cyborg along with Castells' 'networked society', we can see Cyborg not just as a hybrid of the human, the animal and the machine, but the 'networked Cyborg' as a lens to

map popular cultural practices on social media, where users are producers and consumers, engaging in a participatory but also a rigid frame of communication.[10]

Foucault's concepts of the 'Technologies of the Self' and 'Governmentality' are also central to some of the questions raised in this paper.[11] Extending it to the study of (digital) technologies of the self, Foucault's work can be read in terms of the practices and strategies social media users employ to make sense of the ideas of privacy, to negotiate with structures of social media or develop their own strategies to resist various invasions of privacy. It would also be interesting to explore whether these technologies of the self differ for men and women, and if that in any way also reflects the social construction of masculinity and femininity through social media practices.

There is considerable work on privacy issues, from the perspective of the State and the citizen, between multi-national corporations and the State, but not enough work which investigates the notion/practice/strategy of privacy as a lived experience in the online world. In 2014, the Indian government floated the Right to Privacy Bill, which was shelved soon after and the government is in the process of re-drafting the provisions of the bill. Specifically discussing the idea of privacy with respect to newer technologies and the social media, Schild argues that privacy and power work together in rendering the digital subject on social media visible and/or invisible to the gaze of others.[12] She argues that the very architecture of the Internet and social media in particular is predicated on the culture of openness and voluntary sharing of information. I argue that this sharing of information is conscious as well as unknown to the users many times and this makes privacy concerns and practices oscillate between "publicness/privateness and subjectivity/obscurity".[13]

Developing Methodological Frameworks

With reference to the questions outlined in this paper, and the theoretical approaches surveyed in the previous section, I will now discuss possible methodological frameworks appropriate for enquiry in the current context.

The very nature of online media points to a constant state of flux,

technological changes and developments continually inform and build new media structures. All applications on the Internet are regularly updated, providing with a newer forms of interface, privacy setting, user preferences etc. While these may superficially present themselves as mere technological changes, these have profound cultural import on the lives and practices of users. Fuery for instance has argued that new media is largely a cultural phenomenon and any approach to studying online media needs to trace and foreground the socio-cultural context within which it has emerged and is located.[14]

If we are to consider social media as part of the Internet culture industry, partly influencing and being influenced by larger structures of global capitalism, then a Critical Theory approach can serve well to answer some of the questions discussed in previous sections.

One of the concerns outlined in this paper was also to investigate social media practices from a gendered perspective. A critical feminist approach will be useful in examining if the ideas around privacy are shaped by or do they shape broader notions of masculinity and femininity, how are the experiences, practices of young men and women different from each other? How can it help understand online behaviour of men and women? It would be interesting to examine if it is possible to escape gender binaries and essentializations using feminist media approaches to study this phenomenon. Feminist perspectives can help shake some of the assumed givens of social media: how can the 'social' be conceptualized and defined within social media, can the Internet be seen as a male domain and by extension gendered? Can we draw on existing theorizations around masculinity and technology to discuss gendered practices on social media especially with respect to privacy? However if the digital can be seen as a blurring of the public and the private, can it offer newer forms of solidarity, exchange and much wider access to women vis-a-vis the material world they inhabit? While Haraway's Cyborg seeks to move away from the boundaries between the human and technology, and as some argue, as an extension, a blurring of lines between men and women in the cyberworld, feminist approaches can help grapple with these iterations.

There are emerging concerns around the existence of social media

ethnography in a chaotic digital world. How can we conceptualize the internet as an ethnographic site, not bound by topographies of location and region? Postill and Pink raise the question that how can we map the social, material and technological world of our ethnographic research participants?[15] They in fact argue that we must departure from the classical approach to ethnography on the Internet via formations of network and community and instead realign our lens to engage with routine, sociality and movement instead. Further they add that online ethnography now offers newer sites of ethnographic inquiry and developing of newer forms of ethnographic practice. While newer approaches to ethnography continue to inform the practice, I suggest that we do not abandon the networks and communities as a frame for carrying out ethnographic research and at the same time also incorporate newer formations such as those of routine, sociality and movement.

Conclusion

This working paper sought to bring to fore some of the emerging questions around cyberspace and cybercultures in particular, with reference to the notion of privacy and its operation as an idea and practice. This paper serves as a map to signpost possible theoretical and methodological approaches that can be incorporated in the study of popular culture practices on social media. Theoretical approaches range of human-technology blurring and interaction to a network of societies that are constantly connected, and the technologies of the digital self that are embodied by new media users. Subsequently social media ethnography has emerged as a specialized form of enquiry, where conceptualization of digital ethnographic site(s), participant observation and recording of data and analysis continue to be contested and debated fervently. With incremental changes in digital technologies, methodological approaches need to be constantly modified, appropriated and adjusted to accommodate changes in the site of research and user patterns. This presents itself as a methodological challenge, and hence an enquiry of this nature requires some aspects of classical and traditional forms of ethnographic practice in conjunction with newer ways of engaging, understanding and analyzing the choices, activities and practices of ethnographic participants.

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8

The Interest Rate and Investment in Manufacturing

Nitish Kashyap

Abstract:

There is continuous tussle between the Reserve Bank of India and the Finance Ministry in terms of the desired conduct ofmonetary policy. At the core of it remains the difference in their opinion about what can monetary policy do and where can we use monetary policy as an instrument. While the government especially during slump and stagnation considers policy rates high the central bank exercises caution in reducing policy rates, at times in fear of a price spiral or its own concerns. As pointed earlierthis conflict has roots in belief centred in what interest rates can do? Recently,the RBI has echoed that slump, stagnation has more to do with non-monetary factors while the government remains (or pretends to remain) concern about policy rates and believes that let alone interest rates are responsible for any suchpersistent dismal situation as reflected in their recent remarks.

In this context this paper examines the influence interest rates have on organized manufacturing in the country. The manufacturing sector according to world bank dataconstitutes almost 15 per cent on average of total value added during the period of this study (1998-2008), now despite having less share than service sector for the same, this sector assumes importance by its

very nature whereby it has both forward and backward linkage and has the potential to absorb large reserve army of labour.So we decided to focus on organised manufacturing given these considerations.

While the aggregate relationship between interest and investment is significantly negative, one looks at sector level data to ascertain the validity of such negative relationship. During this we are able to classify the sectors on the basis of their responsiveness to interest rates, the sector wise analysis which shows how specific sectors are more responsive to interest rate fluctuations coincidentally appear to be capital intensive while the low-responsive cohort typically belongs to consumer durables and semi-durables. There are interestingly two sectors which show positive correlation and one of them have a considerable share in total investment over the period of analysis. We at best make a guess about the neutrality of the sector to interest rates however to establish the positive correlation seems a difficult task.

However the purpose of the exercise was to ascertain whether interest rates are important or not? We conclude that for organised manufacturing they are definitely important and we observe negative relationship with lending rates and investment in these sectors, however to draw policy implications from the same would be too early as the study has several limitations but despite all those limitations it ascertains the negative relationship between interest and investment for manufacturing in particular.

1.1 Introduction and Background:

One finds widespread attention to policy rate changes of central bank by academia, media and organizations across globe. Mohanty (2012) remarks do such policy rate changes really matter? He further states that response to such a question lies in an assessment of how does the policy rate changes the cost of credit and ultimately impacts investment and consumption decisions of economic entities[1]. There are two ways by which a change in interest rate can impact investment, one is whereby an increase in rate of interest can raise the cost of holding cash thus affecting firms largely dependent on cash flows for their day to day business and putting them at disadvantage and two whereby an increase in interest rate makes cost of capital high for firms reducing returns on investment made and impacting investment activity. We are here particularly focussing on the latter part of the story whereby this

paper aims to examine the behaviour of investment activity in organized manufacturing during 1998-2008 with respect to market lending rates.

The background for this analysis can be understood in this light, the Reserve Bank of India in 2012 in its mid-quarter review came in defence of its anti-inflationary stance (high policy rates) by stating "high interest rates are only one of the several factors causing slowdown in growth, real interest rates which could be more relevant for affecting investment activities are lower now (June 2012) than high growth phase before the recent global financial crisis[2],pointing to role of non-monetary factors in slowing down investment and growth". To account for slowdown in Growth and Investment across sectors during this tightening of monetary policy, we get the echo of non-monetary factors largely at play by the central bank.

During the period of study one finds that in manufacturing share of profit in gross value added rose to 54 per cent in 2007-08 from 27 per cent in 1998-99 while share of emoluments remained in the slab of 19-25 per cent and fuel consumption showed a small dip in share from 26 to 23 per cent[3]. There is relatively considerable drop observed in interest payments as share of gross value added; it fell down from 23 per cent to 9 per cent. On the lines of economic survey 2009-10, whereby it's argued that since profitability rests on emolument, fuel consumption and interest payments and in case the first two variables show constant share in gross value added, interest rate structure are important in determining the firm's internal accruals which in turn determine their investment decisions[4]. So one can safely conclude that central government has heralded interest rate as the prime factor in determining the investment decisions of firms.

Now these two opposing claims can be verified if we could show that firms rely on banks as their prime lender. In a study by Reserve bank of India's (RBI), finances for public limited companies reveals dominant share of external sources of finance during 1980s and 1990s, while there has been a decline in the share of external finance in the initial three years of 2000-10 the share has picked up since then rising as high as 64.5 per cent of total in 2007-08[5]. During the period 1990-2008, borrowings from banks form the second largest individual share only less than provisions among the various internal and external sources of finance for these companies on average[6]. This asserts relevance of bank lending given their large share among various sources of

finance; this fact takes care of adverse possibility whereby our study would have seemed to focus on lending rates via banks while bank credit had small share in borrowings by firms. In a slightly passive measure of borrowing where we examine share of industry to non-food gross bank credit over years, we find that during the period 1998 to 2008 industries amount to 35.8 per cent of total non-food gross bank credit disbursed[7].

Having stated the differing emphasis on interest rates as prime factor in determining investment activity, this paper investigates how the industrial investment has responded over years with respect to interest rate. Furthermore we observe how within industry different sectors have responded to changes in interest rate. This would help examining the relationship between interest rates and investment behaviour at sector wide level to find out sectors which are relatively more responsive to interest rate changes than their counterparts.

1.2 Choice of Model:

Since our study focuses on the movements of these two variables we rely on neo-classical theory of investment. The neo classical theory links investment behaviour with cost function of firms whereas cost itself is a function of factor prices. In real world wages are sticky or usually lag for some period before appreciating while interest rates (factor payment rate for capital employed) are exogenous for individual units. Given that interest rate changes come as exogenous to individual firms; it can be seen to impact investment behaviour via changes in cost structure. It can be argued that investment behaviour at aggregate level is dependent on two things, one is interest sensitivity of investment and other is comparison of interest rate to changes in marginal efficiency of capital. This tells us that any change in borrowing rate transmits via both of these and thus impacts investment behaviour. For example, it may happen that in a gloomy economic climate despite rate cuts which improve internal rate of return for a firm over interest rate, one fails to attract investment because interest sensitivity of corporate investment is quite low, so despite marginal efficiency of capital being greater than revised lower rates a firm doesn't invest. Now it amounts to tell that non-monetary factors too affect marginal efficiency of investment at macro level and marginal efficiency of capital at micro level, thus impacting investment behaviour. It then becomes difficult to ascribe the changes in investment behaviour to monetary and non-monetary

factors individually, however one can definitely test whether non-monetary factors are at play by examining the movement of investment and interest rate and if they are not moving opposite as expected in neo-classical theory then definitely non-monetary factors are at play. Such exercises will help draw conclusions relevant for policy regime. However one must be cautious to draw a picture for aggregate level, for sector specific credit policy may downplay such conclusions based on a weighted average lending rate.So we analyse the movement of interest rate and manufacturing investment to examine the behaviour of manufacturing investment taking interest rate movements as reference and probing further to deduce sector level evidence.

1.3 Literature Review:

We can divide the related literature in two parts, one those catering to the theoretical discussions revolving Investment while the other catering to empirical works in this context.

Investment by its definition is change in capital stock during a period; hence it's a flow concept unlike capital which is a stock concept. We can measure investment during a period as the difference between capital stock at end to that at the beginning. Now if all of the capital used by the firm is circulating and gets exhausted within a time period then no amount of capital generated during the previous period is going to be used in current period here the theory of investment and capital converges else one needs to deal with them separately. As stated earlier investment is a flow variable, its study can be divided into two parts whereby one focuses on speed of flow and the other focuses on amount of flow. The literature can be thus divided into Hayekian and Keynesian approach. The former conceives it as adjustment towards equilibrium and thus the optimal amount is simply optimal speed towards adjustment. This approach focuses on the various time paths between two different levels of capital stocks. While Keynesian approach places emphasis on behavioural aspect of investment, they relate investment to decisions to invest than enquiring about speed towards adjustment, for them it's simply what entrepreneurs do in every period. For Keynesians the main attribute is'decision regarding investment' hence capital stock decisions are following from investment patterns (which are actually decided in a period) than capital stock being decided beforehand. The Keynesian approach has a

longer history given focus on circulating capital from early days like that by Turgot (1776), Fisher (1930)[8] and Keynes himself. Subsequently we come across four main strands of different thoughtsnamely Accelerator theory (Aftalion-Clark), Neo-classical theory (Jorgenson), Quantity theory (Brainard and Tobin) and liquidity theory of investment behaviour(Fazzari). The Accelerator Theory states that a rise in investment by firms is consequent upon an increase in demand (rise in income with unchanged propensity to consume for the least). The Neo-Classical theory of investment considers the optimization problem for a firm and relates it to the rental cost of capital which affects the total investments by a firm. The Q-theory of investment have incorporated expectations into investment decisions and stated stock market being the guide to investors whereby investment decisions will be made till the market value of assets equals the replacement costs of assets. Since in the Q-theory there is an implicit assumption of perfect capital market, it gives rise to the Liquidity theory of investment. The hypothesis from this model is under imperfect capital market firm's investment behaviour depends on internal liquidity as determined by cash flow; cash in vaults, provisions, etc.

Having mentioned the theories around investment we look for empirical literature related to our work. We find that there is no specific study discussing manufacturing investment and interest rates in particular and especially about India except for the economic surveys released by the ministry of finance which devote a chapter every year to industries and talk about general trends and changes in sector wide composition and growth story rarely talking about interest rate and industrial movement together. However we find literature which has denounced the role of interest rate to investment activities in general. The studies done by Kothari (2013) of MIT Sloan School of Management shows how for minor 100-200 basis percentage points revision of interest rates there is no significant impact on investment activity for the US economy in general. In another study by Sharpe and Suarez (2013) of Federal Reserve Board Washington, they have shown that CFOs of multi-national firms are less considering of interest rates while taking investment decisions. These studies have generated a lot of debate and they were widely quoted in media and definitely they must have influenced the academia and policy circles. In fact Kothari in a guest article to a business daily in India has mentioned the focus on non-monetary factors especially physical infrastructure and doing away with bureaucratic hurdles as key to embark on a new growth journey. He

discards role of interest rate by comparing Indian and Chinese lending rates whereby both have similar rate structure but china witnessed unprecedented investment.The other set of literature in this connection has mostly covered financing of investment decisions of the corporate firms by breaking them into internal and external sources. Works of Modigliani & Miller (1958), Fazzari (1988) and other studies have focussed on guiding factors for investment decisions and have discussed role played by profitability, cash flow, external finance availability, etc. In Indian context there is a study by Rajakumar (2005) which has done empirical verification of relationship between corporate financing and investment behaviour for the period 1988-1998.

In an inter-departmental study by RBI published in 2012 it'sbeenshown that most of the sectors are significantly sensitive to real interest rates with growth in gross fixed assets as dependent variable, however the limitations of the study is it rests on data set exclusively available with RBI and they use nominal variables further it doesn't tell us how within manufacturing each sector's share of investment has responded. This study by RBI immediately brings us at conflict with what Kothari, Sharpe and Suarez have stated regarding sensitivity of investment to interest rate, this exercise will help us debunk the myth surrounding this emerging controversy.

1.4 Methodology and Data:

Since we are interested in examining the manufacturing investment trend and compare it with interest rates movements, we construct variables for our purpose.

(1) **Data Source**: We have used time series data on Annual Survey of Industries published by EPW research foundation which are based on data released by Ministry of statistics and program implementation, Govt. of India while looking for sector wise (within manufacturing) investment figures. Given ASI is a comprehensive survey for industrial statistics we considered extracting investment data for organized manufacturing based on this data source. For the interest rate we used tables generated by Mohanty (2012) in his working paper and adjusted using GDP deflator[9]. The interest rate are calculated as nominal weighted average lending rate per year for different occupation types (industry being one of them) and it's based on data available from Basic Statistical Returns of 47 commercial banks which forms 95% of non-food

gross credit dispersed.

(2)**Investment**: Investment refers to increasing the total capital assets by the firm. The annual survey of industries gives gross capital formation (GCF) figures in its publications; GCF values are sum total of gross fixed capital formation and addition to total stocks. We have used it as investment figures. It may be noted that Economic Surveys have also used GCF as a measurement of investment[10]. Now onwards we will use the term Investment for gross capital formation.

(3)**Interest rate**: The central bank changes policy rates and such changes in policy rates are assumed to be reflected in commercial bank borrowings. Though it could be interesting to understand and develop a model for transmission from policy rates to market lending rates, we leave this question considering it beyond the scope of this work. In this context only, one finds that in reality there exists several rates for borrowings and hence we use one single nominal weighted average lending rate (WALR) for industry[11]. We also understand the limitations of using one interest rate to study the impact on investment expenditure of manufacturing firms but it can be fairly assumed that for monetary policy, translation of policy rate changes into effective cost of borrowing is what matters; hence we stick to one such representative measure. Since RBI reports occupation wise basic statistical returns (BSR) data and our purpose is to examine response of sectors within manufacturing to changes in interest rates, we have used WALR for industry occupation. This is in tandem with our purpose whereby we examine the response of sectors to changes in interest rate which is relatively relevant for them.

We use nominal weighted average lending rate (WALR)as discussed in Mohanty (2012) for Industry type occupation. Now one can bring in the question of whether real or nominal interest rates determine investment decisions, despite studies stating nominal interest rates playing a determining role[12]it can be safely assumed that expected inflation would be present in calculating the Net Present Value (NPV) of the investment project thus implicitly firms take into consideration their own real rate of return[13], hence for our analysis we also calculate real WALR (RLR) from WALR. We use fisher equation to reach at real interest rates. While there is no unambiguous way to determine expected inflation we content ourselves with ex-post real interest rate since Fisher equation

can be used in either ex-ante or ex-post meaning. We used GDP deflator data to adjust for realised inflation values from the nominal interest rates. Before moving to explain the methodology we must state two more reasons to use WALR, firstly announcement of changes in policy rates are not annual in nature so using a yearlong period to calculate average interest rate over the period helps us to take care of changes arising out of such mid-year announcements, if any. Secondly, given ASI results are published annually it was in best of our interests to use an average value of interest rate representing the fiscal year.

(4)**Methodology**: We have investment figures at two digit level for each sector in manufacturing over the period 1998-2008. First of all we compare the movements of real lending rate for industry with that of investment figures for industry as a whole. After observing these aggregate level trends we switch to decipher the sector wise response to changes in interest rates. For this we calculated correlation values between real investment over years and real interest rate for all sectors and classified them. Meanwhile we generated a time series of 'share of each sector in total investment' according to 2-digit classification of ASI over the period of study.We also divide our sectors as high, low or medium based on their correlation coefficient, for all absolute values more than 0.70 are considered high, 0.50 to 0.70 are considered medium while those below 0.50 are considered low.

Next we compare the above results to test if the sectors which have shown negative coefficients (preferably high) and they constitute a higher share in total investment than others and othersare having lower share in total investment.In an ideal scenario most sectors should havenegative correlation and have a combined large share in total investment. While sectors having positive correlation should be insignificant and definitely a lower share in total investment. If the above holds we can assert that during this period one finds evidence of negative relationship between interest and investment at disaggregated levels (sector level) too otherwise wedon't have sufficient evidence to make this claim. In case the above ideal scenario doesn't hold it amounts to say that there is ambiguity regarding negative relationship between investment and interest rate at sector level.

1.5 Result:

We find a negative relationship as shown in the graph between real

Investment and real lending rate as expected. The real investment here is obtained from gross capital formation values adjusted by wholesale price index of machinery and machine tools with 1993-94 as bases[14].
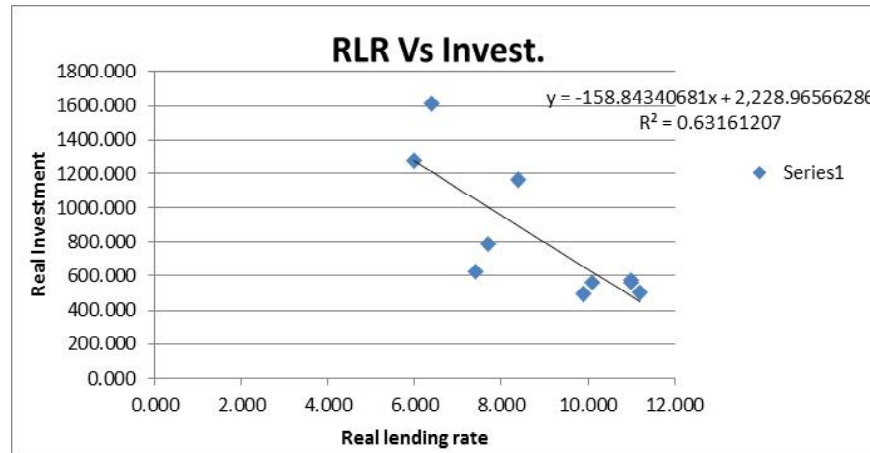
The correlation coefficient between real investment and real lending rate is -0.79 and is significant. This is a high value of correlation and suggests that at aggregate level there exists significant negative relationship between interest rate and investment. However behind this veil of aggregation sector wide responses are muted and we therefore look at sector specific significance results and their signs and shares. The sector specific results would give us evidence of which are the most responsive sectors which would help us explain the negative relationship as seen above, for we can pick sectors which are significantly negative and do have a large share in total investment over the period. We produce a table below which gives us sector wise correlation coefficientsand share in total investment over the period.

The table below gives us certain results[15].

- The sectors 17, 22, 24, 25, 27, 28, 29, 33, 34 were the significant and highly responsive sectors to interest rate during the period of study. They altogether constitute almost 55-60 per cent of total share.

- The sectors 21, 32, 36 are least responsive sectors to interest rates and coincidentally their share in total investment is quite low resting

around 5 per cent.

- The sectors 18, 19, 26, 31 and 37 falls in medium range given their response to interest rates and together they capture around 10 per cent share in total investment.

- It's interesting to note that sector level analysis has also brought two unusual results whereby one finds that sector 23 and 30 have positive signs of correlation coefficient and they together capture almost 12 per cent in total investment share.

- It's clear from the table that sector 23 doesn't respond to interest rate conventionally and despite having a considerable share in investment over the period its response has been contrary to the general wisdom. Similarly in case of sector 30 one observes this unusual trend though quite insignificant and low.

Codes	CORRELN	Ranking	% Share (overall)
15	-0.37296	Low(-)	10.02
16	-0.57197	Med(-)	0.35
17	-0.77554	High(-)	8.98
18	-0.68251	Med(-)	1.39
19	-0.63857	Med(-)	0.56
20	-0.8542	High(-)	0.27
21	-0.44037	Low(-)	2.59
22	-0.82761	High(-)	1.20
23	0.180719	Low(+)	10.95
24	-0.76568	High(-)	12.93
25	-0.76375	High(-)	2.95
26	-0.69009	Med(-)	5.60
27	-0.8923	High(-)	17.11
28	-0.74011	High(-)	2.97
29	-0.87489	High(-)	4.20
30	0.174552	Low(+)	0.57
31	-0.68472	Med(-)	2.79
32	-0.35711	Low(-)	2.11
33	-0.79821	High(-)	0.50
34	-0.78917	High(-)	6.27
35	-0.90761	High(-)	1.77
36	-0.40169	Low(-)	1.31
37	-0.68879	Med(-)	0.02
Total	-0.79474	High(-)	100.00

1.6 Conclusions:

The study presented here explains the aggregate level negative relationship between real interest rate and real investment figures in manufacturing industry over the period 1998-2008. This might sound an unnecessary task being carried given negative relation between investment and interest rateis considered obvious, however the tussle between reserve bank and finance ministry whereby former holds non-monetary factors responsible for slowdown in growth via slowdown in investment and the government blames central bank for its high policy rates causing slowdown in investment needs to be weighed out. As mentioned in the beginning Mohanty (2012) remarks, are interest rates really important given the amount of attention they receive? We can safely conclude from this task that interest rates are important when it comes to manufacturing investment. However the purpose was not only to test for an obvious relation at aggregate level, the purpose was to probe into sector level responsiveness and uncover what's behind the veil of this negatively sloped investment while we look at sector wise data. Are the sectors also responsive to interest rate changes in the negative direction as observed usually at aggregate level? In this process we analysed sector level responsiveness to interest rates and we had several conclusions to follow from them.

1. The sectors 17(Textiles), 24(Chemicals andChemical Products), 27(Basic Metals) were the most responsivesectors during 1998-2008 and they only explain the negative slope of the investment schedule during the period for they had high negative coefficient correlation along with a significant share.

2. The study also gives evidence of other sectors having high responsiveness but they are less important than above mentioned to explain the obvious result. These are 22(Publishing, Printing and reproduction of Recorded Media), 25(Rubber and Plastic Products), 28(Fabricated Metal products, except machinery and Equipment), 29(Machinery and Equipment), 33(Medical, Precision and Optical instruments, Watches and Clocks), 34(Motor vehicles, Trailers and semi-trailers). In fact the above two contains sector which seem more capital intensive than others and thus a

higher degree of responsiveness seem natural.

3. The least responsive sectors happened to be 21(Paper and Paper Products), 32(Radio, TV and communication equipment and apparatus), 36(Furniture, Manufacturing, n.e.c) and 15(Food products and Beverages). Given that it holds around 10 per cent share in total investment, this having a low responsiveness means some kind of exogenous unfettered investment which seems true given the nature of demand for such products. In fact all the sectors mentioned here are consumption goods sector and especially consumer durable and semi-durable sector which are relatively immune to interest rate movements than durables and investment goods sector.

4. There is an interesting observation whereby sector 23(Coke, Refined Petroleum products and Nuclear fuel) shows positive correlation though low in nature. It's a paradox to the general wisdom whereby sector wise investment has been positively sloped against interest rates. This needs a further probe in such behaviour, though at best one can make a guess about their neutrality to interest rate given their high-end and continuous use pattern whereby interest costs are less likely to disrupt daily operations and thus guide investment decisions. Also one observes the same positive relation for sector 30(Office, Computing and Accounting Machinery) but is insignificant.

Having mentioned the conclusive findings from this work, one is free to extend the conclusions for further time period though we must warn that this study caters to a short run period and it's highly possible that with time there are structural changes in the sectors or simply the results don't hold in another period for it's a social science exercise and we at best can explain our past than predicting future with certainty.

Endnotes:

1. Source: Speech by Shri Deepak Mohanty, Executive Director, Reserve Bank of India, delivered to the Association of Financial Professionals of India

(AFPI), Pune, August 23, 2013.https://www.rbi.org.in/scripts/BS_ SpeechesView.aspx?id=832 (Accessed on 10 Feb 2015)

2. Source: Pattanaik S, Behera H, Kavediya R in an Inter-Departmental study conducted by RBI, RBI working paper series, published in 2013.*https:// rbidocs.rbi.org.in/rdocs/Publications/PDFs/IDGSR08082013.pdf*

    (Accessed on 11 Feb 2015)

3. Own calculations from data. See Appendix (A.1) for the table.

4. Source: Finance Ministry, GOI, Economic Survey, 2009-10. Chapter 9.

5. Own calculation from RBI's study. See Appendix (A.2) for the chart.

6. Borrowings from banks form an average 14 per cent of total share of corporate finance during 1990-2008. Also see Appendix (A.2).

7. Own calculations. See Appendix (A.3).

8. Given Fisher's assumption that all capital is circulating, there is no question of stock, hence his theory becomes that of investment.

9. Source: Mohanty, Deepak, et al RBI Working Paper Series, DEPR (7/2012); (Accessed on 10 March 2015)

10. As can be seen in various issues of Economic Surveys, especially chapter on Industry.

11. For a discussion on WALR, see appendix (A.4).

12. Source: Same as 2. The study quotes whereby the CFOs of banks have emphasized that nominal rate of interest is their prime concern while deciding investment activities.

13. In the same study, the authors have argued whereby inflation consideration would come up in NPV consideration based on their own assessment of expected inflation and future cash flows.

14. See Appendix (A.5) for a table.

15. For various preceding charts see appendix (A.6).

Appendix

A.1

Table 1									
Year	Emoluments	Emolument/GVA	Interest	Interest/GVA	Profit	Profit/GVA	Fuel Consuption	Fuel/GVA	GVA
1998-99	44626	0.257	39693	0.228	47306	0.272	46260	0.27	173727
1999-00	47844	0.254	43877	0.233	47335	0.251	55198	0.29	188574
2000-01	50719	0.284	41987	0.235	35699	0.200	58968	0.33	178350
2001-02	51060	0.279	42218	0.230	34884	0.190	59726	0.33	183229
2002-03	55158	0.257	38352	0.179	61853	0.289	66576	0.31	214376
2003-04	58337	0.235	33972	0.137	92345	0.373	73713	0.30	247756
2004-05	64406	0.208	32454	0.105	144602	0.467	85854	0.28	309620
2005-06	74008	0.203	33398	0.092	184463	0.506	96630	0.26	364697
2006-07	88751	0.193	41311	0.090	241425	0.525	120067	0.26	460180
2007-08	105443	0.191	51487	0.093	297576	0.538	129562	0.23	552756
*Values are in Rs. Crores; Source: EPWRF									

A.2

Table 2

Source of Funds	1990s	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008
Reserves and Surplus	124	9.1	10.5	-18.8	10.3	20	26.6	23.2	24.8	23.1
Provisions	222	30.7	48.4	83.8	56.3	33.1	28.1	15.7	10.3	12.1
Borrowings from Banks	96	8.4	6.9	21.5	27.7	21.4	15.2	24.3	22.4	20.7

Source: Volume 31, RBI Occasional Papers (2010)

A.3

Table 3

Year	Gross Bank Credit (Non-Food)	Industry Credit	Share
1998-99	3252	1305	40.1
1999-00	3751	1473	39.3
2000-01	4292	1628	37.9
2001-02	4827	1723	35.7
2002-03	6201	2352	37.9
2003-04	7284	2472	33.9
2004-05	9998	3523	35.2
2005-06	14048	4592	32.7
2006-07	18012	5794	32.2
2007-08	22048	7256	32.9

Source: Various BSR-1(a)forms

A.4

Table 4

Year	WALR (Industry)	GDP deflator	RLRdefl
1998-99	15.5	8.1	7.4
1999-00	14.9	3.9	11
2000-01	14.5	3.3	11.2
2001-02	14	3	11
2002-03	13.7	3.8	9.9
2003-04	13.5	3.4	10.1
2004-05	13.2	5.5	7.7
2005-06	12.6	4.2	8.4
2006-07	12.4	6.4	6
2007-08	12.4	6	6.4

Source: Mohanty D (2012), DEPR Working Paper

WALR: The nominal weighted average lending rate (WALR) for scheduled commercial banks (SCBs) is computed on the basis of granular data from the Basic Statistical Returns (BSR). Given our consideration for manufacturing we focus only on LBA (large Borrowal Accounts) for having credit limit more than 2 lakhs. The WALR is computed for the LBAs using BSR-1A data as follows

$$WALR = \frac{\sum_{j=1}^{m} i_j c_j}{\sum_{j=1}^{m} c_j}$$

Where for loan account j, the interest rate charged i_j and the loan amount outstanding is c_j as at end-March of a particular year; m is the number of accounts for which WALR is computed. We have particularly focussed on Industry segment while considering the outstanding loan amount since our focus was to reach at a representative measure of effective industrial lending rate.

A.5

Year	GCF	#WPI Machinery and Machine tools (1993-94)	Real GCF	RLR Deflr
1998-99	72178	116.0	622.2240517	7.4
1999-00	64665	116.1	556.9800172	11
2000-01	61415	123.0	499.3073984	11.2
2001-02	73873	129.1	572.2154144	11
2002-03	63976	130.3	490.9928626	9.9
2003-04	74187	132.7	559.0588546	10.1
2004-05	110073	140.2	785.1132668	7.7
2005-06	171567	147.4	1163.955292	8.4
2006-07	199330	156.7	1271.990678	6
2007-08	262299	162.4	1614.871246	6.4

Source:RBI.

A.6

	Sectoral value of REAL Investment over years												
Codes	1998-99	1999-00	2000-01	2001-02	2002-03	2003-04	2004-05	2005-06	2006-07	2007-08	Total	share	Corrln
15	30.33552	100.9192	86.68943	55.18985	49.67276	64.43218	22.45164	85.01113	139.5564	181.2683	815.5265	10.0228	-0.37296
16	2.277672	2.204823	3.882602	-0.10658	2.57099	2.111304	1.690942	4.1154	5.048665	4.971573	28.76739	0.353551	-0.57197
17	43.17595	57.04677	45.80626	17.97831	49.67145	59.94318	64.89757	105.6714	149.1897	137.1884	730.569	8.978679	-0.77554
18	3.542586	7.892076	7.472358	4.959101	8.942671	7.30844	14.98267	19.63555	20.16652	18.35558	113.2575	1.391933	-0.68251
19	3.090603	4.52317	4.08748	3.290473	3.806907	3.405727	5.325036	5.918318	6.677248	5.604102	45.72906	0.562009	-0.63857
20	1.806293	1.022997	1.28374	1.054686	1.427936	1.533986	2.139943	3.090434	3.861926	4.813103	22.03504	0.27081	-0.8542
21	14.91569	10.36141	10.33919	35.71735	20.01688	11.5636	14.10934	24.96126	30.23551	38.68983	210.9101	2.592081	-0.44037
22	9.197672	6.469509	7.155122	3.463362	7.617882	7.432931	8.838302	15.13826	18.07497	14.13843	97.52645	1.198598	-0.82761
23	78.87974	77.48174	43.15244	206.6662	72.63584	57.32758	72.102	129.6367	48.68475	104.5676	891.1345	10.95203	0.180719
24	94.82759	95.87123	83.41951	47.45507	68.74398	52.92638	89.39479	160.5985	171.9454	186.9552	1052.138	12.93075	-0.76568
25	13.61147	18.77847	14.40089	10.22494	13.86401	20.73233	37.12553	27.86499	35.29216	48.44723	240.342	2.953799	-0.76375
26	35.68345	23.19587	25.6913	55.05422	22.3396	22.91281	42.71262	57.61377	67.7642	102.7653	455.7332	5.600952	-0.69009
27	154.9042	10.03919	54.21756	48.58776	42.03676	118.2931	168.0862	245.7133	246.5773	303.6923	1392.148	17.10947	-0.8923
28	8.875086	7.648062	7.439593	7.982881	8.617882	14.76669	26.41298	34.53643	42.302	82.7277	241.3093	2.965687	-0.74011
29	26.43207	16.93032	17.95561	9.444771	16.86278	16.28093	44.37461	50.78318	63.70746	78.96399	341.7357	4.199925	-0.87489
30	0.523966	1.830319	5.181463	3.956003	7.692863	8.419819	4.87632	4.779647	5.348014	3.804837	46.41325	0.570418	0.174552
31	6.290431	20.70215	12.26171	10.43602	10.47606	9.372042	18.99001	31.2422	46.0176	61.00674	226.795	2.787306	-0.68472
32	9.252328	15.77881	14.44634	10.50496	16.97843	14.82457	19.99708	30.33094	20.33473	18.84072	171.2889	2.105137	-0.35711
33	3.794741	3.465978	3.067398	2.747792	2.237759	3.514393	4.476534	4.579715	5.377176	7.485926	40.74741	0.500785	-0.79821
34	49.04009	43.16701	25.59699	12.87142	31.21535	31.45916	64.68031	51.86214	69.25374	131.3723	510.5185	6.274263	-0.78917
35	11.43879	6.508355	7.328943	4.192486	12.01957	11.05976	14.85613	19.19607	28.10383	25.97387	144.2778	1.773171	-0.90761
36	6.299914	11.73032	5.986585	7.682417	8.724328	7.415599	12.72411	20.89457	12.9122	12.23291	106.603	1.310148	-0.40169
37	0.013534	0.004134	0.003089	0.028892	-0.02172	0.016654	-0.00093	0.136431	0.396537	0.73048	1.307107	0.016064	-0.68879
Total	622.2241	556.98	499.3074	572.2154	490.9929	559.0589	785.1133	1163.955	1271.991	1614.871	8136.709	100	-0.79474
RLR	7.4	11	11.2	11	9.9	10.1	7.7	8.4	6	6.4			

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Conflict Between Will and Destiny in the Plays of Girish Karnad

Dr. Smarika Pareek

Tragedy itself originates because people cannot change their destiny. Although there are number of possibilities, through divination, propitiation, that a man can appease his fate, there is a limit to this, and it is because of this limitation, the fact that one has already picked one's fate at the beginning and cannot avert it that you find tragedy[1]. (52)

Critics differ on the concept of predetermined destiny, some state that an individual's life is predetermined and others state that the fate is not predetermined, and if it is, then there is no scope for a person to exercise his free will. The plays of Karnad very closely deal with the human predicament. Freud in his study of the human psyche has stressed on the tremendous effect that repression has on the individual. The social and cultural norms always stand in opposition to the natural desires of the individual. Erich Fromm calls the society, 'the creative agent'[2], which is responsible for conditioning, molding and creating the individual characters into pre-set moulds and types. These societal norms force an individual to repress his emotions and work accordingly. The individuals who deviate from such norms suffer the consequences. Almost all the characters in the plays of Karnad are the victims of such tragedy as Aravasu, Padmini, Paravasu, Tipu Sultan, etc. Miller, in his

Tragedy and the Common Man has said "the tragic feeling is evoked in us when we are in the presence of a character who is ready to lay down his life, if need be, to secure one thing: his sense of personal dignity."[3]

Karnad shows the conflict between individual will and the tragic destiny. His drama also questions the validity and efficaciousness of a tradition. His fictional characters – articulate individuals as well as types – are involved in a quest for fulfillment and wholeness that leads sometimes to qualified happiness and other times to death.[4]

This idea prevails in all of his plays. His protagonists have certain aspirations in their minds that they strive hard to achieve but what they meet at the end is contrary to their expectation. His major characters like Yavakri, Padmini and Basavanna keep on struggling to achieve the desired end though they not succeed. So, Karnad's plots become the portrait of dilemma, duality and tension. The tension is between two polarities and he seems to struggle in between.

Karnad has an art that creates tragedy from desire where in *The Fire and the Rain* Yavakri, Bharadvaja's son, becomes angry that his father is not accorded the same respect as Raibhya. He desires to become more powerful than him. In order to gain 'Universal knowledge' he goes to the jungle. The girl he loved was married to Paravasu, Raibhya's son. Yavakri is constantly defeated by Raibhya and in the end gets murdered by him only.

Yavakri later confesses that all he had done, having sex with Vishakha, calling Arvasu at the same time was to take revenge on Raibhya. It is indeed tragic to see that he gave ten years to obtain something that was not meant for a man like him. He went to seek 'Universal knowledge' still he could not eradicate the feeling of jealousy. After such long penance, he still nurtured the feeling of jealousy and cunningness in his heart. He himself is not sure whether he had attained the 'Universal Knowledge'. He dies tragically in the end, killed by a Brahma Rakshasa that too sent by Raibhya. Yavakri wanted to defeat Raibhya but he is over and again defeated by him. This indeed is his tragedy.

All the characters in this play are sufferers, Paravasu although the chief priest in the fire-sacrifice, is a murderer of his own father, his wife is not loyal to him, he ditches his own brother. He is the one who pollutes the fire sacrifice. He has no shame :

PARAVASU. You didn't need to. He deserved to die. He killed Yavakri to disturb me in the last stages of the sacrifice. Not to punish Yavakri, but to be even with me. I had to attend to him before he went any farther.[5] (142)

This strained relationship of father and son, is similar to that of *Camwood on Leaves* by Soyinka. Raibhya, father of Paravasu and Arvasu, is also not satisfied with his life. He was not called to be the chief priest and instead of him it was his son Paravasu who was called. His daughter-in-law Vishakha is also against him. His tragedy lies in the fact that he is murdered by his own son left without the death rites just because fire sacrifice was of much more importance than him. Yavakri was also jealous of Raibhya. Vishakha tells Paravasu:

VISHAKHA: Something died inside your father the day the king invited you to be the Chief Priest. He's been drying up like a dead tree since then. No sap runs in him.[6] (142)

Vishakha, one of the two female characters in the play, is also a sufferer, her husband Paravasu left her to be in the sacrifice. Her former lover Yavakri left her to attain Knowledge, and when he returned to her it was just to take revenge. She is tormented by desire to be loved.

VISHAKHA: I shouldn't ask. I should be silent. And you, in any case, will be silent. My silence again followed by yours. Silences endlessly repeated. Perhaps they too will describe a whole universe. But I am sick of silence.[7] (141)

Her father-in-law calls her by all sorts of humiliating words, "bitch", "whore", he even beats her, when he comes to know about Yavakri. Even Yavakri uses her, he meets her after coming back, she trusts him but is shattered when she comes to know the truth about Yavakri. Her condition resembles that of Rani of *Naga-Mandala*. But later in the play Vishakha puts Yavakri in a difficult situation and causes his death. Nittilai and Arvasu are the only two innocent persons in the play. They have no jealousy for anyone, they have committed only one mistake that of loving each other. Nittilai is a hunter woman, and Arvasu a Brahmin, that is the only cause of their tragedy. They are not liked by

anyone just because of this reason. Arvasu likes acting but this profession was not meant for higher classes and he obeys his brother and quits acting. His brother Paravasu leaves his father's final rites. Arvasu is shattered by this whole experience, as he trusted his brother very much. Within the main plot of Paravasu and Arvasu is the story of Indra and Vritra. It is decided that for the entertainment of everyone a play will be enacted. Arvasu is given the role of Vritra, and the whole story of the main plot is re-enacted. Nittilai, is killed in the end and Arvasu despite having the choice cannot bring her back to life:

ARVASU: No, it won't. Lord, I have been an ignorant fool all my life. My stupidity contributed to that tragedy – fuelled it on. But after all that I have been through, I'm wiser. I can now stop the tragedy from repeating itself. I can provide the missing sense to our lives – [8](60).

If he had taken the decision to bring Nittilai back to life all tragedy would have repeated itself. Nittilai is also the victim of tragedy. She is killed in the end. Yavakri, Paravasu, Andhaka, Raibhya all die. Only Arvasu remains, and he also is left alone. Brahma Rakshasa is the one who seems to be victorious.

Naga-Mandala, another play of Karnad from the very outset shows the human struggle with his fate. In the opening of the play, we see the narrator struggling to save his life, for which he will have to fulfill certain condition. As he himself says:

MAN: a mendicant told me: 'you must keep awake at least one whole night this month. If you can do that, you'll live. If not, you will die on the last night of the month.'[9] (1)

Karnad has also depicted the helplessness of the flames who are at the mercy of their lords and can only come when their masters switch the lamp off. Each character is at the mercy of their fate. Even the story had to come out draped in the song as the old woman was unable to pass it on, and her coming out created tension in the poor women's house. Rani, the name means Queen, but Rani of this story is tortured and tormented by her husband, she is kept like a slave. As the story states:

STORY: but she was an only daughter, so her parents called her Rani " Queen. Queen of the whole wide world.[10] (6)

Her name in the beginning does not match with the life she has to live. Gradually, circumstances though not easy, make her the Queen. She gets the status of goddess, her husband becomes her slave and she is spared the pain and suffering. As Suman Bala says:

Rani is never free to express herself, to be herself. She is either daughter, wife, lover or mother. She is always playing a role imposed upon her, except in her dreams in the lonely nights that engulf her. She is a woman used, abused. She can either live as a whore or a Devi. There is no element of person for her.[11] (11)

Appanna, Rani's husband, is shown to be cruel and cold man. Appanna's individual wish, creates tension for him, as in his absence Naga comes in his house and takes Appanna's form and starts visiting Rani every night. All goes well, but again destiny factor comes into play and Rani becomes pregnant. This further complicates the plot. Naga knows that Rani's pregnancy will bring problem to her and so insists her to keep it a secret.

But Appanna comes to know about it and tells the village elders. This action of Appanna creates tension in his life as he cannot prove Rani guilty. He himself says:

APPANNA: What am I to do? Is the whole world against me? Have I sinned so much that even Nature should laugh at me? I know I haven't slept with my wife. Let the world say what it likes. Let any miracle declare her a goddess but I know! What sense am I to make of my life if that's worth nothing?[12] (41)

On the other hand, Naga's desires for Rani are wrong yet he takes the human form and visits her every night, despite the fact that Rani is a married woman. His wish turns to jealousy when he sees Appanna and Rani sleeping together, though even Naga is not to blame as he by mistake drinks the love potion which was meant for Appanna and falls in love with Rani.

Blind Kurudavva is also not spared of her tragic destiny as her mobility, her son Kappanna disappears and no one knows where. She tells Rani:

KURUDAVVA: If only I had my eyes! I would have seen her. I would have seen her…. But what can one do with these pebbles?[13] (38)

Tale-danda, is again a tragic play, where the tragedy is collective and personal. Here the "wish" stand not in individual but gathers in a group of people. Basavanna is a man of great wisdom, he believes in a casteless society and aspires to form one, in his effort he is not alone but is followed by thousands of people from all strata of society, together they call their congregation "sharanas". But his vision to form a casteless society is thwarted in the end and is met with a great bloodshed. The beginning of the play is itself tragic where we see a father yearning for his son in his illness. The play is full of treachery. The King, Bijjala, is not liked by his own son Sovideva. King gives his full support to the sharanas which brings him in conflict with the Brahmins of his own court and leads to his downfall. The whole tragedy begins when the sharanas decide to marry a Brahmin girl to an untouchable boy. Even the sharanas are divided in their opinion. There are many who don't like the King and are against Basavanna for this:

MADHUVARASA: The world is awe-struck at the wedding of Sheela and Kalavati. We sharanas have at last shown our mettle, our indomitable spirit. And after all that, you want to lay the credit at the King's feet? I can't believe it![14] (74)

The King on the other hand is betrayed by everyone. In the end, his only hope is Basavanna, as he says "Basavanna is here, Rambha. I shall be King again and you the Queen"[26] (86). King is murdered by sharanas by treachery and thereafter Basavanna also dies. Sharanas loose their existence. The families who took the initiative of inter-caste marriage are ruined. The city of Kalyan is left to nothing. Even Damodara Bhatta the Chief Priest is murdered in the end. Sovideva is a foolish ruler who knew nothing " just wanted the throne of his father and after getting that was not able to deal with. This play is a political, personal and collective tragedy as well. There is the downfall of a King and along with him his Kingdom. Death of Basavanna is the death of a dream, a vision, that would have changed the whole notion of society if it had come true. The play ends violently with the dramatist's note stating

The strain of bafflement with God's purpose continues in *Hayavadana* also. *Hayavandana,* is a tragedy in itself as all the characters seem to be struggling for the fulfillment of individual will. Devdatta, is a Brahmin's only son living in Dharampura, no one can defeat him in his poetic ability, he is a

sensitive man with sensitive body and has a friend, Kapila who is always ready to sacrifice everything for him. They were known for their friendship, but their suffering starts, when they fall in love with the same girl, Padmini. The tragic destiny comes from their desire, Devdatta desires Padmini and so does Kapila, Padmini longs for Devdatta's mind and Kapila's body. Active head but passive body becomes the cause of the suffering for Devadatta. In *Hayavadana,* Padmini is fully satisfied after the change of heads as she now has the combination, she desired, as her husband. But this ideal situation does not last long. Kapila's body succumbs to the sedentary life imposed on it by Devadatta, and Padmini again is left with what she earlier had. Karnad seems to suggest that such wholeness, although immensely desirable, is seldom possible for human beings and it could be thought of only as fantasy. In the sub-plot, the story of the birth and parentage of Hayavadana is presented with all the elements of fantasy. The Princess marrying a white stallion and living with it for fifteen long years and becoming a horse herself at the end is pure imagination. The dolls are made to converse and through them, Karnad describes the sub-conscious images and dreams of Padmini that cannot be represented visually. Devadatta's transfiguration is also communicated through dolls in *Hayavadana.*

To marry Padmini, Devdatta pledges to sacrifice his head to Lord Rudra, this commitment of Devdatta is indeed a signal to the tragic fate, as there was no point marrying her, as he would not be able to stay with her for long.

DEVDATTA: If I ever get her as my wife, I'll sacrifice my two arms to the goddess Kali, I'll sacrifice my head to Lord Rudra.[15] (14)

The real discord between them arises when Kapila still comes to their house, the friendship that was cherished by them becomes sour. Their trip to Ujjain is again a signal to their tragic fate. Devdatta is against this trip but Padmini and Kapila strongly desire to go as they would get time to spend together. During their trip she openly express her fondness for Kapila, and mocks Devdatta, by narrating the incidence where she and Devdatta went in a cart. It is tragic fate of Devdatta that his love and friendship both the things close to his heart are no longer there for him. Obviously, Devdatta is left with no choice but to bid good-bye to his wife and friend.

Devdatta in the hope of getting relief beheads himself before the goddess

but as tragic fate would do, he is brought back to life with Kapila's body. Same is the fate of Kapila who from the beginning knew that Padmini is meant for him. He despite trying hard could not stop himself from liking Padmini:

KAPILA. So it is off. What am I to do for the rest of the day? …why this emptiness… Kapila, Kapila get a tight hold on yourself. You are slipping, boy, control yourself. Don't lose that hold. Go now… Go, Go! (Aloud) well then – I'll start.[16] (23)

He is confused, as he cannot leave his friend and neither can he leave Padmini. When Devdatta goes alone to the temple of Kali, he follows him and offers his head too .Even Kapila cannot get what he wanted.

Padmini, the root cause of all the tension, when she sees both men beheaded offers herself too, suddenly she is given a boon to bring both men to life. But her's is also a tragic fate, in the hurry she joins the wrong body with the wrong head and this boon turns into a curse for Devdatta and Kapila both. For Padmini this is the combination she has longed for since her marriage, but once they become alive, both Devdatta and Kapila, start fighting as to whose wife Padmini is, head or body. Even the goddesse's miracle fails, such is the tragic fate of all the three that they still are haunted with the same problem, whether Devdatta or Kapila. Their life seems to be a vicious circle from which there is no escape. Both Kapila and Devdatta claim Padmini's hand.

Padmini goes with Devdatta's head and is happy as she gets what she wanted. Karnad has time and again brought our attention to the fact that God has his own plans for everyone, that human beings are helpless in front of their fate. Padmini's joys end when Devdatta starts loosing Kapila's physique and gets back to his original form.

Padmini again longs for Kapila, she considers herself a loser in the game where Kapila and Devadatta remain the gainers. In fact, all the three are losers. Even the child seems to be a victim of tragedy as he is left to a stranger and his parents die leaving him alone, not even once they think about him. Their life ends in a situation where it had ended before, again a duel is fought between the two and both die. Padmini commits sati:

PADMINI: Other women can die praying that they should get the same husband in all the lives to come. You haven't left me even that little consolation.[17](63)

Even Hayavadana is a tragic horse – he has a horse's body and a man's voice. His mother too left him. B. Vinod in a lively note says:

That completeness is a humanly impossible ideal is suggested first in the story of *Hayavadana* and later in the transposition of heads. By showing the absurdity of the ideal of completeness the play finally achieves its aesthetic goal. It implicitly asserts the value and significance of human imperfection which makes any upward movement impossible.[18] (221)

Dreams of Tipu Sultan, is a great tragedy, not only of the ruler but with him of a state and a vision. Tipu Sultan was a strong and brave ruler, he was unbeatable in intelligence and commitment. Britishers tried all means but were unable to defeat him. He was the only ruler who didn't allow any British convoy in his state. The play begins and ends with a memory. As Aparna Dharwadker says:

Tipu's life is framed throughout by his death. For Kirmani a participant - observer in Tipu's tragedy, the matter of history consists not of facts (which concerns the English) but with the memories of a fabled ruler that are fading all too quickly.[19] (xxvi)

The play begins with the death of a ruler, death which is brought by treachery, he had a dream, to flourish, in business like the British and to some extent he had achieved it also. But the English got scared of his growth and got him murdered. His trust is broken. His last dream is a fantasy of victory in the midst of defeat and death. Not only Tipu but his family had to suffer. His wife dies and his sons are sent as hostages. As He knew that his own people were negotiating against him.The play also exposes how smart English were in dealing with Indians – their sole motive was to earn money. The play ends with a tragic note "the descendants of Tipu Sultan were left to rot in the slums of Calcutta"[20] (239). The descendants of such a powerful ruler who increased the trade of country rotting in the slums is a real pity. This is a tragedy indeed – a tragedy that seems to live on.

Bali also deals with the tragic fate of King, Queen and Queen Mother –

sometimes marriage in different groups can result in chaos in the family. *Bali* is a portrayal of ardent believers. Queen detests animal sacrifice whereas Queen Mother cannot think of anything without doing animal sacrifice, be it for celebrating or doing penance. The element of tragedy hits when Queen goes to the Mahout and the King sees her with the Mahout. Queen Mother comes to know about her and wants her and the King to make a sacrifice. The play rotates around this single theme of sacrifice. Mahout has his own tragedy – he is born ugly, and so is ashamed of his looks. As Vinod comments the plays of Karnad are:

> a powerful portrait of the agony and anguish faced by both men and women in their development into adult roles and social adjustment in a society where the individual is given little space for self-development, awareness and independence as a being.[21](249)

Karnad has used existentialism in his plays. Existentialism is an attitude and outlook that emphasises human existence. 'Existence precedes essence' – this is the maxim of existentialism. Existentialism deals with the problems that the individual has to face in life, with the ways how he faces them, with his feelings and emotions and above all, with his outlook on life and experience. It recognises freedom and responsibility of the individual man. Radhakrishnan realises deeply the present-day condition of man. According to him the present period is a period of uncertainty. Man has lost his happiness and peace.The life has become artificial and mechanical. Radhakrishnan writes, "we live in a period of agonising strain, of grave anxiety, of manifold disillusionment. The world is in a condition of trance"[22](5).

Thus, the plays of Karnad time and again show a mortal will, engaged in an unequal struggle with destiny, whether that destiny be represented by the forces within or outside the mind. The conflict reaches its tragic outcome when the individual perishes. The tragic issue, the defeat of the individual, leads to the realisation that human presumption to determine one's destiny is necessarily ruinous. Tragedy, then, deals with the most fundamental of issues that exists at all – man's relationship to the gods. The underlying question of all these dramas concerns the laws and standards by which the gods let man live. It is the paradox of tragedy that it will never yield any definite answers.

The only result is one's awareness of the unreliability and deceptiveness of human reason, the realisation that the true shape of things cannot always be judged by their surface appearance, the experience that man's view and insight can be clouded over by demonic forces, the experience of the nothingness of man. Ultimately, perhaps, all the instances that we find in tragedy of powerlessness, of undeniable human limitations, derive from the tragic perception of human existence itself, which seems, at least in part, to be terrifyingly vulnerable, precarious, and problematic. And it is precisely because of these human limitations that suffering also becomes basic to the tragic vision. Tragedy typically presents situations that emphasise vulnerability, situations in which both physical and spiritual security and comforts are undermined, and in which the characters are pressed to the utmost limits – overwhelming odds, impossible choices, demonic forces within or without. Against the tragic protagonist are the powers that be, whether human or divine, governed by fate or chance, fortune or accident, necessity or circumstance, or any combination of these. The more elevated, the more apparently secure and privileged the character's initial situation, the greater is our sense of the fall, of the radical change of fortune undergone, and the greater our sense of his or her suffering. Tragedy testifies to suffering as an enduring, often inexplicable force in human life.

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10

Una Video and the Political Economy of Social Media

Amol Ranjan

On 11th July 2016, seven people from the Dalit community were flogged, paraded and brutally beaten by cow vigilantes from Mata Samadiyara village in Gir Somnath district in Gujarat[1]. A video clip featuring four Dalit men (Vashram, Ramesh, Ashok and Bechar) being beaten up was shot and circulated through WhatsApp[2]. The video may have initially been circulated by people who felt deep disdain for people who were alleged to be engaged in 'cow slaughtering'. Ironically, however, it soon went viral on social media because of its graphic images of caste violence that exist in our country today. The circulation of these violent images led to major agitations and protests on social media platforms as well as on the streets of Gujarat[3]. Jignesh Mevani, a 35-year-old lawyer and Dalit rights activist and the convener of the *Una Dalit Atyachar Ladat Samiti,* led a rally in Ahmedabad where thousands of Dalits took a pledge to stop picking up carcasses[4]. According to Bezwada Wilson, National Convener of the *Safai Karmachari Andolan* who has been campaigning to end manual scavenging for many years, "These are protests derived from deep grievances. This is our way of asserting our identity, our rights."[5] It is said that it this was one of the biggest Dalit protest movements in recent years[6]. The role of social media in mobilising people and organizing the protests has been unprecedented[7]. This kind of outrage was also seen in the case of

student's protests after Rohith Vemula's suicide in Hyderabad University. In the absence of coverage in mainstream media channels, which traditionally have given little space to widespread cases of caste based atrocities, it was the assertion of Dalit politics through the use of social media which made sure that the event got reported widely.

This recent expansion of Dalit expression through the digital medium is important for addressing caste based injustice in our society. According to the National Crime Records Bureau report 2015[8], a total of 45,003 cases were registered for the crimes committed against the people from Schedule Castes (SCs) out of which 38,564 cases under the Schedule Caste and Schedule Tribe (Prevention of Atrocities) Act 1989 against 32,569 cases registered under the same act in 2010[9]. In addition to this, National Human Rights Commission Report has noted that "A large number of cases which deserve to be registered under the Protection of Civil Rights Act or the SCs & STs (Prevention of Atrocities) Act are not actually registered under these Acts, either due to ignorance of law or under pressure from the interested parties."[10] Although it can be argued that in the case of both the Una floggings and Rohith's suicide, justice has been denied. The demand for land rights of Dalits under constitutional provisions of the Land Ceiling Act and the Agricultural Land Ceiling Act in Gujarat are still far from reality[11]. The five accused in the Una flogging case have been given conditional bail by the Gujarat High court while the government of Gujarat has objected to a plea in High Court which demanded a CBI inquiry into the case. In the Rohith Vemula case, the circulation of his suicide letter on social media had stirred up feelings of rage and anger similar to those provoked by the Una video. Although court cases were filed against five people, including HCU's Vice Chancellor P. Appa Rao and a Union Cabinet Minister Bandaru Dattatreya, under the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes (Prevention of Atrocities Act) 1989, no progress has been made on the case since then. The Ministry of Human Resources and Development appointed Allahabad High Court Judge AK Roopanwala to conduct an enquiry into the case. Although the report has not been made public, certain media reports alleged that Rohith's mother Radhika falsely claimed herself a Dalit to avail of reservation and Rohith didn't face any discrimination in the University[12].

Amidst attempts to de-caste issues, caste hegemonies still persists in our

system. ''The old local-level systems of hierarchy have indeed disintegrated but a new hierarchy of networks based on the institutions of caste and kinship appears to be thriving. These hierarchies work through 'monopolies' over social and cultural capital and enable the reproduction of caste (Jodhka 2015, pp 12)''[13]. However the promise of digital democracy has been to empower every citizen of this country with high speed internet to access information and governance through Digital India Programme. There is no doubt that the growth of digital infrastructure in recent years – the proliferation of Smartphone cameras, penetration of the Internet with 3G and 4G services and use of social media platforms such as Facebook– has played an important role in the proliferation of digital spaces where Dalit politics are asserted. At the start of 2016, there are 342.6 million people in India who have access to the Internet and 142 million people who use Facebook, out of which 133 million people access Facebook on their Smartphones[14]. Considering that the mainstream mediascape is largely composed of upper-caste men, the growth of the digital has a lot to offer marginalised voices. There are a number of Facebook pages, Twitter accounts, websites and blogs devoted to Dalit activism. The followers of these digital spaces have increased after Rohith Vemula's suicide in February 2016, a case that had national resonance. For instance, *National Dastak,* a news website which reports issues of marginalized sections like Dalits, tribes and women, has 1,81,230 followers on Facebook; journalist Dilip C Mandal, who writes extensively on issues related to OBCs and SCs, has 76.986 followers on Facebook; *Dalit Camera: Through Untouchable Eyes* has 30,640 followers and *Round Table India,* a platform for Dalit-Bahujan intellectuals' expression, has 19,894 followers on the medium. In addition to this, *Ambedkar's Caravan* and *Dalit Camera* have more than 17,500 and 11,000 followers on Twitter[15]. The rise of digital media is appears to empower people to express the discrimination that they face and it will provide for voices which have been invisible so far but the digital divide that surrounds the medium has remain a topic for concern[16]. This can also be seen in the manner which the use of social media is played out. One must probe the political economy of social media to get a broader picture.

If we analyze Facebook in particular, among the top trending topics of 2016 were the Uri and Pathankot attacks, surgical strikes, the Rio Olympics, the MS Dhoni biopic, Priyanka Chopra and the iPhone 7 launch[17]. The social media public sphere is heavily occupied by the mainstream and dominant

even in the political realm; e.g.[18] 'I Support Narendra Modi' is the most liked Facebook page among political organization pages with 11,381,410 likes, while alternative platforms like *Dalit Camera: Through Untouchable Eye* merely attracts 14,367 likes from its followers. The Right wing saffron had its rise even before the 2014 national elections[19]. There are a number of Facebook pages devoted to the anti-reservation movement[20]. Social media has slowly saw a shift of all mainstream news outlets and it is drawing a large viewership; e.g. *Times of India* draw Facebook videos had 112 million views only in the month of October 2016, also a result of large number of people who are using small screens (Web and Smartphone) for video streaming. This growth has been fueled by large huge advertising money shifting to these digital platforms of which these mainstream media outlets have been major beneficiaries[21]. No wonder social media platforms are becoming a major source of news and entertainment consumption for its users[22].

Social media is taking over the mainstream; where Google and Facebook have become one of the most powerful media institutions[23]: Algorithm-based design not only makes sure that we don't miss out on what is going 'viral' and what is 'trending on our news feed[24]' but it also perpetuates the kind of content and ideas that we already have grown accustomed to. It provides one with a much customized worldview where it is easy for advertisers to target their potential consumers.[25] On the other hand, it eliminates the chances of encountering contrary points of view and things that might be ideologically very different to ours. There is a danger that our news feed is manufacturing a narrow world vision for our self. This phenomenon has been identified as filter bubbles[26] or echo chambers of social media. The circulation of the Una video and the resultant anger might have exploded on one timeline while for many others there might not even have been a hint of what the issue was all about. These bubbles can be small or big, with a promise of keeping you happy and solidifying your ideology by borrowing solidarity from online spaces. But this fragmentation can lead to major estrangement from the ground realities of the world – Donald Trump's win in the US presidential election shocked a section of media and people who had no doubts that Hillary Clinton would win the elections; perhaps they never saw how supporters from the other side in their timelines were gaining momentum in the run-up[27]. In such circumstances, digital democracy is faced by a challenge where these bubbles of exclusion and isolation on the Internet provide for only minor

interactions among various perspectives. Although social media, barring state surveillance[28] and periodic restrictions, has been able to accumulate all kinds of political expressions quite successfully. Hardik Patel's lead Patidar movement in Gujarat and Militant Commander Burhan Wahni's popularity among Kashmiri youth were few examples of that. But corporate social media which run on the logic of capital and the growth of its services also associate its users as consumers as well as commodities.

Anand Teltumbde, author of the book *The Persistence of Caste: The Khairlanji Murders & India's Hidden Apartheid* says, "Technology—not just in social media applications, but the availability of cheap and abundant computing power, data capture and storage that in turn has created a new paradigm of analytics—cannot ignore Dalits as consumers of goods and services. Therefore, the media cannot afford to ignore Dalits any longer, although being still largely Dalit-free, it displays prejudice as well as ignorance in writing about them.[29]" Facebook had an ambitious plan of hijacking Internet in India with its Free Basic services but it was later disallowed on the principles of Net Neutrality. They wanted to target the untapped rural population who still has a very limited access to Internet services. Social media thrives on its users who are the producers as well as the consumers of the medium. Users' activity is carefully monitored the data generated by them is used for targeted online advertising. 'They store, merge and analyze collected data. This allows them to create detailed user profiles and to know a lot about the users' personal interests and online behaviors. Surveillance is an inherent feature of corporate social media's capital accumulation model. (Fuchs 2014, 100)[30]' The rise of political expression of Dalits on the Internet is a reality and it is likely to grow as the Digital India Program penetrates into parts of India where there is still no internet connection but under the logic of political economy of the corporate social media platforms they're likely to be used also as a commodity. 'Social media users are double objects of commodification: they are commodities themselves and through this commodification their consciousness becomes while online, permanently exposed to commodity logic in the form of advertisements (Fuchs 2014, 101).[31]' So every profile page is a space for further commoditization and a very single 'like' is an opportunity for advertisers.

In advent of mediated events such as Una violence incident; social media

sharing and reproduction of events becomes an object of scrutiny. Circulation of violence of committed on Dalit bodies starts to become a means to be a media spectacle and the reproduction of identities as an object of commodities. Philosopher Douglas Kellner in his essay *Media Culture and the Triumph of the Spectacle* writes ''Political and social life is also shaped more and more by media spectacle. Social and political conflicts are increasingly played out on the screens of media culture, which display spectacles like sensational murder cases, terrorist bombings, celebrity and political sex scandals, and the explosive violence of everyday life. Media culture not only takes up expanding moments of contemporary experience, but also provides ever more material for fantasy, dreaming, modeling thought and behavior, and constructing identities.''[32] So the Dalit activism through the use of social media presents an interesting challenge to anti-caste movement itself amidst the reproduction of commodity nature of its own identities and events; where digital itself can become means for spreading caste based discrimination.[33] Una uprising did become one of the biggest Dalit movement in Gujarat in recent years but the sustainability of the movement will depend on organizing strength of people and the will to change centuries old system of domination. The role of digital mediums will be inevitable in such mobilization. But it is also important to understand that most of these platforms are owned by big companies like Google and Facebook. They own all the data in circulation. The idea of digital democracy should be threatened by such ownership of information and data. Caste hierarchies have defied promises of modernity to end the system of discrimination and hegemonies[34]. It persisted and reproduced itself during stages of industrialization and globalization. The digital throws an interesting turn to the present where majority of marginalized still find themselves on the lesser side of the digital divide.

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11

Indian Constitution:
The Vision of B. R. Ambedkar

Kamal Kumar

Abstract-*The inception of the Indian Constitution in 1950 was a significant event not only in the political history of India but also in the history of 'social justice' and 'human rights'. At the same time, it has opened up new avenues of human welfare and development in the Indian subcontinent by providing equal rights and privileges to the citizens at large. The Constitution of independent India was meant more than a mere legal manuscript—that likely to structure the norms of governingas well as define the functions of various key institutions and political actors—for thewhole society in general and underprivileged sections in particular. The latter were exploited in multiple ways over the centuries owing to the dominant social order of Hindu society, and perhaps this is why, they had a lot of expectations from the newly adopted legal document. The primary aimof the paper is to examine the fact that to what extent the Indian Constitution comprises the vision of B. R. Ambedkar and more specifically, to explore the ways in which the social and political philosophy of Ambedkar have influenced the development of constitution-making in India.*

Key Words: HumanRight, Constitutional Provisions, Depressed Classes, Social Justice, Policy Of Inclusion, Affirmative Actions.

> However good a Constitution may be, it is sure to turn out bad because those who are called to work it, happen to be a bad. However bad a Constitution may be, it may turn out good if those who are called to work it, happen to be a good lot.   *- Dr. B. R. Ambedkar*

Introduction

India gained the status of 'free' and 'sovereign' nation-state in August 15, 1947 after a long struggle and countless sacrifices. It adopted Constitution on November 26, 1949 which came in enforcement on January 26, 1950. It is often considered as one of the lengthiest constitutions in the world which establishes a democratic state. In free India, the constitution has been framed in such a way in the post-colonial period that it makes endeavour to fulfil those expectations which were created by its people while they were under the yoke of the Britishers. Post-colonialist constitutions have an agenda of development and even stand for the social change. The process of constitution-making during the 1940s was thus laden with various sets of expectations and requirements. In fact, it was assumed that the new Constitution would be effective enough to terminate the unending patterns of exploitation based on gender, caste and religion, and bring increasingly sought changes in the deeply hierarchical and unequal social structure so one could live with dignity and possess equal rights. It was indeed the first moment in the lives of millions of people, particularly the depressed communities when they were likely to receive an equal treatment and entitlement after the adoption of new Constitution. Ambedkar believes that Constitution is not just a written text but it can be an effective tool to ensure justice and equality to all the sections of society especially to the down-trodden sections of society. He wished to achieve several objectives with the help of constitutional provisions. Gary Jeffrey Jacobson insists that a nation's Constitution is more than a written legal document as it also entails the fundamental norms and principles of a particular society. Despite the fact that the Constitution of Independent India has borrowed several provisions from the varied Government of India Acts prepared by the Britishers during the colonial period, the Constitution reflects *'Indianess'*.[1] But it is not the concern of this paper to traces the various sources which fashioned the constitutional development in India. The central theme

of this paper is to examine the fact that to what extent the Indian Constitution comprises the vision of B. R. Ambedkar and more specifically, to explore the ways in which the social and political philosophy of Ambedkar have influenced the development of constitution-making in India.

Dr. Bhimrao Ramji Ambedkar (1891-1956) has been considered as the Chief Architect of the Indian Constitution. The text prepared by Ambedkar offered a wide range of constitutional safeguards and guarantees to all citizens, for instance, socio-economic rights, civil liberties, freedom of religion, the abolition of untouchability and the prohibition of all forms of discrimination among others. He argued for extensive economic and social rights, especially for the depressed classes. In addition to constitutional rights, he eventually won the Assembly's support for introducing a system of reservations of jobs in the civil services, schools and colleges particularly for members of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. These measures are popularly known as the *'Policy of Inclusion'* that makes endeavours to include the deprived and overlooked classes in the society. However it is very questionable that to what extent these measures have been succeeded in their teleological tasks. In this way, Ambedkar was a valiant fighter for the cause of social justice and social equality, and thus known as the leader, liberator, hero, emancipator, representative of the voices of the socially overlooked classes.[2] He fought his entire life for the upliftment of the depressed classes. He stated in the Constituent Assembly, "I know today we are divided politically, socially, and economically. We are a group of warring camps, and I may go even to the extent of confessing that I am probably one of the leaders of such a camp."[3] In this way, he explicitly mentioned his commitment for the depressed sections of society. This paper is concerned with the detailed study of Ambedkar's constitutional vision and its impact on constitution-making process in India.

B. R. Ambedkar: Shaping the Indian Constitution

B. R. Ambedkar, who chaired the Drafting Committee, is notably considered as the '*Father of the Indian Constitution*' and played a very pivotal role in the constitution-making. Though when the leadership in the Constituent Assembly selected him to be the Chairman of the Drafting Committee, Ambedkar was very pleasantly amazed at the choice and said that "i came into the Constituent Assembly with no greater aspiration than to

safeguard the interest of the Scheduled Castes greatly surprised when the Assembly elected me to the Drafting Committee. I was more than surprised when the Drafting Committee elected me to be its Chairman."[4] This section is divided into two parts. This part presents a detailed analysis of the provisions given in the Indian Constitution which are in a way or other shaped by the social and political philosophy of Ambedkar. The second and last part outlines the views proposed by Ambedkar that could not succeed to find their place in the final draft of the Constitution.

Caste-system in India assigns particular sets of functions and roles even before ones birth, and also provides specific economic, civil, cultural and educational rights to one without a freedom to change. It ignores therefore an individual capabilities, preferences and choices. In this regard, the social order prevail in the Indian society provides no entailments, social and economic rights and freedoms to lower castes, and in contrary, gives manifold opportunities, "privileges and rights to the higher castes, particularly the Brahmins."[5] Therefore, the fact was much known to the Constituent Assembly that the constitution was going to be introduced in a deeply unequal and discriminatory society. This is probably why its member greatly "debated and drafted the constitution with the explicit purpose of dislodging the status quo."[6] B. R. Ambedkar, undoubtedly and noticeably, was the man who borne the responsibility to fight against the untouchability and exploitation based on Hindu caste system. He struggled both inside and outside the Constituent Assembly for the untouchables' rights and carved for them a place in the Republican Constitution of India.

Ambedkar vowed to break away untouchability and observed, "If I fail to do away with abominable thraldom and human injustice under which I was born has been groaning, I will put an end to my life with a bullet."[7] There are thus several provisions maintained in the Constitution of India that attempt to attain his vision pertaining to the untouchability and caste based discrimination. Ratna G. Revankar held, "the downtrodden sections familiarly known as the 'backward classes' received special attention of the Constitution makers."[8] In fact, the upliftment of these sections has been recognized as an important responsibility of the state and its institution. He presented the various provisions in the Constituent Assembly for protecting the interests of the marginalized sections. Articles 15 (4), 16 (4), 19(1) (d) and (e), 29 (2), 275,

330, 335 and 340 incorporated in the Constitution are clearly reflections of his conceptual understanding of social and economic justice. These Articles empower the state to make special provision for securing the interests of socially and educationally backward classes, that is, Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.

Articles 14, 15, 17 mentioned under the Part III are worth discussing in detail to comprehend the influence of Ambedkar's vision on the Indian Constitution. Article 14 says that "the State shall not deny to any person equality before the laws or the equal protection of the laws within the territory of India." Article 15 prohibits the discrimination on the bases of religion, caste, race sex or palace of birth. Article 17 is the most ground-breaking provision made in the Constitution which abolishes 'untouchability' and outlaws its practices in any form. It is often considered as the provision which has significantly brought the '*social revolution*' in the deeply hierarchical and unequal India Indian by criminalizing the practices of untouchability and arranging punishment in accordance with law for those follow it.

Furthermore, Article 23 outlaws forced labour, which has been in general considered as one of the proper mechanisms in establishing the dominant caste rule or feudal regimes particularly in the rural societies which disregard the lower castes. These all provisions are indeed reflections of his great vision in eradicating the evil of untouchability which has been eating the vitals of the society and exposing the country to the threat of disintegration. Besides dignifying the lives of untouchables, it forbids the numerous patterns of discrimination. It has been realized that national freedom gained in 1947 would be ineffective if the fruits of freedom are not equally shared by all in the society. The democratic ethos also emphasizes a footing of equality for all citizens irrespective of their caste affiliations. The aim is to bring about radical social and economic changes, to correct the imbalance in society caused by the caste structure. To quote the learned Ambedkar in his own words, "untouchability is not only a system of unmitigated economic exploitation, but it is also a system of uncontrolled economic exploitation. That is, because there is no independent public opinion to condemn it and there is no impartial machinery of administration and restrain."[9]

The circumstances necessitating the incorporation of certain articles in the Constitution for backward classes have been further explained by B. R.

Ambedkar, "the Indian Constitution must provide safeguards to prevent castes 'with their own interests' from doing mischief to other helpless castes."[10]In this way, it can be argued that Ambedkar sought to establish the notion of constitutional morality in an independent India which is defined by, a well-known legal scholar and sociologist, Kannabiran as the "signposts the inauguration of modernity, of a new social order in the subcontinent, which is distinct both from the colonial order and form the social order prior to colonialism."[11] In addition to these constitutional safeguards, the parliament in 1955 has passed the Untouchability (Offences) Act and the same has been comprehensively amended in 1976 for further ensuring justice to low-castes, and later passed the Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe (Prevention of Atrocities) Act, 1989 to prevent atrocities against the members of Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe.

Ambedkar though managed to include certain provisions in the Constitution of India for empowering lower castes, but the fact was much known to him that establishing equal human and civil rights for 'depressed classes' was not sufficient in ensuring justice and welfare to them unless it would be accompanied by the legal provisions and safeguards to uphold those rights in the case of its violation and denial.[12]He believed that providing rights to all citizens would not enough because the more powerful, the highly privileged higher classes might be able to deny them to lower strata of society. Law therefore should provide remedies against the invasion of fundamental rights. Ambedkar said in the Constituent Assembly that "all of us are aware that rights are nothing unless remedies are provided whereby people can seek to obtain redress when rights are invaded."[13]Within this background, constitutional remedies have been arranged in the Constitution of India. Article 32 provides the right to all citizens of the country to approach the Supreme Court, if their fundamental rights and constitutional privileges are violated by any state institution or individual. This is perhaps why Ambedkar considered this provision as the very '*soul*' of the Constitution and the very heart of it. It is important to note, the Supreme Court later has declared that Article 32 is a part of basic structure of the Constitution.

A close reading of some of his original writings about democracy clearly uncover the fact that B. R. Ambedkar had very optimistic view of democracy. He considered democratic politics as an effective peaceful means to emancipate

untouchables from the diverse patterns of exploitation prevailing since the ages as well as to radically alter their way of life. He explained in the Constituent Assembly on November 19, 1948 that "the reason why we have established in this Constitution a political democracy is because we do not install by any mean whatsoever a perpetual dictatorship of any particular body of people."[14]His strong faith in democracy can also be read in his other writings, for instance, once he argued that "we must not only be staunch in our faith in democracy, but we must resolve to see that in whatever we do, we don't help the enemies of democracy to uproot the principles like liberty, equality and fraternity."[15] These three principles got noteworthy place in the Preamble itself, which is known as the *soul* of Indian Constitution.

In his writing, Ambedkar had strongly pointed out a '*contradictory*' nature of life in the Constituent Assembly, that is, political life possessed a non-discriminatory character whereas socio-economic life, similarly to the past, continued to retain an unfair and unequal nature. More specifically, he claimed that "in political life we will be recognizing the principle of one man one vote and one vote one value. In our social and economic life, we shall, by reason of structure, continue to deny the principle of one man one value."[16] Probably, this is why he incorporated the 'Directive Principles of State Policy' enumerated in part IV of the Indian Constitution from Article 36 to 51. This Part is said to promote the ideals of social and economic democracy by guiding the state to make effort for protecting the interests of deprived sections in society. However it should be noted, unlike Fundamental Rights, the Directive Principles are merely a set of instructions to the various states to undertake particular line of actions for the benefits of weaker sections. This fact was also stressed by B. R. Ambedkar, "the Directive Principles are nothing but obligations imposed by the Constitution upon the various Governments in the country, though if the Government failed to carry them out, no one could ask for specific preformation."[17]

Ambedkar had a staunch faith in the principle of 'secularism' that gives equal respect to all religions. In this respect, he argued that "the state shall not recognize any religion as state religion."[18] This conceptualization of secularism proposed by Ambedkar was indeed borrowed by the constitutional makers as the Constitution of India gives complete freedom to its citizens to believe in any religion, and to manage their religious activities (Article 25-28).

Furthermore, the word 'Secular' is included in the Preamble of Constitution by the Forty-second amendment. Yet, they are certain limits beyond which tolerance cannot go. For instance, the practices of caste and untouchability, economic exploitation and social tyranny, can no longer be permissible. In this way, Ambedkar vision of secularism is of a radical type, and rebel against any religious ill treatment, hatred and discrimination.

Ambedkar, the principal drafter of Constitution, imagined a society where all citizens would possess equal representation within the state institutions. While he failed to pass the provisions related to the 'Separate Electorate' in the Constituent Assembly, he sought to reserve a fixed number of seats for untouchables in the State Legislature and the Parliament. Part XVI of the Constitution deals with the special provision for backward classes. Article 330 and 332 reserve a certain number of seats for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in the House of the People and Legislative Assemblies of the States respectively. The reservations of seats for these sections would have not been imagined in the absence of B R Ambedkar in the Constituent Assembly. This is probably why Alistair McMillan (2005) writes that "the retention of electoral reservation for the Scheduled Castes was due to the presence of a powerful spokesperson at the centre of negotiations: Dr Ambedkar… was member of key committees which discussed special representation for the Scheduled Castes."[19]Besides, the reservation has also been made in the central and state appointments in the favour of the Schedules Castes and Scheduled Tribes to ensure their adequate representation in the public services on the one hand, and on the other, to provide an additional platform to make their mark in the mainstream society.

He also believes that social union is a necessity to blossom and flourish the democracy in true sense. For that, he suggested the safeguards for the minorities are vital. In democracy, minorities must feel safe. Ambedkar noted that "the suppression and exploitation of minorities in any form is the negation of democracy and humanism. If suppression is not stopped, then democracy degenerates into tyranny."[20] Therefore, the provisions have been made to protect the cultural and educational rights of minorities, and to eliminate their fear from the dominance of majority. For example: Article 29 and 30 protect the interests of minorities. In this respect, Subhash Kashyap proclaims that the most crucial area which an understanding of Ambedkar's real

Constitutional vision has the potential of throwing up a new vistas and fresh perspective is that of minority rights.

The Unfulfilled Agendas

Dr. Ambedkar was strongly in favor of 'separate electorate' wherein only an untouchable (Scheduled Caste) voter would have right to cast their vote for untouchable candidate without being influenced from the higher castes. This electorate system was likely to empower untouchables more than any others since here they could choose their own representative from among themselves, thus "constituting themselves into a real political force, whereas the reserved seats left open the possibility of upper caste dominated parties co-opting untouchables, handing out tickets during the elections and electing them, even when this ran contrary to the wishes of local untouchables."[21] He succeeded to endow untouchables with a separate electorate at Second Round Table Conference (1931) held in London and this plan famously known as 'Communal Award', however it was later relinquished in the wake of extensive resistance from Gandhi. The demand for separate electorate was again raised in the Memorandum prepared by Ambedkar for the Cabinet Mission Plan, which later submitted to the Constituent Assembly in 1947. In this Memorandum, Ambedkar suggested separate electorate as a "fool-proffer and knave-proof method… to ensure real representation to the Scheduled Castes."[22]Nevertheless, he could not be succeeded once again in arranging separate electorate for untouchables in the new Constitution of India which was finally adopted. In this regard, Sukhadeo Thorat and Narender Kumar point out, "Referring to an agreement arrived at in the very beginning of the meeting of the Constituent Assembly, Ambedkar mentioned that a give and take formula was adopted so that minorities will not press for Separate Electorates and majority will not oppose reserved seats for the minorities... It meant that Ambedkar did follow the agreement to avoid any further confusion on the issue and as per situation did not press for Separate Electorates, which he favoured. It shows that though Ambedkar did not really favour reservation over Separate Electorates for representation to the SCs but in the given circumstances he had less option that to accept the arrangement."[23]

Besides fighting for the betterment of untouchables and tribal communities in particular, Ambedkar also sought to bring certain changes in

the status of women as well. The fact was quite recognized by him, the situation of women in the Indian society had been more or less similar to, often more deteriorated than, the untouchables from the ages. According to Hindu religious scripts, they are assigned the inferior and subordinate place in the patriarchal Hindu society and the social evils like dowry, child marriage, forced marriage, and subjugation of women among others are extensively practiced. For instance, while observing the status of women in Hindus sacred texts, Jogendra Sinha pointed out, "Women were not given a place of honour by Manu. They were forbidden to study the Vedas… Manu Smriti prescribes that a man of thirty shall marry a maiden of twelve or a man of twenty-fours a girl of eight… Before marriage a girl was required to be under the control of her father or brother. After marriage, she was required to be under the control of her husband."[24]

During the deliberation in the Constituent Assembly, Ambedkar questioned the excessive influence and control of Hindu religion, customs and usages into the private lives of an individual. This too much interference gives one (men) privileges and power to control not just the lives of other (woman), but also offer the justifications to exploit the latter at the vary stages. He strongly stated in the Constituent Assembly, "I personally do not understand why religion should be given this vast, expansive jurisdiction, so as to cover the whole the whole life and to prevent the legislature from encroaching upon that field… We are having this liberty in order to reform our social system, which is full of inequities, discriminations and other things, which conflict with our fundamental rights".[25] Hence, he was strongly in the favour to disentangle the private lives from Hindu customs, and strictly limit the role of religion and traditions in one life to the very limited extent. Subsequently, he widely criticized all those members of Constituent Assembly who wished to let the personal laws regulates the individual life. In this context, he also pursued to bring certain changes by replacing the prevailing Hindu laws with western-inspired Civil Code, which famously known as 'The Hindu Code Bill'. The main objectives of this Bill prepared by Ambedkar are worth to highlight here, "Firstly, it seeks to codify the law relating to the rights of property of a deceased Hindu who had died intestate without making a will, both female and male. Secondly, it prescribes a somewhat alerted form of the order of succession among the different heirs to the property of a deceased dying intestate. The next topic it deals with it the law of maintenance, marriage,

divorce, adoption, minority and guardianship."[26]

But, unfortunately, Ambedkar could not succeed to make the Hindu Code Bill an integral part of the Indian Constitution owing to the growing and increasingly vocal opposition by the delegates. He just managed to obtain a provision in the Part IV, that is, Article 44, which says that "the State shall endeavour to secure for the citizens a uniform civil code throughout the territory off India." In this respect, Valerian Rodrigues observes, "Ambedkar's emphasis in his argument on the bill is to reform Hinduism and to create a large enough public space regulated by the rule of law applicable to one and all. He is open to diversity but only under the rule of law. The orthodoxy clearly perceived a threat from the Bill, but even those who supported Ambedkar did not do it for the reasons he stressed."[27]

Moreover, in the context of marital relationship, it is imperative to recall article 42 maintained in the initial Draft Constitution, which is submitted to the Constituent Assembly in 1948 by Ambedkar, says that, "the State shall endeavour to secure that marriage shall be based only on the mutual consent of both sexes and shall be maintained through mutual cooperation, with the equal rights of husband and wife as a basis. The State shall also recognize that motherhood has a special claim on its care and protection."[28] However this article was later dropped from the final draft of the Constitution, and eventually led Ambedkar to resign from the post of Law Minister in the Nehru Cabinet.[29] He held, despite the fact that the Indian society desperately need to reform widely, the Congress and it leadership seemed to maintain the status-quo.

Conclusion

Dr B. R Ambedkar, the chief draftsman of the Indian Constitution, played a significant part in the process of constitution-making. He raised the voices of those who had been long remained unheard, and had an intense commitment for the social cause and upliftment of deprived and down-trodden sections of society. Ambedkar was the representative—in the Constituent Assembly—of all downtrodden sections in general and untouchables in particular, and also he proudly proclaimed himself the leader of the latter. He has been considered a pioneer of the notion of 'affirmative actions' and 'inclusive policies' in India. These concepts have been emerged

out of constant denial of equal rights and justice to downtrodden communities.

Indian Constitution does incorporate the social and political philosophy of B. R. Ambedkar which is most noticeably evident in the various provisions of the Constitution, The Preamble, Part III, Part IV, and Part XVI among others clearly bears the imprint of his ideas, as argued earlier. Ambedkar was determined to establish a *just society* via constitutional means.Christophe Jaffrelot observes that there is no doubt "that the Constitution drew a great deal on the 1935 Government of India Act and the 1928 Nehru Report, Ambedkar influence throughout its preparation was considerable."[30] In the same vein, Rodrigues argues that "Ambedkar drafted several documents which were to shape the constitutional developments in India."[31] On the other side, it is irony that the practices of exclusion—continual denial of constitutional rights and privileges, equality of opportunity and basic necessities—as well as the vicious exploitation of low-castes in multiple ways in the society has resulted into the large number of cases of dalit atrocities and violence against dalits in the post-colonial India. In this context, Kannabiran highlights some of cases of dalit atrocities taken place after the independence, "In the case of discrimination against dalits, instances of collective violence have occurred at Kilvenmani (44 dalits burnt alive in Tamil Nadu in 1968), Belchi (14 dalits burnt alive in Bihar in 1977), Morichjhanpi (hundreds of dalit refugees massacred by the state in Sunderbans, West Bengal, 1978), Karamchedu (six dalits murdered, there dalit women raped and many more wounded in Andhra Pradesh, 1991), Melavalavu (an elected dalit panchayat leader and five dalits killed in broad daylight in full public view, 1997), Kambalapalli (six dalits burnt alive in Karnataka, 2000), and Jhajjar (five dalits lynched near a police station in Haryana, 2003)."[32]

Even today, such incidents are continued to occur in the large numbers across the entire nation, and often reported in the daily newspapers. The Indian state and its institution have somewhat failed to live up to the ethos of its democratic Constitution in general, and the philosophy and vision of B. R. Ambedkar in particular.The social relations between the caste and sub-caste groups are still governed by higher Hindu castes' hegemonic principles which,in turn, keep excluding the depressed classes—particularly the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes—sections from achieving the equal status and dignified place in the society. In addition, the rejection of basic

necessities like food, water and shelter from the other dominant castes greatly restricts the very basic human right of these communities, that is to say *right to live,* in the Indian society. Certainly, the Constitution of India comprises the vision of B. R. Ambedkar,which is particularly devoted to the principles of social and economic justice, non-discrimination, liberty, equality and fraternity. However, keeping in mind the growing cases of caste-related violence and dalit atrocities, his vision is yet to be realized in the practice, and it is the task of the governing elite to make efforts to achieve it.

Notes and References

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24   Jogendra Sinha (1993), p. 63.

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27   Ibid., p. 471.

28   Kannabiran, (2012), p. 369

29   Scholars though argue that were another reason as well which forced Ambedkar to resign from the Nehru Cabinet, for a detailed analysis see, Jaffrelot, (2005), pp. 114-120.

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12

Consumer Awareness and Protection in India

Jasmine Jha

Abstract

India is now a part of the global market due to globalisation. Markets in India have also changed according to the growing world markets' demand. As we know that markets in India are consumer oriented now but the major motive for the sellers is to maximize their profit. In this situation the market is not able to keep pace with the changing dynamics of the globalization and consumers end up suffering.

To overcome this problem government of India has come up with many laws and orders but unfortunately there is lack of awareness among the consumers. They do not take full advantage of these laws. The situation is taking a lot of time to improve. It has proved to be a major hurdle for the government. To cross this hurdle the government has come up with many consumer awareness programs.

In this paper we have attempted at studying the changes which have been brought about by the government through various awareness programs and their impacts.

Introduction

One of the major challenges faced by the global economy is the problems

faced by consumers. Privatization and globalization has led to a competitive economy. A firm needs to be highly competitive not just in the domestic market but foreign market as well. The market is profit oriented where the firms think of ways to maximize their profits.

This scenario has led to cost cutting on various fronts so that the firms are able to receive higher profit than expected in comparison to the other firms and individually as well. This attitude has harmed the interests of consumers a lot, especially in the developing economies. It is very difficult for the manufacturers to cheat the consumers easily in the developed countries like US and UK due to well established consumer awareness and protection in comparison to countries like India.

To protect the interest of consumers government of India is quite serious and has brought various laws from time to time. However, laws alone can not protect the interests of consumers. The consumer has to be aware of their rights and the laws protecting their interests. So ways to improve consumer awareness were also developed. It is important to note that consumer protection and awareness are complementary to each other. None can be implemented properly without the other.

Many consumer awareness programs have been implemented by the government like *Jaago Grahak Jaago,* etc. In this paper we study their impact in India. Has it led to an improvement in consumer awareness or not? Our attempt is at studying its pattern and implementation.

Objective

- To understand consumer awareness and protection
- To understand consumer protection act and how it works.
- To study the pattern and implementation of consumer awareness in India.

Methodology

This paper is based on theoretical approach. Hakimuddin's article, *Consumer awarness : importance of consumer awareness and rights of consumers*

is used to analyse the need of consumer awareness in India. Subho Mukharjee's article *Consumer Protection in India: Needs and Measures* explains the rights which were being protected with the introduction of consumer protection act. Finally to show how the government is trying to improve on its consumer awareness and protection policy we have used the consumer protection bill no. 226 of 2015 which was proposed in Lok Sabha.

All these articles were combined together with the data collected to achieve the objectives stated mentioned above. The data has been collected from National Consumer Disputes Redressal Commission, National Consumer Helpline, etc., and used in creating charts and table for the easier depiction and analysis of trends in India.

Consumer Awareness

As we have already discussed above that consumer awareness and consumer protection go hand in hand, in this section we discuss about their characteristics and differences.

In the age of capitalism and globalization every firm runs on the basis of maximization of profit. To achieve this objective the firms create an unfavourable environment for the consumers. This is done by charging exorbitant prices, selling of adulterated and poor quality goods, misleading consumers by giving false advertisements and many more. A consumer to protect himself from such atrocities needs to be aware of his rights which we refer to as consumer awareness.

Due to harmful practices followed by the manufacturers, there is a need for consumer awareness which will help in creating a fair environment for the consumer. The need for consumer awareness is mentioned below:[1]

1.   Achieve maximum satisfaction: every consumer faces a budget constraint therefore he needs to maximize his satisfaction within that budget constraint. But unnecessarily high prices charged by the manufacturers or poor quality supplied by them in the market ends up harming a consumer's maximum satisfaction level. Therefore a consumer should be aware of all the information of the goods he buys from the market.

2. Protection against exploitation: the manufacturers exploit consumers in many ways like misleading advertisements, under weighing, etc. A consumer should be aware to protect him from such exploitations.

3. Control over consumption of harmful goods: consumer should be aware of the goods that harm them in anyway and reduce their consumption, for example, tobacco and alcohol.

4. Motivation for savings: awareness helps consumer reduce their consumption on wasteful goods and helps them save, which in turn can be used in other productive goods or investment.

5. Knowledge regarding solution of problems: onsumers get cheated by the sellers because of lack of knowledge and innocence. Therefore the consumer needs to be well aware of its rights and laws which can help him solve problems.

It is the general helplessness of consumers in front of the manufacturers that the United Nations General Assembly in 1985 recommended adopting protective, preventive and curative measures for the consumers to its member countries. This resolution made the member countries to create agencies for adjudication of consumer claims and to create a conducive environment for protection of the consumers.

Consumer Protection in India

Indian government passed Consumer Protection Act in 1986(COPRA). It was later amended in the year 2002. The main objective of this act is to decide the complaints of the consumers immediately and to make legal proceedings easy. A three tier judicial system has been established under this act. These are at district, state and national level. Their division is based on the claim that the consumer is demanding. Claims up to Rs 20 lakhs are dealt in district court, claims between Rs 20 lakhs to 1 crore is dealt in state level and claims beyond Rs 1 crore are dealt in national level.

This law helps in protecting the rights of the consumers. These rights are discussed below:[2]

- Right to be heard: this means that every consumer has the right to be heard. This means that the complaints of the consumer should receive the due attention.

- Right to safety: the producers are expected to follow the rules for the protection of the consumer. If they don't do so then there is higher chance that the consumer will have to bear a huge risk. For e.g. if the producer doesn't use good quality cement in building an infrastructure then the building might fall and there is a huge danger for the consumers.

- Right to choose: the consumer has the right to choose between seller and one seller cannot force the consumer to buy goods from him only. In this situation the consumer can take legal actions against the seller.

- Right to be informed: this implies that the consumer should be well informed regarding the good he is consuming. They should be informed about every characteristic of the goods by the producers to make an optimal choice by the consumer.

- Right against exploitation: this right protects the consumer from any restrictive trade practices and other harmful situations which can lead to exploitations for e.g. high prices, etc.

- Right to get redress: this right helps in redressing consumers' complaints and grievances regarding goods and services consumed.

On the other hand the government is also trying to improve awareness among the consumers by using various means. It has mostly used advertisements on television, radio and in newspapers to spread awareness in the masses about the rights and laws. Non-governmental Organisations (NGOs) have also played an important role in spreading awareness. One can lodge complaints with a few NGOs like Consumer Grievances, Consumer Guidance Society of India, Common Cause and Consumer Forum, etc. NGOs don't just file complaints but also provide with other support. They organize programs to educate the consumers. *Jago Grahak Jago* also provides help to consumers. A few labels are provided by the government on the products to represent good quality such as ISI mark, AGMARK, etc. These provide a

standard scale about the quality of the product which the consumer is buying

Trends in India

Total Number of Consumer Complaints Filed/Disposed Since Inception Under Consumer Protection Law

Chart 1

(National Consumer Disputes Redressal Commission, http://ncdrc.nic.in/stats.html)
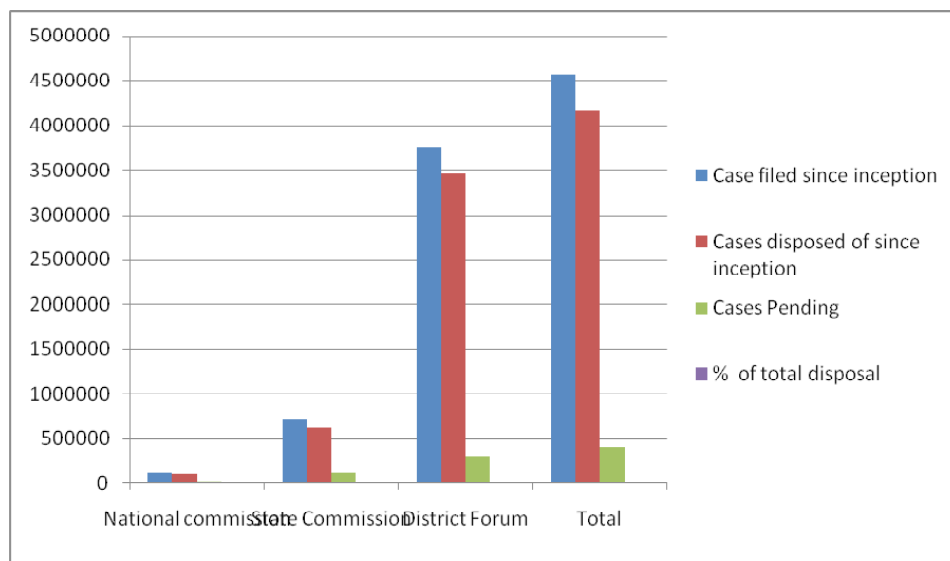
Chart 1 talks about consumer complaints filed and disposed of in India since the day of inception under consumer protection law. In chart 1 we see that percentage of cases disposed of since the day of inception under consumer protection law is pretty good in comparison to cases pending. At National Commission percentage of cases disposed is 89.18%, at state Commission it is 86%, at District Forum it is 92.29% and in total it is 91.23%. Overall the statistics are in support of the government. It states that most of the cases have been taken care of. But the issue doesn't lie here, the hurdle which the government faces is caused by lack of awareness, i.e. a lot of cases are not filed due to lack of awareness and the cost incurred by the consumer throughout the procedure

is way more higher than the gain achieved from it. The consumer is still not well informed regarding the rights and the protection act and is therefore not able to make a right judgment. To make it worse the procedure is also very tedious.

Year-wise Expenditure on Consumer Awareness

Chart 2

Expenditure (in crores)

```
100
 90   ◆
 80    \
 70     _____◆_____◆_____◆_____◆
 60
 50                              ── ◆── Expenditure (in crores)
 40
 30
 20
 10
  0
    2011-12   2012-13   2013-14   2014-15   2015-16
```
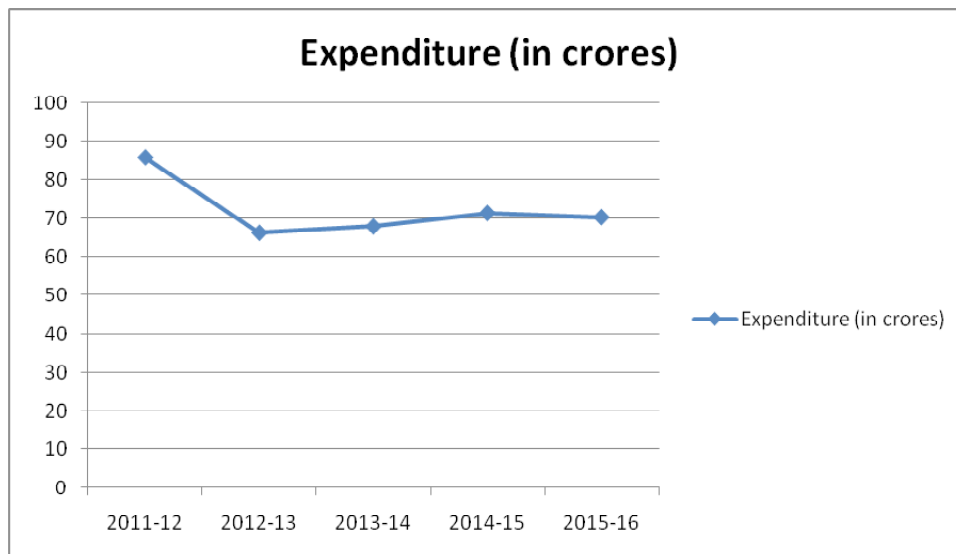
(Department of Consumer Affairs, Government of India (2015-16), Annual Report, http://consumeraffairs.nic.in/WriteReadData/userfiles/file/AR_2015-16.pdf)

Chart 2 displays the year wise expenditure on consumer awareness by the government of India. In the above graph we notice that government's expenditure in consumer awareness has fallen as compared to 2011-12 drastically. There is relatively a smaller rise in the year 2014-15 but again a small decrease in the expenditure in the year 2015-16. This shows a relative slump from the government's side. This means that after the introduction of the law government spent a lot on increasing awareness amongst the consumers so that they can utilize the law to their advantage but lately this has seen a drop due to some drawbacks faced by the government. The year 2015 is the year of proposal of the consumer protection bill 2015. That means

that the government is trying to improve on its fallacies.

Below we have a table (Table 1) which deals with the revenue performance of the government on engineering product quality check for the last four years.

Table 1

Sl. No.	Name of the region	2012-13	2013-14	2014-15	2015-16 (Upto Dec 2015)
1	NTH (ER), Kolkata	363.86	477.4	496.05	346.27
2	NTH (WR), Mumbai	248.43	235.54	238.77	213.49
3	NTH (SR), Chennai	216.67	280.36	329.31	301.75
4	NTH (NR), Ghaziabad	465.96	451.97	476.86	386.99
5	NTH (NWR), Jaipur	121.73	125.09	145.67	121.50
6	NTH (NER), Guwahati	29.45	24.67	41.22	29.75
	Total	1446.10	1595.03	1727.88	1399.75

(Department of Consumer Awareness, Government of India (2015-16 and 2014-15), Annual Report); Amount in lakh rupees

The National Test House (NTH) checks the quality of engineering products. It had been established in 1912 by the Government of India. It is divided in six regions as shown in the table 1, Eastern region (ER), Western region (WR), Southern region (SR), Northern region (NR), North western region (NWR) and North eastern region (NER). As we can see in the above table that the revenue in NTH has generally increased from 2012-13 to 2014-15. This means that the government is focused on quality of the goods. It is not just focusing on consumer protection from the consumer side but from the production side as well. It is making sure that the consumer is being

provided with at least with decent quality product. This is a positive sign towards consumer protection. The National Test House data is one of the examples of government intervention in protecting consumer rights.

The other examples are Bureau of Indian Standards (BIS) hallmarking scheme for gold jewellery was launched on 11th April 2000 and for silver jewellery in October 2005. This was simplified and rationalized in January 2006.

Hallmarking scheme of BIS

Table 2

Growth as on 31st March	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014
No. of Licenses (gold and silver)	7393	8098	9292	10586	12743
No. of Assaying and Hallmarking centers	146	160	186	210	285
Gold articles hallmarked (in lakhs)	777	1025	1302	1552	1813

(Bureau of Indian Standards, Annual Action Plan 2014-15, http://www.bis.org.in/ qazwsx/oth/AAP14-15.pdf)

Table 2 shows that there is a steady growth in the number of licensing in the past five years. This shows an improved result of government intervention. This kind of method has helped creating trust amongst the consumers regarding the quality of the products they are purchasing.

Chart 3

No. of Operative Licences in Product Certification (excluding hallmark)

(Bureau of Indian Standards, Annual Action Plan 2013-14. *http://www.bis.org.in/ org/ANNUALREPORT2013.pdf)*
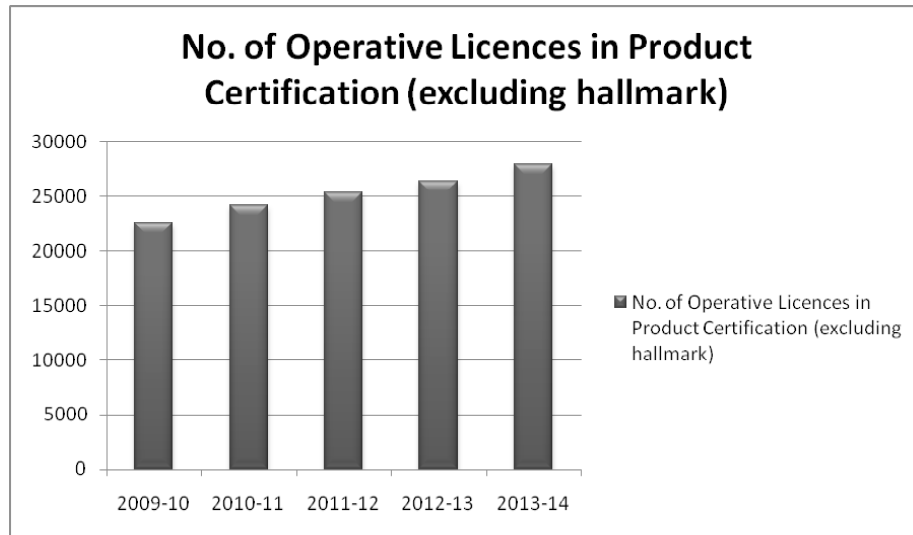
Chart 3 shows that the total number of operative licenses for quality checks excluding hallmarks has increased on a steady basis. This data shows the growth pattern in the number of licensing. This is a positive response to the initiatives taken by the government through BIS.

Problems and solutions

Even though the government is doing a reasonably good job in spreading consumer awareness but it is not enough. This is so because the urban areas are still doing better due to an ample amount of information available and consumers are being educated regarding their rights. Consumers are being provided with easier ways to file their complaints in the urban areas, for example the complaint can be filed online or via a message from mobile phone or calling on a toll free number.

In the rural sector consumers are not well educated regarding their rights. Since they are not well informed it is difficult for them to realise if they are being exploited and how to find a solution for them. Low availability of

internet connection, and very few know how to operate it, is causing them to follow the more complicated system of filing a complaint. This discourages them to go ahead and file their complaints. Corruption is another issue. Existence of corruption has led the poor losing faith in our judicial system. The feeling of lack of justice amongst the poor reduces their interest in filing a complaint. They prefer to ignore it.

The other hurdle faced in rural India is that majority is illiterate and ignorant. But due to globalization and privatization there has been an increase in middle income and higher income groups. Manufacturers take advantage of that and exploit them. They even sell fake brands and imitations to them without their knowledge. There are lack of verities, warrantee and guarantee.

Delayed justice is equivalent to justice denied. The consumer courts are quasi-judicial bodies. This simplifies and quickens the disposal of complaints but repeated adjournments, delay on the part of state government to fill the posts of judges make the whole procedure delayed. Delays often take away the essence of the law.

The government is trying to overcome these hurdles via different methods. Introduction of Consumer Protection Bill 2015 is one such measure. It has been introduced 'to provide for adequate protection of the interests of consumers and for prevention of unfair trade practices and for the said purposes to make provisions for establishment of the Consumer Protection Councils and other authorities for better administration and for timely and effective settlement of consumers' disputes and for matters connected therewith', as stated in consumer protection bill, Lok Sabha. The characteristics of the bill are mentioned below:[3]

- Setting up of Central Protection Authority, it will have power to recall products and initiate class suit against defaulting companies.

- E-filing and time bound admission of complaints.

- Jointly developing and implementing industry standards for grievance redressal.

- All members of industry association need to partner with National Consumer Helpline and State Consumer Helplines.

- Launching of joint awareness campaigns.

- Developing self regulation code.

- Joint campaign with Health and Financial Services with other departments for greater consumer awareness.

- To provide a host of consumer services under one roof, Grahak Suvidha Kendra launched in six locations.

Consumer Protection Bill 2015 is definitely an improvement and will improve the situation but we also have to focus on other aspects as well, such as spreading awareness in rural areas, removing delays in consumer courts, etc. If the government works on it with the help of the private sector, NGOs and other departments these few hurdles can be crossed smoothly. This will improve the consumer's condition in India positively.

Conclusion

The consumer awareness and consumer protection in India is improving over the years. Efforts of the government and other non-governmental bodies are bearing fruits. Expenditure on consumer awareness has increased. Other indicators also show a positive sign for future. However, the situation is still far from satisfactory.

We are still facing many problems in this field. With increasing level of capitalization and globalization we will have to work more and improve the current situation to have a minimum risk situation for the consumer. For this the government is already moving up with new plans, for example introduction of consumer protection bill 2015. Involvement of NGOs and other voluntary organizations has made it easier for the consumers but this need to be increased with time. The system needs to be more simplified. Delays need to be reduced. All these efforts, if followed properly, will definitely improve and strengthen consumer awareness and consumer protection. Since the economy is moving more towards consumerism, it is demanding more consumer protection and awareness.

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13

The Role of Indigenous Banking During Eighteenth Century, Rajputana

Meera Malhan

Introduction and Summary

An analysis of the developments in the 18th century and the emerging political, social and economic configurations / developments. 18th century is generally referred to as the 'Dark Age'[1] ,[1] where it is believed that the collapse of the mughal power resulted in a breakdown of the political, social, economic and cultural systems. This view has been challenged by a large number of historians/economists who argue that the collapse at the centre did not mean a collapse at the local or regional level[2]. Mughal institutions were being revamped and changed. This lead to a subtle shift of power to the regions as a result, this period saw the emergence of regional outfits such as the Marathas, the Satnamis and the Sikhs[3]. The paper focuses on the changing role of indigenous banking primarily in the Jaipur state and how the economy was being increasingly monetized as the Mughal power declined. The key emphasis of the Mughals during their regin was (i) military warfare (ii) encouraging and nurturing the artisans who provided luxurious goods to the mughals[4]. But this changed with the emergence of the Marathas influence over the Jaipur state.

Changing Scenarios of Trade in 18th Century

In the state of Jaipur during the Mughal influence all the nobels who were aligned with them were part of the elite of society. Historically when the Mughals were controlling the Rajputs all the kings showed a united front, but once the power of the Mughals started declining in -fighting amongst them started which lead to their downfall, this gave an entry point to the Marathas. This disintegration resulted in diversion of funds to other power centres. Bankers and traders had a major role to play in the Mughal revenue system, but during the Maratha period there was a redistribution of resources between the merchants, service gentry and landlords. This realignment was due to the protection money to be given to the Marathas by individual chieftons, to safeguard themselves from other Rajput chieftons. This lead to growing monetization and commercialization of the economy. It was now the merchants, financiers along with landlords who exercised influence over the state, trade and markets. Money was the main deciding factor[5].

Once the economy became more monetized their was an increasing connection between the rural and the urban economy it lead to what Sanjay Subramanyam called "portfolio capitalists"[6]. These large-scale entrepreneurs not only utilized their own capital but also that of other small scale operators thus serving as conduits for indirect investment [7].

An important aspect of monetization was increased trade activities through *qasbas and ganjs (local trading markets)* – these were meeting ground of rural and urban economies which in turn lead to the increasing importance of business families[8.] If we look at the position of Rajput rulers under the Mughals one finds that they gain due to the dual roles of administration[9] and revenue collections.[10]

The bankers, merchants and traders during the mughals were basically "Modi and Poddars", besides serving the army they also engaged themselves in conducting private trade. They spread themselves to different parts of India such as Bengal, Bihar, Orissa etc. This can be seen when we look at the founder of the house 'Jagat Seth',Hira Nand Sahu came to Bihar in the 17th century as a banker and an army purveyor of Raja Mansingh of Amberand belong to the 'Oswals' a mercantile and moneylending caste[11]. But the disintegration of the Mughal empire lead to the development of the practice of granting *Ijara* of

large tracks to the local powerful zamindars.

The Jaipur state is a classical example which acquired its position as a major state when the Mughals were all powerful. As the military exploits of the Mughals increased all those who were indispensable to them increased their land banks as this was a tribute given to them for services rendered. The expansion was not only because of military exploits but was mainly due to the transfer of various *Parganas* by the Mughal emperors in course of time which the Jaipur rulers absorbed into their own states and this continued a faster pace as Mughal control gradually weakened. The Rajput states had issues regarding many claimants, though this was not a new problem but under the Mughals it remained subdued because of the omni presence of the powerful Mughals, but as their influence weakened the nobles started revolting and to keep power with themselves they took the help of Marathas, for this they had to pay a heavy price which lead them further into debt with the bankers, besides this they also had to deal with frequent Marathas raid which reduced the Rajput states to utter dissolution and dissipated the states treasury. The demand for revenue increased because of increasing desire for protection which lead further to an increase in the demand for agricultural lands, leading further to an expansion in the system of revenue farming (*Ijara)* this in turn further attracted a large number of *Mahajans and Sahukars* and they played a crucial role in agrarian restoration, financing the war and meeting the demand of the Marathas.

Even though the influences of Maratha were increasing the Rajputs unlike the Sikhs and the Jats is that though they had gained considerable autonomy they never formally declared independence from the Mughals [12]. Thus, there was a two-way process taking place simultaneously:

- The imposition of new taxes and contingency levies by the state to meet the enhanced fiscal needs and thus its impact on small agricultural peasants

- The incentives that had to be given to traders and bankers to invest in agriculture which in turn

- Altered the pattern of investment by traders and banker

G.D.Sharma while tracing the rise of Marwaris to a capital class has

specially emphasized the practice of usury and banking which was quite common in the different states of Rajasthan[13].Usury the action or practice of lending money at unreasonably high rates of interest was practiced by all classes of bankers in both rural and urban areas. The operation of banking was mainly an urban phenomenon.

The practice of employing accumulated capital in money lending started because of increased monetization of the economy.

Growth of Money Lenders in the 18th Century

The traders then took on a role of dependable bankers and army purveyors (Modis) of the Rajput princes. They not only gave loans to peasants but also to the rulers. Trade and *Ijara* system were complimentary to each other as both the peasants and the rulers were dependent on the Mahajans. The interest rate could move up at times to 25% per year but during famines the rulers found it difficult to give *Tagai* loans to the peasants the state then fell back on Sahukars and Mahajans to provide the same. Thus the Mahajans and Sahukars were an important source of supply of liquid capital for the sustenance of the rural economy. Money lenders not only just lend money to the peasants and the state but they also engaged in trade. G.N.Sharma[14] has said that the need to dispose the agricultural surplus, finance industry, luxurious trade and exchange of article from rural to urban centers and vice versa stimulated the growth of many middlemen such as *Bohras, Seths, Sarrafs, Baniyas etc.*

As the demands for funds increased ,the role of Mahajans also increased and with the increasing dependence of the state on Mahajans, the state decided to provide various facilities to promote trade and commerce and exempted traders and bankers from the payment of various taxes, for example ,Girija Shankar Sharma[15] stated that the great *Sahukars* were often deeply involved in state finance. Instead of the 18th century being one of chaos as some historians have claimed, the Jaipur state presents the case of continuity and growth in business and close cooperation between the state, traders and bankers.Frequent famines, along with differences amongst political rivals impacted the financial problems in the 18th century, but this made the traders and bankers indispensable, as they were providing finance to the states and also paying tributes to the Marathas. The basic premise was a higher demand

for money to meet the needs of the Marathas. It is in this type of environment which lead to the growing of several activities and the increasing influence and need of indigenous bankers who participated in various activities.

There was a close connect of bankers with farmers the bankers use to provide advances on the basis of the farmers land holdings. It is during this time *Ijara* which became a wide spread practice for revenue collection in the agricultural and non-agricultural sectors of the economy. This system of revenue farming was an integral part of the *Islamic system* and it integrated political , fiscal, restoration and expansion of cultivation. All aspects were connected to the revenue collected on agricultural lands. With this various equations were developed and nurtured.

Ijara for example could be granted either for land revenue or even for the entire source of income of the states for example Mukata of total customs of Kota state was granted to Kani Ram in rs 19,636 , 14 annas and 2 paise in 1891 AD[16] . The *Chitis* of Jaipur which contain *Likhtangs and quabulaavats and kagad and sawabahis of Bikaner,* tells us about the *Ijara* contract between *Ijara Dar* and the states[17.] The *Ijara* was granted to the highest bidderand this could extend for one or more years, while the *Ijara Dar* on the other hand was required to pay a fix amount as indicated so by the contract signed by both. Their are papers of Kota state which tell us that the *Ijara* that is to be granted of a village or for more than one village or *Paragana* to the *Ijaradar*[18].

It was seen that there was a large scale use of *Ijara* and the increasingly direct role played by the *Mahajan – Sahukar* in revenue collection during the period of increasing Maratha influence in *Rajputana* during the 18th century[19]. The primary reason for this was the ever increasing demand for cash by the Marathas.

During the Mughal reign the role of *Sahukar* and *Mahajan* were primarily limited to standing surety (*Zamini)* for the *Ijaradars* biding for *Ijaras.* During that time even the big influential zamindars and jagirdars biding for *Ijara* had to necessarily furnished the surety (*Zamini)* of a banker and the chances of wining the contract greatly depended on the standing of the bankers who in fact use to stand bail for the entire amount [20] for example in Pargana Chatsu in 1754 AD, when the *Ijara* were given for Rs 99,896 and 6 paise surety was provided by a *Sahukar* named Balkrishna Moti Ram[21]. The *Sahukar* in return

got a share in the profit of *Ijaradars* which could be quite huge depending on the prevalent rates at that time and the risk involved[22].

So it is with the growing influence of the Marathas from the middle of the century that the *Sahukars* and the Mahajans themselves started investing their own money in obtaining the *Ijara* for themselves [23]. Suddenly acquiring an *Ijara* became very prestigious and profitable as an investment. This was seen in the instance *Pargana Chatsu*in 1754 AD when a trader Jiwan Ram Sodhi Ram took the *Ijara* for Rs 99,896 and 6 paise payable in two installments[24]. Some of them tried to get the *Ijara* contract through influential officers.

Thus what was an apparent outcome out of the system of revenue farming (*Ijara)* especially in the 2nd half of the 18th century which is the time period where the influence of the Marathas were on the rise is that the state had a stable income which was most important as the Rajputs could buy peace from the Marathas. The change in the character of the *Ijara* in the 2nd half of the 18thcentury was basically an institutional means to tap the resources of men who had the capital and transfer the claims of the state creditors to the revenue farmers. This practice was not just restricted to those who were primarily connected to the agricultural sector but also that urban based traders and bankers started speculating in revenue farming as they had in depth knowledge of the revenue paying capacity of the land[25].

Financing apart from Money lending in the 18th Century

Indigenous bankers were in a unique position, with respect to their efficiency and accuracy. They were available at all times and as far as possible could disperse money free of formalities and delay. What we need to know is that there was a difference between indigenous bankers and the modern banking system as we think of it today. Indigenous bankers had comparatively little deposits, discount business or with dealing with other people's money, they were largely lending their own money. Thus indigenous banking was primarily money lending.

Indigenous bankers thus were connected to a number of activities that were taking place in the state besides money lending, there was money changing, issuing and discounting of hundis, insurance and trade. What is

most relevant is the fact that state and the rulers were heavily dependent on these bankers for their financial requirements during war, famine and scarcity, in return the rulers provided patronage and protection. The involvement of *Sahukar and Mahajan in Ijara* was a new feature in the process of accumulation of capital. It was a new area of capital investment one that was lucrative and highly profitable.

What has also been discovered is the private and government records with respect to insurance and other business transactions, details of which can be seen in the form of *Bahi, Chithi,Parwana etc.* Most of the insurance business was in private hands which is why details of them have been found in writings from private sources. During the perusal of various documents at the *Archives* one heard about the famous Podar family of Churu they were active in trade during the 18th and the19th century eg. in *Bahi* which are from 1797 AD there are references of *jokhim* of Rs 5000,Rs 3800, and Rs 7500[26].

Jokhim or *Bima* as the word later came to be known tells us about the nature and extent of insurance business, the type of commodities involved and also the premium charged by them. There were a lot of risks involved in trade, if transportation took place by river then their was danger of fire and sinking of boats besides this there was the fear of their goods being robbed by bandits and dacoits, or the risk of a sudden flare up of war.

In Rajasthan during the 18th and 19th century the *Marwari* community played a dominant role in trade and commerce activities in India. The insurance business was known as *jokhim*or *bima* or *hunda-bhara* which means risk-cum-transportation charges.[27]

The *Marwari* firms actually provided insurance on transported goods in order to cover the risks against bandits and other natural calamities this has been written in Rajasthani Dialect assuring that *tati silly chorijorikeji-mmewarhumhain* this means that the *Marwari* business man took entire responsibility of transferring the commodity safely to its destination and in case of any calamity like fire or theft, the insurance company would be totally responsible.[28]

Under the system *jokhim-hunda-bhara,* the insurance firm transferred the goods or cash through their own means of transport example: a *jokhim-hunda-bhara* contract for goods worth for Rs2,598 was undertaken in

Farrukhabad for 2.5 months by Mirjamal Harbhagat, total weight of goods was 4 maun and 8 seer, rate of jokhim was 10 annas and hundahara was Rs 7.5 per maun[29]. After scrutinizing the business papers of Mirjamal Poddar of Churn, it was seen that an owner of an insurance firm provided insurance to different traders worth many lakhs of rupees from Calcutta branch during the years 1826AD to 1830AD[30].

Insurance seems only to be restricted to goods in transit and of ships not on houses or life insurance etc. In most of the cases the insurance also meant that it included the transport of goods too that is the insurance agent actually made arrangement for transportation along with insuring safe delivery. The insurance was carved out on basis of trust and all that was required was a *Jokhim ki Chithi*(letter of insurance) and nondh of goods insured.

A *Jokhim Ki chithi* was the first contract between the two parties for the sale and purchase of insurance. The *chithi* mentioned all details of the goods the destination point, the name of the parties and date of the contract etc. Once this *Chithi* which was recorded in the *Bahi* was given to the firm, all the liability fell on the firm for risk and compensation. Generally this *Chithi* could not be revoked and if it was done then a steep fine furoti had to be paid. The written agreement was necessary requirement by the owner of the good to avoid future dispute regarding insurance otherwise the insurance firm could avoid payment. All the above also indicates how far and wide transportation and trade of goods from Rajasthan use to take place.

The next step was *nondh* of goods insured. *Nondh* was nothing but complete details of the goods, this was either written on the backside of the Chithi or on a separate invoice. The details of the *nondh* were copied in the *bahi* b y the insurance firm. Incase the insured goods were completely destroyed then the complete payment was made, but if there were only a partial loss then accordingly only part payment was made.

The degree of loss and damage which was partial was known as *bararh* beside this the date of delivery was also mentioned in the *chithi* this was called thick within which time the goods must reach the point of destination any deviation from the date meant that the insurance firm had to pay interest on the insured amount as per the agreement for the delay time period. This normally varied between 6 annas per cent to 8 annas percent per month[31].

Besides this the time and date of payment of compensation was decided too. Besides the members of the family or merchants themselves or munims and gumasthan, there were other people involved in the process example like the dalal,adhati,qasid(messenger),chadadar(loader),chowkidar (watchman), then there was the boatsmen ,cartsmen,camelman,bahgiwalas (those who carried the goods tied to both ends of a pole which he placed on his shoulder).

Almost all communities and cates were involved for example Brahmanas,Jats,Charan,Gasains,Rajputs,Brijwasi,Kotwals,Muslims etc..

A large number of caravans and camels carried goods from Rajasthan to Amritsar and Ludhiana, these were guarded by men on horses with guns a lot of these can be seen when one peruses *Chithis* obtained from the Poddar paper. From these documents one can also note that besides goods it was also cash (*Hundi)* which could be transported from one place to another.

The Poddar letters gives us a lot of inside into the working of the indigenous banking system. They had their own business houses, shops and *gaddis (seats of business)*in various parts of the country. Each branch was looked after by a duly appointed munim who acted on behalf of the main firm. There were also detail reports which were sent by agents on the current situation regarding risk and uncertainity.

The items transported include coin, gold and silver, coins and currency, bullion etc were transported from one corner of the country to the other newly covered by the risk insurance or *jokhimhunda-bhara.* But what is most apparent in the Poddar records is that the Marwari firms never insured cattle, wood, salt, grain etc.

Thus we see that the integration of the Rajput state with the Mughal Empire lead to relative peace and security which helped in the growth of the economy. The establishment in the 18th century of the cash nexus in the agrarian economy and more of revenue payment created conditions which furthered growth of mercantilism, this further involved traders and bankers on the one hand and the state on the other. Especially during the 18th century after the decline of the Mughals the local kings became practically independent and they were keen to increase their revenues and thus were continuously looking out for new avenues for income. As has been said earlier this lead to greater commercialization of state power. *Wahis* provide reliable and accurate

information of the type of budgeting and decision making that took place at that time even the private traders and bankers kept a proper record of their transaction. The bankers and money lenders exercised a considerable influence over socio economic life of the region they existed in almost all important trade centers of Rajasthan. The dependents of the state of traders and bankers increased to very high level in the second half of the 18th century which coincided with the decline of the Mughals and the growing influence of the Marathas. Thus we see that the role indigenous bankers were extremely important in the 18th century. The first half of the 18th century under the Mughal reign their existence helped in various activities but there importance increased after the Mughal declined and this was directly related to increase monetization of the economy.

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14

Contesting and Reinventing the Identity of "Assamese Woman" through *Bihu*

Ditilekha Sharma

This paper is an extract from a larger study which looks at the representation of femininity, female sexuality and desire in *Bihu* presentations. *Bihu* is an innate constituent of 'Assamese culture'. It is today considered the national festival and the symbol of Assam. It is largely symbolised by the *Bihu* dance and music associated with this festival.

The study tried to capture the experiences of performers, organisers, intellectuals and audiences of the art form from a feminist perspective through personal interviews. Some of the narratives have been used in this paper. I have also observed several *Bihu* performances.

This paper examines how the political atmosphere of Assam led to the creation and recreation of *Bihu* in the way that it exists in the contemporary times. It also explores how discourse on the Assamese identity and gender gets constructed and performed through *Bihu*.

Introduction

Folk culture has often been used as a symbol to represent communities. One homogenised identity stands to represent the identity of the entire community. Similar idea can be applied to *Bihu* dance and the Assamese community. *Bihu* and the Assamese community have come to be symbolised

by the *muga mekhela chadar* clad woman with a big red *bindi*. Irrespective of whether this symbol represents the community, it has been promoted as such by the State and a large section of the "Assamese" community and perceived as such by the rest of the world.

Cultural symbols have been historically used as markers of identity of a group. In the process of creating a national identity, historically folk culture has played a huge role. Kamla Ganesh writes about the how the question of Indianess emerged in the 19th Century during the social reform movement with India being recreated as the 'other' of Europe. The politics of the time required the submerging of diversities to creation of a pan-Indian identity and movements which challenged the idea of homogeneity were dubbed as sub-national. [1]

Joane Nagel writes that groups construct their cultures mainly through the reconstruction of historical culture and construction of new culture. This is an ongoing task of the group in which new symbols, activities and materials gets added to and removed from the existing culture. These cultural constructions help in defining the boundaries of collective identity, generate a symbolic vocabulary and define a common purpose. This cultural construction is not just needed for the purpose of national unity but also for the construction of pan ethnic groups composed of subgroups with histories of conflict and animosity. It leads to the emergence of a collective consciousness. Ethnic movements often challenge hegemonic ethnic images and institutions by redefining or using symbols to dramatize grievance and demands. [2]

In case of Assamese identity, *Bihu* has been used as a symbol for the creation of national unity and collective consciousness of the people of the region. It was an attempt to bring together ethnic groups which had been diverse at different points of history. It was first initiated by the Ahom rulers who bought it to the king's courtyard to bind the people together. Later the nationalist movement and the social reformers used *Bihu* as a symbol to create an identity different from the Western colonisers as well as the mainstream Indian Nation. Although it did challenge the hegemonic "Indian" culture, it created another form of hegemonic image of the "Assamese" identity.

Subjecthood and Gender Performativity

How a subject gets constructed is perhaps one of the most pertinent questions of this paper. Simon De Beauvoir through her quote "One is not born, but rather becomes, a woman" talks about how a how the lived experiences of a female person makes her a woman.[3] Judith Butler questions the pre-existence of sex itself and sees it as constructed at a discursive level. In this process of performativity, a subject gets created through identification and bodies come to matter. This identification, Butler says, excludes certain identifications that are not yet subjects but are abject beings that are outside the domain of the subject. "Collective disidentifications can facilitate a reconceptualization of which bodies matter, and which bodies are yet to emerge as critical matters of concern." [4] Butler uses Levina's idea of the face to understand how the self is indentified in opposition through the representation of the other. The other is acknowledged because the self cannot have an identity alone.[5]

Bihu as the marker of Contemporary National Identity

Construction of the Assamese Subject

If we use Judith Butler to understand the process through which *Bihu* emerged as a symbol of Assam, we realise that the attempt to attain the "Assamese subject-hood", led to defining the gendered body and desire. While these cultural discourses define the gendered body they also ensure that one is socialised into it and through repeated performance, the discourse produces the effect it names. The idea of Assamese gets manifested through the body and its performance. The Assamese subject gets created through the body identifying with these discursive ideas.

Here the "Other" or the "Abject" is sometimes the Non- Assamese speaking Indian, sometimes the Bengali Muslim otherwise known as the Bangladeshi or sometimes even the different ethnic identities or the "Modern" women within the Assamese community. Under different situations and conditions the abject would be shifting locations. The identification is sustained by a politics of policing and maintaining control over the body so as to maintain the normative heterosexuality under social structures of race, ethnicity, caste and class.

Although it cannot be ascertained as to when and how *Bihu* came to be associated with the Assamese identity, there have been definite and conscious efforts in bringing it into the public sphere and presenting it to a larger national and global audience. Purnima Shah writes about the Indian State's appropriation of various dance forms and giving it classical or national status. She says that in the late 19th and early 20th century, several artistic dance forms were revived and reconstructed as a part of the political and socio-cultural reforms associated with the establishment of Indian Identity. [6]

Paramesh Dutta writes that *Bihu*, under the influence of the colonial and western paradigm faced a lot of criticism from some elites the state in the 18th and 19th century due to its sexual overtones. *Bihu* which was originally performed in the fields was later bought to the royal proscenium under the patronage of the Ahoms. In the mid 20th century scholars and social elites brought the folk art form onto stage with the motive to bring out Assamese culture and identity and give it recognition throughout the world.[7] The Mr Sarma, General Secretary of one of the first and the oldest existing staged *Bihu* celebrations in the Assam recounts how they started off in 1952. Mr Sarma says, "Eminent people realised that people who stayed in the town did not understand what Bihu was. They wanted Bihu to get recognition all over the world. So they started the stage Bihu tradition. From Latashil it spread out to several other places and today it is found all over Assam. Latashil started this tradition to show that Bihu was the National festival of the Assamese community." [8]

The Good, the Bad and the Ugly

When the Folk art form was brought into the public sphere, several changes were brought into it. Not only did it have to be more presentable in terms of its looks, but it also became necessary to make it "suitable" for "women of good households" to be able to perform it. It gave women the space to participate in come to stage and participate in dances where they were traditionally not allowed. In the initial years the wives of the early Assamese intellectuals initiated the process of convincing the women. These women also played a major role in the freedom struggle and were perhaps the first few Assamese women to be educated. In the process of bringing people of the upper strata of society to perform *Bihu* it had to be detached from its earlier

association with the sexual nature. Mr. Borah, a subaltern historian and scholar says, "There are sexual movements but there is nothing unethical or immoral about it. They only danced and worshiped the nature and earth in order to bring fertility and youthfulness to it. In the modern age that is not possible." [9] Either these sexual elements were completely removed from public sphere as in the case of *Bongeets* which are today sang among the lower caste young boys within their own community celebrations or it remained invisblised and left unspoken.

Ms. Rupali (name changed to maintain confidentiality), a journalist and researcher on folklore during a personal interview said, "People do not recognise and know about the vulgarity present in the art. There are several very bad lyrics which people today don't know and don't even use. Today people are calling the modern lyrics vulgar but originally there were even more vulgar lyrics. I believe that we should reject the bad and keep the tradition alive. If we don't maintain our folk culture our identity will be lost." She also spoke about several food items associated with Bihu Assamese culture having sexual metaphors. For instance the *pitas* made during Bihu which are an important symbol of Assamese culture and cuisine, are shaped on the male and female sexual organs. Even the orchid flower which is an important symbol of Bihu has phallic metaphor associated with it. It is never associated with their sexual connotation by the Assamese people for whom it is a major part of their folk culture. [10]

In the attempt to safeguard our culture and identity, there has been selective appropriation and reinvention of culture and traditional practices. While the culture has to be maintained and passed on to upcoming generations, it also has to be carried forward with a global appeal. Thus certain aspects of the traditions are approved, certain condemned and others reinvented. These approvals, rejections and reinventions are dynamic and subjective. The situation gets further complicated with the emergence of several sub identities within the Assamese identity resulting out of the socio-economic and political situation of the region.

Bihu as a cultural symbol has been used as the marker of identity of the community time and again, very strategically in an ad hoc manner. While the idea of "Assamese culture" lies at the centre, the debates around its preservation and internationalisation takes place at several levels. While there are attempts

to preserve the culture in its "traditional" form, there is the attempt to give it a "modern and international" feel by fusing it with other genres of performative art. Rather than existing in a binary these discourses exists in a continuum.

Bihu as an attempt to Recreate Gender

Passing on the Culture

Passing on the ideas of "Assamese culture" to the upcoming generation becomes important. B. Rabha one of the Organisers of All Assam Students' Union *Bihu,* which played a major role in building the ideology of the *Assam Andolan* says, "Since a lot of people watch our programme so we would like to give a message to the people. The new generation should not forget the old culture. The Bihu culture, the folk culture should not get lost. The volunteers, girls all dress up in their traditional *pat muga chadar* and boys also dress up in Dhoti kurta. Unless they are dressed in these attires we would not let them enter into our function. So that even publicly atleast for one day the new generation does not forget their culture. We have tried to keep traditions such as that of touching the feet of the elders to respect them, etc alive." [11]

Although the idea as to what Assamese culture and identity mean may differ in each context, in the process a gendered body is constructed by codifying attires, standards of beauty, gender roles and desires into which people were not just socialised but also they also repeatedly perform it to attain subjecthood. For instance, while there are contestations to the view as to when did people start wearing the *mekhala chadar* made out of *muga* silk for the dance but it is commonly agreed upon that this codification was brought in during the mid 20th century when the dance came to be associated with Assamese identity. B. Sharma, an organising member of a *Bihu* Committee says, "When the idea of Bihu competitions was being discussed there was a discussion on the dress of the girls. What length should the sleeves of the blouse be, what should be the right attire and the right accessories, the dress should be *muga mekhela,* etc." [8]

Codifying the dress was one way to detach it from the communities which were originally associated with it. J. Gandhiya, a senior artists of *Bihu* says, "Earlier *Bihu* used to be danced only by youngsters of Kari Paik (a caste group associated with manual labour during the Ahom times) families. Young

people of upper strata of the societies did not dance *Bihu* in the earlier days. Only in the present times people of elite families dance *Bihu*." He informs that the people of such households danced mostly in hand span cotton clothes. Women of lower caste households did not wear the *chadar* with the *mekhela*, instead they worn the *riha* (a piece of long cloth which the women wore on the top half of their bodies). The *chadar* was worn only by women of Royal and Upper Caste households post marriage. The women of the Royal households wore full sleeved blouse while the others wore blouses whose sleeves reached up to the elbow. [12]

In *Bihu* performances however usually the dress code is the *muga mekhela chadar* and the full sleeved red blouse. Although after much debate, today the *riha* is more acceptable than the *chadar* during *Bihu* performances. Besides the *mekhela chadar*, the different tribal groups have their own dress and fabrics. However neither the dresses of the other communities nor their style of performing the dance is considered as the "Assamese" *Bihu*. These dances are referred to as tribal *Bihu* or *Jana Jati Nritya*.

The codification did not just remain limited to attires it was also transferred to ideas of beauty and norms of behaviour. In the *Bihu* competitions organised for the female dancers where the participants were upto 13 years of age, the participants were advised by the judges to be graceful, steady, remain thin and eat less. Thus, from a very young age girls are policed into behaving and maintaining their bodies in a certain desirable way. Priya (name changed to maintain confidentiality), one of the former dancers shared, "*Bihu* songs are all about descriptions of girls and boys. The girl has to have a slim waist and long hair. My daughter is also a Bihu dancer and she will never cut her hair. I didn't get the prize in one of the competitions because of my crooked teeth even when the judge appreciated my dance. Women are idealised about certain standards of beauty. It is also promoted by the common people." [13]

Saving the Assamese Identity

However in the contemporary times the idea of Assamese identity has been imagined differently by different groups of people and they have used the space of culture and the global market to negotiate these identities differently in different spaces. This is also met with much resistance. Recently there has been a move to "save the *Bihu* culture" through a civil society

collective called the *Bihu Xurokha Samhiti* (Committee for Protection of *Bihu)*. This collective comprises of performers, judges, intellectuals, function organisers and common people. They claim to go back to the roots of the dance and showcase the dance in its original form as was performed by village folk. Through their efforts, they have been able to restrict the participation of women in several reputed *husori* competitions. In their view the women were brought into *husori* when the style came to stage in order to glamorise the dance form by objectifying women. They have tried to prevent the strict choreography and creation of grammar in *Bihu* in an attempt to maintain the folk essence of the dance. They have been against using *muga* as the standard attire for *Bihu*. They are against modification, remix and fusion of the art form. However while breaking away from a certain predominant essential discourse they have managed to create another equally hegemonic discourse. Mr. B. Borah, a scholar of subaltern history of Assam says, "All the communities that have come and settled in Assam have come from different places and at different times. They would already each have different cultural roots. The new movement may be trying to codify a certain form of *Bihu* as the "Real Bihu". If you want to put a stamp forcefully you cannot do it. Each group would have their uniqueness. The Assamese community is a sum of its parts." [9] However most of the performers are trying to match up to this standard to maintain the "purity" of the dance form. Many of the artists, who are engaged in creating fusion forms and are critical of the puritan movement, also try to match up to the standards and maintain the "essence" of *Bihu* dance.

However while trying to bring out the folk dance in its "true" form several types of the art form is removed from the public eyes because they do not fit into the moral standards of what can be in public gaze. For example the *Bongeets* or *Bonghoxa* have disappeared in the process of bringing the "Assamese culture" into public space. Although most scholars and artists believe that these songs were perhaps sang within closed doors among peer groups or by young boys while they grazed cattle or worked together in the forests and fields, it was a part of "Assamese culture" and was public knowledge. Mr Anil Saikia a scholar of folk art and archivist said, "In the book Bohagi 1917, several *Bihu* songs were recorded with very explicit words. These explicit *Bihu* songs were perhaps for private sharing between individuals of a peer group. Even when we were young we often replaced some words in the *Bihu Naams* with explicit words and made fun. If in 1917 these *Bihu Naams*

existed we can definitely say that it is not a new phenomenon. But I believe these songs were a private matter. When it was sung in the dark, at the edge of the forest people could sing whatever they wanted. I can talk about anything in private but when I have to write something for a public platform I can't. " [14] An anthology of *Bihu* songs by historian Dr Leela Gogoi *Bihugit aru Bonghuxa* which was first published in 1927 had several songs fraught with sexual metaphors. These songs have been removed from the more recent editions.

Similar moral standards are being created for some of the tribal *Bihu* styles which are trying to get acceptance in the mainstream. N. Deuri, a Tiwa *Bihu* exponent shares his experience, "If we show the original folk art then people will not accept it. This is the reason why Tiwa culture wasn't accepted by the Indian people. We had to change and modify our costumes a lot. Earlier the men used to dance wearing a *lengti*. Even if that dance was good, nobody came forward to learn that dance. So these days we have made the provision of wearing a dhoti. The jacket which was worn earlier was short. Today it has been converted into a full jacket. Women used to dance wearing extremely scanty clothes. We have made the provision of wearing several pieces of clothes which we have revived. The clothes that we use today in dancing were earlier used in rituals and marriages and people used to dance in their everyday work clothes." [15]

While on one hand the styles of *Bihu*, especially the ones performed by the tribal communities, which were previously on the margins are trying to gain acceptance by adapting to the standards set by the hegemonic style. On the other hand the communities and the artists are also detaching themselves from the style and in order to create their own distinct identity and subjecthood. R.Deka, a female *Bihu* artist who belonged to a tribal community says, "The entire Assamese culture is a contribution of the tribes. There is nothing called Assamese. Anyone who resides in Assam is Assamese. The Aryans have come from elsewhere. The Ahoms also came later through the Patkai hills. The Biharis and the Marwaris are not even Assamese. Since the tribal people were simple and uneducated they were cheated. Aryans took the land and culture but did not give them the recognition. Earlier the Bodos, the Mishing, the Tiwa tribes all lived together and they all spoke Assamese. But when the identity crisis rose among them they started asserting their rights, recognition and identity. Although in the political realm they have not

been able to dominate in terms of individual culture they have come out very strongly. They have exposed their culture to the world." [16]

Both the Assamese language and its culture is a conglomeration of the cultures of the various communities who have settled in this region.[17] Amalendu Guha claims that Assamese nationalism was a middle class phenomenon and pre 1947 the nationalism factor did not reach the peasantry, tribes or the Muslims of Assam. The Assamese Nationalist struggles were created by the middle class intellectuals. It was joined by the masses after a point. But later with the movement taking a largely communal (caste Hindu) and pro landlord stance, the social base of the movement narrowed down. Since the movement was not sympathetic to the demands of the marginalised, the conflict grew. [18]

When "Assamese" scholars and politically influential class realised the dissent among the tribal population they tried to get them back into the fold and present a picture of "*Bor* Assam" or pan Assam in front of the government which had allowed the "infiltration of foreigners" as the enemy.

The Assamese subject was also created through the creation of the abject, which is dynamic. It could be the Western other, the Hindi speaking other, the "Bangladeshi illegal immigrant" or even the "Assamese" other. The "Bangladeshi immigrant" or the Bengali Muslim is seen as the most threatening "Other" under the present socio political scenario. The *Assam Andolan* was largely a struggle against this identity. This identity however is extremely contested as they may have been Bengali immigrants who had settled a hundred years ago or may have illegally entered the State at a recent point of time. Several of these people may have intermingled and married within the local population or assimilated with them. However their identity continues to remain a threat irrespective of their citizenship status. They remain the "Other" that can never come within the Assamese subject location. While the ethnic groups which have started asserting their identity in the last few decades may not be complete Assamese subjects, their assimilation becomes necessary to strengthen the Assamese identity. Mr Borah, a subaltern history scholar in Assam shares, "Once I was asked to inaugurate a Bihu function while the save the Assamese Identity movement was popular. When all the judges were sitting together I asked what if one of the contestants who came in performed in a way we didn't understand how *Bihu* is performed, if we didn't understand

the language she sang in, the clothes she wore and the movements she showed weren't familiar? Would we let her be a contestant in the *Bihu Kuwori* competition? This is the problem with save the Assamese identity movement. The tribal people thought that the Assamese was trying to save the identity of all of them. But they realised that it was only to safeguard the identity of who spoke the Assamese language in their homes and studied it in schools. They felt betrayed and left the movement. When the important people finally realised that they had lost the tribal population they said we should try and bring them all together. But if we are to bring everyone together then the movement of Save the Assamese identity would have no meaning. Later the general public lost their faith and started entering the fundamentalist right wing forces." [9]

The All Assam Students Union (AASU), which also played a huge role in the *Assam Andolan,* used *Bihu* as a secular symbol to paint the picture of pan Assam. During the time of social and political unrest *Bihu* provided the space for people to come together. In 1982 all the existing *Bihu* committees of Guwahati came together with the help of the students' union to safeguard the Assamese culture and *Bihu*, thus showcase the unity of the people of Assam. B. Rabha an organiser of the students' union *Bihu* says, "At that time the very existence of Assamese people was connected to the Assam Andolan. So this was certainly a way to bring about a movement through culture. It was a way to show the government the unity of the Assamese people. Any gathering during that time would be associated with the movement." [11]

Under this discourse, women were very strategically encouraged to come into the movement and given space to create a progressive imagery of the group. The *Assam Andolan* saw several women leader come out in the forefront. They belonged to an educated class and became the symbols of the movement. Even in the cultural front women of educated households took up to performing *Bihu* in the stage. They were glorified and became examples for the upcoming generation because they belonged to "good families" and were educated. Priya, a former dancer says, "When we came out to dance we made some history. During our time there were few girls who came from very good families with good educational backgrounds. Many other girls were encouraged to dance Bihu because there were a number of girls like us from good families who were performing." [13]

Even today the process of creating the Pan Assamese identity remains amidst the growing conflict and tension in the region. Several troupes are making an attempt to create *Bihu* performances which are more inclusive, atleast symbolically. They have tried to bring together several tribal forms of dance and music together to create performances. D. Gogoi, the choreographer of one such performance shared, "All the tribes celebrate the *Bihu* in their own way. We are trying to bring together all the *janajatis* since "*bor axom*" is an amalgamation of all these communities. The *Bihu* that is performed and presented on stage these days to represent Assam, is actually a product of bringing together of the dances of different communities. All these forms of *Bihu* dances have fused together to form the *Bihu* dance that we see today. When we say Assam all the *janajatis* are included in it. We should give a glimpse of all the different communities so that people can experience them together. Our new generation is totally unaware of the different forms. One reason for the extremism that is prevalent today is because we are neglecting a large section of the tribal population. The ethnic groups have their own distinct style but they are still the dance of the larger Assam and we should show that the dance of larger Assam is an amalgamation of all the dances. We decided to beautify it not by creating a remix but by showcasing different communities and creating one dance. The new generation of the cities and towns should know that *Bihu* is not only about the so called Assamese *Bihu*."[19]

However this performance has received several criticisms from the tribal groups as well as a few feminists. A person belonging to one of the tribal styles showcased said that it had hurt them sentimentally because it had used the "Assamese" drum instead of the tribal drum thus forcefully trying to assimilate their identity. On another occasion a feminist critiqued the performance by commenting that it was not being inclusive because it showed even the tribal women in a very "Hinduized" manner by donning the red *bindi*.

Today political parties and government bodies in Assam also use the symbol of *Bihu* to associate themselves with the identity. For instance almost every major political party has their own *Bihu* celebrations. The Police department too celebrates *Bihu* and the female police officers performed the dance to entertain the senior officers and guests. The media portrayed them as brave police women who protected the society but could also dress up as

regular "Assamese" women and dance to the cultural tunes.

Hence in this process women get constructed in a certain symbolic way. The idea of the Assamese woman gets portrayed in a homogenised manner which is exclusionary. *Bihu* culture has been selectively appropriated by a politically conscious class of people to portray an idea of Assam and its people, an idea that is contentious and imbibed with contradictions. While cultural globalisation today plays a huge role in how the art form gets represented, whenever the question of Assamese identity comes in, *Bihu* becomes the cultural symbol and women often become the upholders of this identity.

Glossary

Ahom: The descendants of the ethnic Tai people that moved into the Brahmaputra valley in 13th century and ruled the area for six centuries.

Andolan: Agitation

Bindi: A forehead decoration

Devdasi: Temple girls

Dhol: Drums

Husori: The Bihu performances where a group of people go in a procession from house to house during the time of Bihu

Kuwori: Princess

Lengti: a small strip of cloth worn between the thighs to cover the private parts

Muga: A type of silk produced in the region

Pepa: A flute like musical instrument.

Pitha: Rice cakes

Riha: a piece of long cloth which the women wore on the top half of their bodies

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15

Medicalisation : Mapping of Everyday Lives on the Illness Continuum

Zeba Siddiqui

Introduction

There are certain terms which trigger a negative projection in one's mind. Medicalisation is one such term. It is often mentioned at places wherein one wishes to describe about theills of biomedicine. It often leads to pathologisation of conditions which are not even ailments. While physicians whotreat these patients are subsumed by their biomedical training, patients see no other way of addressing their discomforts which makes them submit to this regime.

Also, problematising normalcy, the concepts of sick and healthy being questioned persistently and most importantly defining altogether a novel idea of wellness are some of thefeatures of medicine being questioned in this section. The relevance of it amplifies since, doctors continue to use these standard approaches to decide what is a disease? And whosuffers from it?

Questioning normalcy includes, redefining relationships between signs, symptoms and illness and extending the reachof medicine to the daily lives of people. The patient's body alone now becomes an object of focus of medical attention. The bedside medicine proposed to study the patient in realms ofhis own settings, his home was the space wherein he was treated, focusing more on care than cure. While what 'hospital medicine' emphasized is putting the

patient in a neutral space, devoid of emotions and private surroundings so that the signs of the underlying lesion can surface properly and be examined accordingly. This dominance of the clinic as the fundamental center of health care provision furthered the practice of studying the people more as objects. This phenomenon istermed by Armstrong[1] as 'Surveillance Medicine'.

'Surveillance Medicine' basically means remapping theillness. The interaction between signs, symptoms are relookedat and the very nature of illness is redefined in this process. What is ill is no longer a prerogative of the patient to define, in fact whether a person wishes to classify himself as a patient, is also not his own choice. This authority now rests with the doctor, who structures what is ill and how ill a person is. It requires a blurring of the rigid categories of healthy and illand this type of medicine aims to bring the entire population under its network of visibility. 'A person (is) hung precariously between health and illness'. 'Surveillance medicine' separated the people on the basis of the symptoms and potential of deformities/ physical ailments they could potentially have, assuming that if people were normal they were not truly healthy. Armstrong says, surveillance medicine represented the realization of a new kind of health regime wherein the 'benevolent eye of medicine' could create medicalisation of everyday life.

It was primarily from the 1970s that sociologists began to examine the process of medicalisation and the expanding realm of medicine, writes Conrad[2]. They looked into the complex social forces that were responsible for medicalisation as it cannot be understood in a vacuum – factors such as social and political forces, class, age, race and gender need to be considered as well. Scholars have long pointed to social factors that have abetted medicalisation: the diminution of religion, an abiding faith in science, rationality and progress, the increased prestige and power of the medical profession and the American penchant for individual and technological solutions to problems. While factors like these do not explain increasing medicalisation over the past few decades, they have provided the contextual framework.

The new form of medicine therefore prospered on exileand encroachment of the personal lives of people, confinement of those people as patients in closed spaces of clinics and hospitals. The basic tactics of surveillance is no longer in a strict binary relationship between health and illness. Instead

to measure the same there exists, an ordinal scale in which healthy can become healthier and illness can survive in tandem with health.

Medicalisation

Borrowing from Moynihan & Cassels[3], it can be argued that the market tactics propagated by giant pharmaceutical companies, is constantly engaged in practices to enlarge their businesses. A popular manipulating technique is to persuade both the doctors and patients to seek medical help in cases wherein even non medication can come useful. Easy access tomedication leads to medicalisation of general problems, which could have been caused otherwise as a result of a few lifestyle changes instead of some physiological reasons. Only doctors alone cannot be stated responsible for excessive medicalisation practices, instead a lot of its credit should be given to the drugcompanies[4].

A process where aspects of everyday life come under thesupervision, dominion and influence of medicine, is appropriateto be deemed as medicalisation[5]. Zola also stated that undercertain conditions, virtually any human activity has the potential to be under the scrutiny of medicalisation. Medicalisation has also been projected by Peter Conrad[2] as thelicense of the medical profession to provide some type of treatment for a so-called medical problem. In other words, medicalisation as a concept can be defined as understanding a non-medical problem in medical idioms and within the ambitof a medical framework, usually as an illness or a sickness or a disorder and using a medical intervention to address or cure it.Through medicalisation the labels "healthy" and "ill" can beapplied to various aspects of daily human experience whichhad previously been outside the scope of medicine[5]. Medicalisation, can occur at three levels – conceptual/theoretical wherein a medical vocabulary or model is used to define the problem at hand; institutional/organizational where organizations may adopt a medical approach to treating aparticular problem in which the organization specializes and; interactional which is mostly the direct involvement of physicians who give a medical diagnosis and prominence ofthe physician comes under the limelight[6].

Usually, medicalisation is spoken of in a pejorative wayand has been used as a by word for all things negative about the influence of modern medicine on life and society. The term has largely become synonymous with the sense of a profession reaching too far - into one's body, mind, and even

the soul[7].

Conrad writes that sociologists have examined two important contextual aspects affecting medicalisation:

a. *Secularization*: Religion seems to have been nudged asideby medicine as the dominant moral ideology and institution of social control in modern societies. Medicine promotes secularization through its strict opposition to the public role of religion and instead, it advocates the medical regulation ofsociety. Many conditions have been transformed from sin tocrime to sickness of which homosexuality and fertility issues can be cited as examples. But the matter is not as simple as itappears to be and the interface of medicine and religion is morecomplex than a simple secularization thesis would suggest.

b.*Changing status of the medical professions*: The organization and structure of the medical profession has hadan important impact on medicalisation. There is a widespread monopolization of medicine over anything with the labels of health, sickness and/or illness.The medicalisation critique in the sociological literature initially arose from the perspectives of liberal humanism and Marxism in the 1960s and 1970s, writes Deborah Lupton[8]. Themain argument put forth by those who critiqued medicalisation was that in western societies, medicine and the medical practitioners had amassed a great deal of power and influence. Everyday problems were being viewed as diseases from the prism of science and medicine. Ivan Illich[9] was one of the most prominent proponents of this school of thought. He argued that '…rather than improving people's health, contemporary scientific medicine undermined it, both through the side-effects of medical treatment and by diminishing lay people's capacity for autonomy in dealing with their own health care'.[7] The critics of medicalisation also state that as the common man generally lacks medical knowledge, it puts him/her in a vulnerable position, allowing the doctor to exercise power and control over him/her.

Based on the work of Michel Foucault, this form of medical social control suggests that certain conditions or behaviours become perceived through a medical gaze and that physicians may legitimately lay claim to all activities concerning the condition. His understanding of power was closely associated with his idea of discipline, '…namely thatpower exists through the disciplinary practices which produce particular individuals, institutions and cultural

arrangements.[10]

Medicalisation subsumes within itself all the entire phenomena which lead to problematization of the normal, and endeavors to acquire everything within the ambit of pathology. Though this definition may not be entirely wrong, it can be enhanced a little, by arguing that it is not just medicine, or the profession of medicine itself which imposes this regime. Instead a lot many times, people who are assumedto be victims, hapless sufferers are in fact deliberately (if notwillingly) giving into this structure, so as to fall in line and find escapes from their miseries. This system which might belooking out for the possibilities of illness and the diseased, hasled to creation of an army of people who themselves are on alook-out for disturbances within their bodies.

These professional groups exercise a certain degree of superiority over the society and clients they function for. Incognizance with Armstrong's[11] view, it can be argued that professionals by virtue of specialized knowledge were a notchabove the people who did not possess those skills and these very skills set them apart for it would help them perform altruistic functions.

In the modern society, therefore, with the fascination towards professionalization, there was a hierarchical placement of all the vocations based on the expertise they held. So wasthe case with the profession of medicine. An occupation that subsumed within itself, all the modern characteristic to be a profession it enjoyed a specialized set of skills that gave these professionals a cut above their patients. Adding to this, profession of medicine is inherently seen as moral and altruisticand was considered to cater to the greater good of the society. These qualities, led the profession to seat itself at the highestposition in order of professions.

The primary reason why medicine is usually not suspected for doing any harm is because it is considered to be a moral calling. How medicalisation of our lives is being fed by rising power vested within medicine, is seldom looked at.It is pertinent to research whether there is a relationship between popularity of medical profession and the expanding arena of medicalisation which engulfs most of our everydaylives within itself. The line of thinking which equates medicinewith high degree of morality also places it on the plane of 'selflessness'. People engaged in this vocation are oftenconsidered to pay a potential cost by undertaking this act. The open ended time frame, the

vast arena of commitments and the vulnerability of losing one's social life to professional life, is what makes this occupation to be considered moral.

Due to this practice of attributing excessive morality to this profession, it is likely that people associated with it; assume a high position, even though they may not be adhering to its modules always. It therefore is not surprising when physicians acquire a superior, undisputed position and are often rendered correct in any relationship of doctor and patient. This dimension shall be discussed at length in the following section

Discussing the question about morality of medicine,McKay[12] introduces the idea of supererogation of the professionof medicine. In the profession of medicine, one is often considered to work full time, to be vulnerable to being subjected to a duty that is continuously involved in saving humanity and takes no cognizance of the personal commitments of people offering these services. Though it can also be said that due tointense amount of requirement, physicians are forced to workfull time and have no option but to oblige this commitment.

It is believed that a physician and a patient have a'fiduciary relationship'[10], one which is governed more by ethical principles and mutual trust rather than a contractual relationship. It is given that the professional has knowledge and skills much more than what the client possesses. The professional has the duty to use his expertise for the benefit ofhis client.

Problem arises in this relationship, when the former isentrusted with autonomy and the latter is completely convinced that whatever course the doctor might take, it will be for hisbenefit. Also, it becomes a matter of investigation, when the physician performs treatments on the patients without letting the latter participate in it due to the assumption of righteousness of his profession impressed upon him. The patient thus willingly surrenders his autonomy, and gives entire control to thephysician. If one were to say that medicalisation of even the slightest of daily activities is due to excessive powers vested in this profession, it can also be well argued that patients are partyto this regime and thus knowingly or unknowingly agree to bepushed through the medicalisation of their lives.

Medical Surveillance: a transition from 'how are you today?'to 'where does it hurt today?'

Given the obvious triumph of medicine, there is certainlyno matter of astonishment that it has come to rein our lives very significantly. In the course of this development withinthe purview of medicine, the equation of doctor and patientalso has altered a great deal. The essence of the relationship previously rested upon giving a descriptive account of one's wellbeing and/or suffering. 'This is now reduced merely to aminimalistic exchange comprising only of excerpts about one's body part(s) which cause discomfort or pain'[8] . The doctorand the patient both wish to reduce the talk only to 'where ithurts'.

Normalcy perpetuated the possibility of abnormalcymeaning that the patient is inseparable from the person.The eye of an observer is the most fundamental means to keep acheck of the people being observed. This "gaze" is a finelycalculated, appropriately measured eye of observation that iscoupled along with the expert's medical language. This 'gaze' basically helps the physician establish a new relationshipbetween the knowledge he has accumulated and the personwhom he treats as a field of experiments for that knowledge.

Foucault[8] in his seminal work argues about the significance of this very gaze, which in his opinion helps biomedicine to take its agenda to an advanced level. "Gaze" isessential to objectify a human into patient for it helps arrangeall the discomforts of a person into neatly organized categories.This categorization, the 'Nosological order', as Foucault pointsout, happens at every level. Right from the time when a person expresses feelings of a certain sickness, it is converted intosymbols of medical language.

This in itself can be seen as the first step in violation ofthe subjectivity of a person, who is now dwarfed into a merecase by the reductive prowess of medicine. The patients arenot entirely same, though they differ from each other as far as this nosological order lets them be apart from the other sufferer and at the same time the difference is signified by the similarity that one patient shares with a fellow patient with similar symptoms.

Free of the burdens of language and any interactional contract between the doctor and patient, a gaze, serves in a medical discourse a purpose providing a mechanical structure to the same. The relationship established through the

'gaze' is thus non reciprocal one, giving primacy to everything non verbal and observed, lending no curious ear to the plight of the sufferer for he is just another case in eye of physician.

The sufferings of a person then become secondary, and he is subtracted from the internal fact representing the disease. The presence of a doctor and patient as persons, are disturbances that are to be neutralized, since it might come inthe way of observing and documenting facts. The point that should be noted here then is that doctor and patient stand achance to lose their importance as a person who might have more than just facts to give.

The whole relationship of doctor with his patient is redistributed, for one assumes an extremely high position and the other absorbs a much objectified position. If one were tolook at it, the patient is simply a means to further the objectivesof the ambitious researches that biomedicine aims to conductthrough the professionals. Therefore, disintegrating the personfrom the problems and deciphering the ailments out of it,epitomizes the intelligence of the doctor, it is 'the compass of adoctors success'[8], for the quality of his knowledge is measuredby the exact knowledge of the disease.

Absolute silence of all forms of language at the sight of a patient, sometimes also leads to silence of the touch and sensitivity that a doctor needs to offer to his patient. Also not all persons are a field of medical investigation which they areoften reduced to. The neutral domain of a clinic renders anemotion free character to the relationship of the two, which numbs any scope of humane and compassion laden treatment.

After thoughts for the changing doctor-patient interactions

One of the most salient features of medical care is the dialogue and encounter between doctors and patients. The requirements of diagnosis, treatment and follow up are met by collective efforts of doctors, patients and other helping paramedical staff facilitated by the health institutions. The roles therefore played by doctors and patients in this interaction become very significant. The objective of this section is to demonstrate how, the afore mentioned interaction has undergone a major transformation, also another idea is to establish the importance of this evolving relationship in contributing to the medicalised lives people are living. The said unsaid hierarchy that is

invariably assumed, the reasons for which were mentioned in the preceding section, has a major hand in according undisputed position to the medical staff and physician. Hence, it should also be pointed out in whatways this authority comes to be manifested in reality and howis it perceived by people through experiences that they have with the medical world. Another focal area here is to look atthe importance of trust that is bestowed upon the physicians, and whether there is feeling of betrayal on part of the patients when dealing with the physicians. It should also be interesting to note whether excessive insistence upon the biomedical approach, which being factual, leads to sidelining of a patientsstory. And does a patient feel himself heard or ignored in course of this encounter?

A patient is an equal partner in a medical process of curing a disease and cannot be simply viewed as a recipient of medical care since it is the patient who first experiences andreports about a discomfort that he feels with his body. A doctor becomes salient when he is consulted to identify and rectify the given problem reported by a person. The doctor hence becomes a specialist who has the expertise to categorize acertain feeling of illness into a medically defined disease. It is therefore interesting to note how the same interaction can provide an insight in a two fold manner. One wherein the two talk about what could be or what is potentially problematic with the patient's body and another in which the two can exchange details about not just the pain of the body but experience of the sufferings too. Mathew George[13] opines that given the varied hues of a doctor patient relationship, it can be classified into four broad categories namely; paternalistic, informative, interpretative and deliberative models. A 'paternalistic model' , like its name suggests, puts the doctor inposition of an expert, just like an elder family member or maybe a priest, who decides the best possible treatment for a patient and the patient in return should be extremely obliged for this gesture of favor showered upon him. Next, the 'informative model', George[11] argues, can be referred to as 'scientific engineering', which requires translating a patient's regular, lay language into technical codes through usage of the physician's expertise. The physician assumes the role of a counselor in the interpretative model, wherein he helps a patient, to understand the priorities of the treatment to be done and to reach a certain decision about the same. While the final, 'deliberative model', a physician, George[11] says, spreads out all the possible options before the patient for him to understand and choose according to his comfort.

Common to all of these approaches is the factthat the physician acquires a superior position in the contactand tells the patient what to be done or what can be done. Ittherefore does not come as a surprise that for a doctor it becomesvery easy to influence the patients decision and to impress hisown superiority in the discourse overall.

But the problem arises when in the said relationship not only hierarchy seeps in too deeply but also when the patient is solely considered as a human body to be studied. Medicine needs an object that can serve as its site of scrutiny and can further the process of research and study related to it. Now, if a doctor patient relationship particularly thrives onobjectification of the human body as a specimen to learn andwrite about diseases that plague it, it is needless to say that the humane side of a person is easily forgotten. The biomedical model worships this process of viewing human body of comprising only of anatomy and devoid of any subjectivity. As Duffy[14] documented on the completion of a hundred yearsof the Flexner Report that transformed the face of medicale ducation, explains well how, the report led to diminishing of charity hospitals and care centers in America and establishment of a research based model of medical education. The report isjust an exemplar to understand how scientific knowledge was embraced at the cost of giving up the more human and personal side of a medical story. It helps us decipher how revering arational system led to establishing of a strict regime that preferred looking at humans more as a case study than as a person. Many medical researchers often argue in favor of this objective claimingthat unless there is an objective approach, it is impossible toseparate mind from body and to observe the latter.

A similar case is demonstrated in Margaret Edson's Pulitzer Prize winning play 'Wit'. The play revolves around an English professor, Vivian Bearing, who is also a cancer patient. The story is about her navigation through the ordeal of going through a life threatening disease amplified manifolds by the treatment she receives from the doctors and the hospital. She is taken up as a case study by her doctors for she represented a 'strong' woman who was devoid of emotions or any relatives who would worry for her. Her doctors therefore considered her as a potential experiment field and tried to useher to come up with competent findings for cancer related research. Though Vivian sportingly agrees to the proposal and offers her body for experimental use,

but as the play progresses, she feels betrayed and broken as a patient for she expected a caring atmosphere which was replaced by a very mechanical setup. As a literature scholar who would dissect prose and poems down to the last comma and alliteration, the doctors now turned her into an object to be dissected down tomere combinations of cells. Vivian's body was used as a slate to write upon, even the final act of the body, dying, is followedby autopsy, which ceremonially marks the very last attemptto encrypt the patient's body.

Freidson[15] argues that medicine has come to represent the archetypical institution of the western culture which justlike religion has started to bind people in its dogmas and these dogmas , just like religious dictums are largely unquestioned. He goes on to add, that the soldiers of this army of medicine (patients and physicians alike) are marching towards a common goal, which are determined by organizational demands. As mentioned earlier, physicians often have the privilege to define what illness is. They do more than just performing the function of diagnosis and prescribing medicines accordingly, by defining illness, physicians control what aperson should feel; what he should be defining as pain and ailment and therefore rest his complete body for scrutiny whenin presence of a doctor. Doctors on the other hand tend to impress their perceptions about reality onto the lives of a patient. Biological illness is different from what its accepted social definitions are, and physicians tend to act as "moral entrepreneurs"[13] who are involved in defining socially agreed upon parameters of illness, often shaping and destructing a patient's beliefs about his own body. In the process of acting upon a given greater altruistic motive, the doctors now, tend to exercise a totalitarian kind of a regime upon the society. The unquestioned faith bestowed upon them leads to low level of accountability and regulation amongst them and higher degree of autonomy at the same time. As Larson[16] correctly argues,'In this light the power and status of medicine could simply be interpreted as the result of skillfully exploiting a marketing opportunity in health care.'

The labeling theory model flagged by Freidson[13] very appropriately highlights the problem within this kind of unchecked autonomy assumed by medicine. The professional is in a position to label any kind of deviation within a given situation as a form of illness so much so that, it creates a moral binding upon the patient, to feel guilt ridden for having departed the norms.

It must therefore be questioned whether expertise is fast becoming a

cape to cover all the ills within the profession that discover ills, whether knowledge has been assumed as an alibi for power and privilege. The decision about a patient and hislife should involve the patient himself too, even though hemight be a lay person, but it is only unfair to take into consideration what the scientific facts tell and not what the person's personal circumstances have to convey. A doctor is certainly qualified enough to identify the bodily problems that a person suffers from, to classify them appropriately and takea suitable medical course to treat it. But, the patient in himself is a telling tale of many psychological, social and cultural traits that physiology might be insufficient to transmit and therefore, a doctor's expertise, should meet the personal narratives ofthe person he is attending. It certainly cannot be discounted that this profession is indispensable, but it should also be taken into account that its take on illness is cause of concern. Havinga tendency to define everything in terms of pathology and bodily deformity, it certainly is important to investigate how inclination towards medicalisation is amplified by the professionals. The supremacy that this aura of beneficence and morality entails, lets the profession enjoy an undisputable position, the subjectivities of a patient and his plight are often ignored under the magnificence of these virtues. The authoritative and paternalistic doctor patient relationships arenot equal and often give the former an edge over the latter. This skewed relationship can also be regarded as one of themain reasons why narratives and subjectivities are given a far secondary position in a clinical encounter as opposed to the biomedical approach followed religiously by the doctors.

This change in the profession is the precursor to thenew kind of dialogues that occur between the doctor and patient. The linguistics has probably shifted from the exchangeof pleasantries and personal wellbeing to the sophisticated interaction guided by medical parlance. The new age communication thus spares only that information which isvital in diagnosis and treatment.

Greenhalgh[17] who assimilates her account as a patient echoes the above mentioned views about shift in a doctor-patient relationship. When she approached a highly celebrated doctor, recommended to her by her friends, she had already entrusted him with immense awe and reverence. What followsin her account is a testimony of complete robbery of this trust, since the doctor pays no heed to Greenhalgh's personal accounts and resultantly she feels unheard and helpless. The lady repeatedly encounters discomforting signs in her body, but she sidelines them to continue honoring the treatment

prescribed by the doctor. She argues she was 'coaxed' into becoming an obedient patient by her doctor.

Doctors often opt for rhetorical arguments to convince a patient. They may not necessarily lie, but their statements are often exaggerated truths that are embellished with factual jargons of the biomedicine, which often leave a patient withoutany defense to his rescue. The doctors thus, exploiting their humanitarian and moral image, tend to work out certain conversational gambits which help them to change a reluctant person into a docile and complying patient. This also includesheavy loss of personal narratives for often doctors have noroom for them.

The clinical encounters often lack a dialogue, a discourse that pools in languages of both a patient and a doctor. Toborrow from Foucault's[8] explanation, a clinic is like a meeting point of doctor and patient. But it is necessary that this meeting point leads to a confluence of thoughts of both of them. The 'observing gaze'[8] that Foucault points out to, is nothing but a still, considerable look at a person by the doctor, who notonly cures but cares. One who is silently observing and rests his theories and expertise quietly when in presence of an ill person. The art of gazing therefore must be accompanied witha zest to observe by listening peacefully and absorbing whatever a patient has to offer. It is not to treat the geography of a human anatomy as a means to quench one's thirst for authority and expertise in research.

What does a patient then really demand from the medical science? Does he want to be treated like human being? Ordoes he wish to be cured more than being heard as a person?.The answer can be seen as a combination of both of these polar opposites. Such questions signal the dualistic model of the biomedicine which treats mind and body as separate entities. What is needed is not a separatist regime trying tosingle out symptoms which are only physiological but a model that efficiently also looks at each patient as a person, someone who has a background to offer, whose illness does not necessarily stem from anatomical issues alone but social cultural & personal hardships too. One of the main criticisms that arise is that whether we can consider that particular 'something' that lies outside the bounds of the flesh/body landscape. The constructs like 'healthy' or 'diseased' body can very well

be created by experts who treat this body, and it's needless to say that the constructions can happen to suit their own purpose. Thus what is considered diseased and unhealthy must also take into cognizance a person's opinion.

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16

Comprehensive Economic Partnership Agreement (CEPA) Between India and Japan:
An Analysis of Product Tariff Reduction and Consumer Welfare of Select Sectors

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Abstract : This paper examines the trade creation and trade diversion effects in the context of the Comprehensive Economic Partnership Agreement (CEPA) 2011between India and Japan. The study uses the Software for Market Analysis and Restrictions on Trade **SMART (full name)** model in a partial equilibrium framework to examine the impact of trade and welfare in the context of three commodity groups - machines, engines and pumps; electronic equipments and textiles and finds that the CEPA resulted in both trade creation for India and positive overall welfare in case of all three commodities. The study thus makes an important contribution for a nascent agreement in the context of two important Asian economies and their trade relations.

JEL Classification Nos : F1, F15

1. Introduction

The global economy is currently trying to cope with the after effects of a global downturn, looking for new drivers of economic growth. In this context, Asia offers some hope of a long-term regional growth model based on Asian

savings and demand propelled by regional integration and co operation. Asian economic integration has evolved in an environment of considerable strategic complexity characterised by the economic rise of India and China along with the simultaneous emergence of production networks in different sub-regions. In this scenario India and Japan have the potential to emerge as strategic players in modelling Asian economic co operation and can play a crucial role in spurring regional growth and in preserving the balance of economic power in the region, particularly in the context of a surging China.

In the years following World War II, government-industry cooperation, a strong work ethic, mastery of high technology, and a comparatively small defense allocation (1 per-cent of GDP) helped Japan develop as a technologically advanced economy. The economy of Japan, still the 3rd largest in the world, has faced a long domestic stagnation and increasing competition in international markets, mainly from China and other neighbouring economies. Given this reality, Japan needs to expand its economic horizon to increase its strategic depth in international economic relationships.

India is the tenth largest economy by nominal gross domestic product (GDP) and third largest by purchasing power parity (PPP), a country of 1.2 billion people, representing the seconnd largest population in the world with a significant demographic dividend. Since 1980, its economy has been growing steadily on an average of 6 percent annually with a peak of around 9 percent. India's consumption-to-GDP was 62 per cent in 2013, higher than in China Russia and South Africa.[3]

India's growth potential due to its vibrant middle class and demographic dividend can be of immense interest for Japan. It could also serve as a base for targeting the neighbouring markets of Bangladesh, Sri Lanka and Pakistan. From the Indian perspective, Japan can be an important ally for both economic and political reasons. However, the mutual goodwill between Japan and India is yet to translate into serious economic and political engagement. This gap has to be bridged through cross-border trade, investment and cultural exchanges leading to a meaningful economic and strategic partnership between these two economies over time.

The renewal of economic engagement between India and Japan began

with the 'Look East' policy as a part of India's new economic reform programme of 1991 (Rajamohan, Rahut, and Jacob 2008), which identified Japan as one of the most important sources of investment and technology (Dixit 1996). Recent initiatives include the Comprehensive Economic Partnership Agreement (CEPA) 2011 as a step towards engagement between the two countries in a multitude of sectors and the Tokyo Declaration in September 2014 with promised investment of USD 33.5 billion into the development of economic corridors, infrastructure, transport system, smart cities, clean energy, skill development and food processing.[4]

This paper presents an initial framework of analysis of the Comprehensive Economic Partnership Agreement CEPA which was signed between India and Japan in 2011. The pact opens a huge window of opportunity for India, which hitherto accounted for just one percent of Japan's external trade. It also provides an access to Japanese technology and products, in turn improving innovations, competition, quality consciousness and economies of scale. As for Japan, enhancement of trade with India, the burgeoning consumer giant with a billion-plus population, comes at an opportune time and is of great relevance considering the general slowdown in world trade in the last few years.

The paper is organised as follows: After the initial introduction, section 2 provides an overview of economic relations between the two countries, section 3 identifies the theoretical underpinnings of regional economic co operation and its impact on trade ; Section 4 presents an overview of CEPA; Section 5 analyses CEPA in a partial equilibrium framework using SMART[5] analysis,   and Section 6 presents an analysis of results and concludes. (Write down in accordance with section division)

2. Economic Relations between India and Japan – an Overview

India's earliest economic engagement with Japan dates back to a trade convention of 1894 signed for giving a boost to the trade of cotton bales (Sareen, 2007), which also paved the way for the opening of regular ocean transport between India and Japan (Jain and Todhunter, 1996). This resulted in India becoming Japan's fifth largest export market (Yamanouchi, 2000) with trade being done through the barter system as 10,000 tons of iron ore were exchanged

for "a small carton of Japanese pearls". Indian assistance to the Japanese war ravaged economy took the form of iron ore, coal and cotton bales to a war ravaged Japan after World War II. This was followed by a long period of economic stagnation between the two countries, as a consequence of India's socialist stance, which was finally broken in the early 1990s as India undertook major economic reforms and unveiled a **"Look East" policy (Rajamohan, et al., 2008) which identified Japan as one of the most important sources of investment and technology (Dixit, 1996). (Repeated)**

Japanese interest in India as an investment destination arises out of its large domestic market base and a young population with a large disposable income. The two countries expect mutual synergies to drive business initiatives on the following counts :

- Japan is a relatively labour-scarce, capital abundant country that complements India's rich and abundant of skilled human capital base.

- India's prowess in the software sector lends synergy to Japan's excellence in the hardware sector.

- India's abundance of raw-materials and minerals matches well with Japan's capabilities in technology and capital to produce knowledge intensive manufactured goods.

Table 1 is a snapshot of comparison of India and Japan along select economic and demographic indicators.

Table 1.

Economic and Demographic status of India and Japan

S.No.	Demographic and economic indicators	Japan	India
1.	Population in 000's 2014	127,132	1,267,402
2.	GDP (million current US$, 2014)	4,601,461	2,066,902
3.	Real GDP 2010=100	103	129
4.	Last Trade policy review held	March 2015	June 2015
5.	Tariff Binding coverage in %	99.7%	74.4%
6.	Number of service sectors committed to be GATS compliant	112	37
7.	Share in world exports	3.60%	1.69%
8.	Share in world imports	4.31%	2.43%

Source-Adapted from the World trade country profile , WTO as accessed on 08/04/2016. *http://stat.wto.org/CountryProfile/WSDBCountryPFView.aspx?Language= E&Country=IN,JP* accessed on 08/04/2016

http://stat.wto.org/CountryProfile/WSDBCountryPFView.aspx?Language= E& Country= IN,JP accessed on 08/04/2016

2.1 Trade

Bilateral trade between India and Japan has increased from a meagre USD 4.2 billion in 1996-97 to around USD 18 billion in 2012 -13 (figure 1). (Give figures of bilateral trade in US million dollar as indicated in Figure 1) The data is given in the annexure 1 of the text. The main items of India's exports to Japan are iron ore, metal products, food products including marine products, raw materials and chemical products. The main items of India's imports from Japan are general machinery, metal products, electrical machinery, metal products and transport machinery.

Trade facilitation and enhancement is further envisaged as a consequence of the signing of the Comprehensive Economic Partnership Agreement CEPA between the two countries in August 2011.

Figure 1. India's exports & Imports from Japan

(in US million dollars)
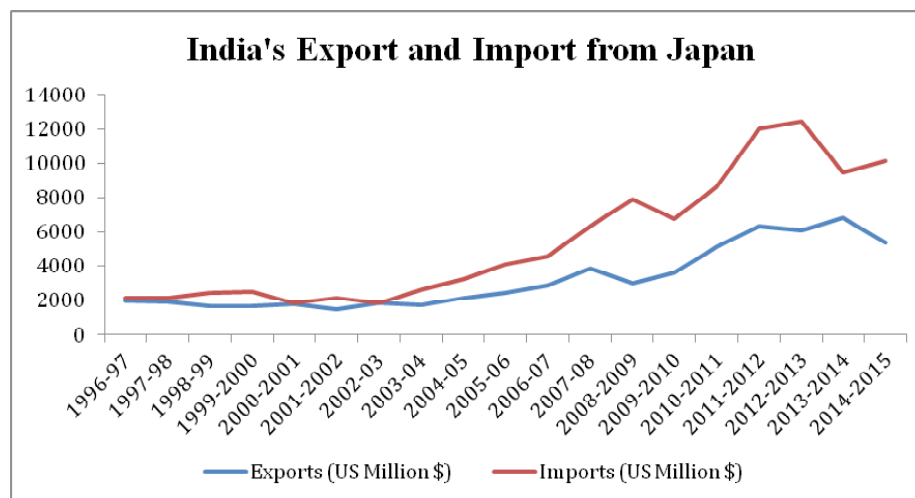
Source: *http://www.commerce.nic.in/eidb/ecnt.asp* accessed on 8 April 2016

2.2 Official Development Assistance (ODA)

Japan is also currently India's largest bilateral developmental assistance donor and India has been the top recipient of yen loans from Japan since 2003 surpassing China, which had been holding that position for many years. ODA disbursements to India seem to have increased in tandem with the increased threat perception from China and stood at 42 percent of total ODA received by India in 2010. The ODA figures show a peak in 2012-13 as in Figure 2. In India, as part of the Japan-India Special Economic Partnership Initiative (SEPI) several high visibility flagship projects like the Delhi-Mumbai Industrial Corridor (DMIC) have been initiated. The DMIC is projected to attract foreign investment worth about US$ 92 billion and will include cooperation in development of sea ports on the west coast and industrial estates and Special Economic Zones with high quality physical and social infrastructure through collaboration between private and governmental

sectors of India and Japan. The Japanese government has announced a joint public and private finance of US $ 4.5 billion over the next five years for the DMIC projects. This shows the huge importance of building fair international economic relationships.

Figure 2.
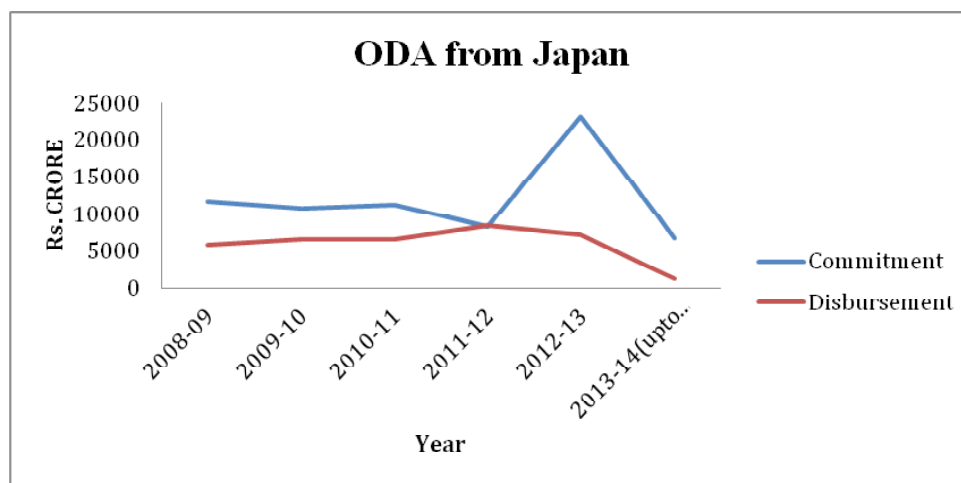
Source: *http://finmin.nic.in/the_ministry/dept_eco_affairs/japan/japan_index.asp?
     pageid=2#Commitments1* Accessed- 8 April 2016

2.3 Foreign Direct Investment (FDI)

Japanese FDI inflows to India have moved in response to changes in the Indian policy regime. We examine these in the context of the liberalisation programme launched in 1991.

2.3.1 Phase I – Pre liberalisation

Investment in the 80s was governed by the Foreign Exchange and Regulation Act (FERA) 1974, which was a restrictive regime during which firms could only have equity holdings of 40 per cent and the use of foreign brands was prohibited. A few Japanese companies found various routes of operation even during this period. This included Honda Motorcorp which had a partnership with Hero, and Suzuki Motors which set up as a government

joint venture with Maruti in 1982 as foreign investment policy was relaxed somewhat. These restrictions on foreign private investment policy continued until 1991, and foreign investment during this period was largely in the nature of bilateral or multilateral loans with long-term maturity (Choudhury, 2009).

2.3.2 Phase II Post Liberalisation

Japanese FDI in the post liberalisation phase can be divided into two phases – in the first phase from 1991 to 2000 the permissible equity participation was 49 percent in a limited number of sectors. The FDI inflows received from Japan during the period 1996 **was US$ 0.26 billion**, which significantly increased to **US$ 2.8 in 2012** (figure 3). The FDI outflows (OFDI) are meagre in comparison to FDI inflows during this period. Major surge in FDI inflows occurred after 2006. These figures have been detailed in Annexure 2.

FDI came into automobiles, telecommunications, fuel, chemicals and trading, mainly through technical collaborations. In the initial years, Honda in the automobile sector and Sony in the electronics sector were the two important Japanese brands that made their entry. By the end of the decade, important brands like Toyota, Toshiba and Panasonic had also entered the Indian market. There was also a proliferation of companies in auto parts, fuels and chemical and industrial goods.

India's diverse culture and complex socio-economic factors accompanied by a plethora of legal provisions, different policies and regulations in different parts of the country and a volatile labour situation created a challenging business environment which discouraged Japanese enterprise.

In the second phase, from the 2000 till date the cap on foreign equity participation and on permissible sectors was gradually raised. Foreign participation was permitted up to 100 per cent in most sectors from 2000 onwards. FERA was replaced by the new Foreign Exchange Management Act (FEMA) and in a significant development in 2005, foreign companies already operating in one sector were allowed to re-invest in another sector, through the automatic route. This permitted the foreign company to be treated as the equivalent of a domestic company, allowing it access to sectors that had so far been denied to it (Choudhury, 2009).

The period 2000 – 14 saw Japan emerge as the fourth largest contributor of FDI to India, accounting for 7.46 per cent of total inflows, but India lags far behind China, USA and smaller Asian nations such as Thailand and Indonesia which received a greater magnitude of FDI from Japan.[6] There were 2542 Japanese business establishments in India in 2013[7], which is an increase of 25.09 per cent over the previous year. The drugs and pharmaceuticals and automobiles sector emerged as the highest recipients of Japanese FDI[8], driven to an attractive emerging market with a high disposable income and expanding middle class. Japanese multinational enterprises (MNEs) have used Joint Ventures (JVs) as their main mode of entry into the Indian market driven by the restrictions of the institutional environment and the need for tapping into local experience (Horn et al., 2007).

Figure 3
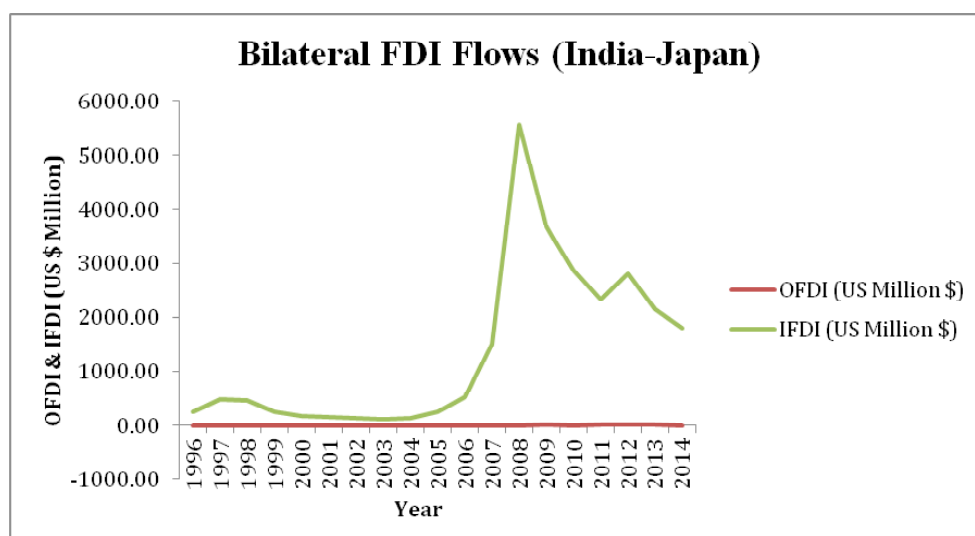
Source: *https://www.jetro.go.jp/en/reports/statistics/* accessed on 8 April 2016

Figure 3. India's FDI inflows & outflows vis a vis Japan (in US million dollars, for years 1996-2014, annually).

The Tokyo Declaration signed between the Prime Ministers of the two countries in September 2014 aims at a new dynamism in India-Japan relations.

It consists of a Special Strategic Global Partnership consisting of defence exchanges, co-operation in clean energy, roads and highways and healthcare and women. The two countries have agreed to double the flow of FDI and the number of Japanese companies in India over the next five years under the India-Japan Investment Promotion Partnership. Japan has committed to financial flows of 3.5 trillion Yen, into the development of economic corridors, infrastructure, transport system, smart cities, clean energy, skill development and food processing.[9]

3. Regional Economic Integration and Trade– A Theoretical Viewpoint

The decade of the 1990s has witnessed a strong wave of regional economic integration in the world economy. A visible manifestation of this trend has been the emergence of regional trading agreements (RTAs) in different parts of the world. Asia too has been actively using **FTA's** as a trade policy instrument since 2000 (Kawai and Wignaraja, 2010). These RTAs have pursued a deeper type of integration covering preferential free trading arrangements complemented by strong rules of origin and mobility of capital (and sometimes even labor) across the region. Elements of deeper regional integration incorporated in the currently proliferating RTAs go well beyond the traditional modalities for economic cooperation. Traditionally, RTAs were aimed at lowering trade barriers, but in recent years have moved beyond the trade barrier reducing exercise and involve specific commitments on investment as well. They aim at strengthening a region's participation in global production networks both through trade and capital flows.

3.1 RTAs and their impact on Trade

While the objective to implement any bilateral agreement between nations is economic, social and political cooperation, the economic benefits accruing to both the countries takes the priority as the increase in market size directly affect economic growth (Balassa, 2011).

3.1.1 Increase in trade flows through reduced tariff barriers

RTAs have increasingly been designed to cover much more than formal trade policies, hence the impact of these agreements on trade determines the extent to which broader political and social objectives are achieved. The

simplest measure of integration is the trend in the share of imports from regional partners in the total imports of a region. Successful regional agreements might be expected to increase trade between partners relative to those countries' trade with the rest of the world. This is subject to three important conditions :

- First, successful regional integration is typically accompanied by reductions in tariffs for all partners. Hence, regional trade shares may not rise even though the volume of regional trade is increasing.

- Second, regional trade agreements that provide for the removal or reduction in trade costs other than those associated with formal trade policies (such as improved customs procedures), may stimulate trade from all sources.

- Third, many agreements cover nontrade issues such as investment, services, and labor, and these can have important consequences for growth and incomes. Therefore, it is important to bear in mind here that an agreement may be successful even if the propensity for members to trade among themselves does not increase markedly.

3.1.2 Welfare outcome of Integration – Trade Creation and Trade Diversion

Traditional analysis of economic integration utilises a partial equilibrium approach, developed by Viner (1950) , through the use of the concepts of trade creation and trade diversion. This explanation emphasizes that the welfare outcome of economic integration is determined by the relative strength of these two effects.

The trade creation effect of FTAs improves resource allocation within a region and income for member countries by reducing trade barriers. It makes consumers better off by giving them greater choice as they can buy goods from the most efficient supplier at the lowest cost.

The trade diversion effect on the other hand, means that the FTA would replace imports of highly efficient non-member countries by imports from

less efficient FTA members. Trade creation results in an improvement in resource allocation and economic welfare, while trade diversion worsens efficiency in resource allocation. Besides, trade diversion has a negative impact on non-members as they lose an exporting opportunity. Thus while consumers in FTA member countries may have increased welfare as the FTA enables them to buy imports at lower prices, an FTA member country in totality may face a loss if the decline in government's tariff revenue exceeds the consumers' gain.

In general, an FTA would lead to some amount of trade creation and trade diversion. If the trade diversion is sufficiently large relative to the trade creation effects, it is possible that the FTA would end up being harmful to the member countries.

Meade's general equilibrium analysis (1955) shifts the focus to trade costs, in addition to trade creation and diversion. The theory of the 'second best' improves the theoretical fundamentals of the general equilibrium setting but also increases the ambiguity of any welfare analysis. By incorporating the 'transfer principle', the fundamentals are in place to facilitate the calculation of the effects of trade policy on welfare (Snorasson, 2012).

The issue that whether countries should undertake RTA's should also take into consideration the empirical evidence of effects of their presence. Research studies of the African economies show that they should continue to invest in regional trading agreements, as it reduces the war possibilities & information asymmetries between the countries (Melo and Tsikata, 2013). On the contrary, there exists the common thought that in the phase of political instability, RTAs not just are ineffective, but, at worst, can create reasons of conflicts between signatory parties (Brown Oli et al., 2005). RTA also help in increasing agricultural trade between member countries, which can be favourable for an agrarian economy like India (Vollrath et al., 2011).

It is often argued that bilateralism can dampen the effects of multilateralism in terms of non discrimination among countries. This argument however, can be refuted by the evidence from two multilateral agreements – the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (**COMESA) & MERCOSUR**, which showed very modest or no diversion [10] in trade among the non member countries due to RTA's and also showed negligible welfare

effects (Conroy, 2013).

Cultural diversity may hamper the role of RTA in increasing trade among countries, as linguistic differences curb trade, though the effect of other cultural differences such as religion might be insignificant (Guo, 2004; Yeganeh, 2011).

4. Comprehensive Economic Partnership Agreement (CEPA)-2011

India and Japan constituted a Joint Study Group (JSG), focusing on measures which would form the basis for a comprehensive expansion of trade in goods, services, investment flows and other areas of economic relations between the two countries. This led to the first round of negotiations on the India - Japan Comprehensive Economic Partnership Agreement (CEPA) in early 2007.

The CEPA was signed in 2011 as a harbinger of hope for strengthening historical ties and as a measure of to further the growth and stability in the Asia- Pacific region. The basic objectives of the agreement are to (a) liberalise and facilitate trade in goods and services (b) increase investment opportunities and improve business environments and bilateral cooperation in other fields (c) ensure protection of intellectual property and promote cooperation in the field thereof and (d) Provide for effective enforcement of competition laws.

The structure of CEPA along similar lines of other general bilateral treaties signed between two trading countries. However, the speciality and distinctiveness of the 2011 treaty lies in its encompassing nature. It covers areas such as *Measures against Corruption*, *Transparency issues*, *Confidentiality clauses*, *Environment protection issues*, *Bilateral safeguard measures*, *Anti-Dumping Investigation*, which usually do not find place in bilateral trade agreements. Taken together with the annexures, it attemps to provide a complete code containing the principles, the modalities of operations and solution to specific issues like dumping, along with an institutional framework to oversee the operation.

In line with the ethos of the world trade organization (WTO) objectives, the agreement envisages elimination of tariffs on more than 90 percent of goods traded between the two countries over the next decade. This trade pact envisioned the scrapping of tariffs in sectors like auto parts and machinery as well as farm and fisheries products, which will be mutually beneficial to both

economies. The Japanese auto industry stands to benefit from elimination of the 10 per cent tariff levied by India on Japanese exports of lithium ion batteries, **DVD** players and tractors over the next decade. Likewise Japan proposes to scrap tariffs on Indian tea and other farm products. India hopes to benefit from the promise of fresh capital and technology along with learning from management practices.

In the Indian context, the impact of CEPA in terms of trade creation & trade diversion can be realised when the tariffs reductions are large enough so that the imports prices from Japan become less than those from the rest of the world & imports increase from Japan and decrease from the rest of the world despite Japan being a comparatively high cost producing nation than other nations. So most of the trade will be within the inner dotted circle (figure 4), while in the case of small tariff reductions, import prices will remain higher for Japan than the rest of the world as depicted by outer dotted circle of trade pattern.

Fig 4 Tariff Reductions under CEPA
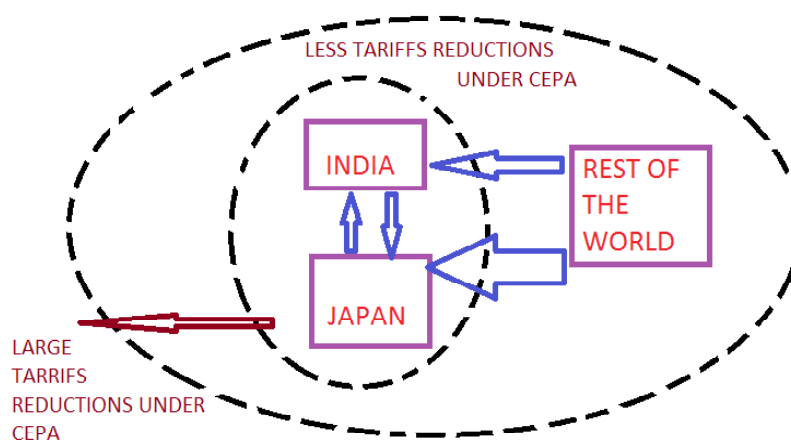
5. Methodology

The present study aims to study the gains from trade creation and increased welfare through the implementation of the CEPA using the Software for Market Analysis and Restrictions on Trade (SMART) model.

5.1 The SMART Model

Software for Market Analysis and Restrictions on Trade SMART Model is used to compute total trade creation/diversion in the importing country and can be extended to measure overall welfare implications of the agreement. Our SMART analysis is broadly based on the methodology adopted from the discussion paper (ADB, 2010). The SMART model discusses the changes in imports into a particular market when there is any alteration in trade policy. It holds the Armington assumption that means commodities are differentiated by their country of origin, which implies that for a particular commodity, imports from one nation are an imperfect substitute for imports from another nation. The SMART model also assumes that consumer demand entails allocating their spending by commodity prices and by its variety. The relationship between changes in the price index and the import demand for the commodity is called import demand elasticity. Thus the decided level of spending for this commodity is allocated among the different national varieties, depending on the relative price of each variety as determined by the commodities substitution elasticity. The degree of responsiveness of each foreign exporter's supply to changes in the price is measured by the export supply elasticity. The SMART model, by default, assumes that the export supply elasticity of each foreign country is infinite. SMART can also operate with a finite export supply elasticity, but the value of this parameter must be found and incorporated into the analysis. The substitution of imports is also perfectly balanced in the SMART model so that the substitution does not affect the overall imported quantity, but simply reallocates market shares among foreign partners based on the new relative prices. The preferential FTA can cause an increase in imports from the country or countries benefiting from trade because of lower prices. Hence, the importing country will experience an increase in imports, FTA export partners will have an crease in exports, and exports from outsiders will, fall. The SMART can calculate changes in tariff revenue as well.

5.2 Data Collection

The data required for the analysis were obtained from Export- Import Data Bank of the Ministry of Commerce (MOC), Government of India.

SMART analysis is performed on the imports of a country and we have considered India's imports from Japan for the purpose of study. The

methodology to use the SMART model requires a systematic approach that begins with the collection of the list of top ten imports from Japan to India for the year 2013-14[11] and consideration of top highly imported goods i.e. Machines, Engines & Pumps; and Electronic equipments for the analysis as mentioned in chapters 84 & 85 in the Indian Customs Tariffs, 2010-11. These two goods are chosen because these form the largest imports from Japan to India's rapidly growing sector. The results could later be extended for all the goods being traded. Since the Textiles sector is a major industrial sector in India with a significant contribution to employment and is more prone to threat under rising foreign competition, we have therefore included textiles in our analysis. Thus, our study is based on commodities facing tariffs reductions under chapter 50 to 63 & chapter 84 & 85 according to the Indian Custom Tariff 2010-11. We have simplified our analysis by taking commodities with 4-digit HS Code [12] as per HS classification, 2007. We laid basis on the fact that the Indian market is too small to affect foreign export prices of the considered commodities, therefore the foreign export supply elasticity's of these commodities are infinite. Import demand elasticity's of the concerned commodities are assumed to be greater than one.

Data for total imports from Japan to India for three years are taken from MOC i.e. for 2010-11 (Base Year), 2012-13 (First Year) & 2013-14 (Second Year). The terminology – Base year, first year & second year are used to simplify the names of the years and to maintain their sequentiality. Total Imports to India from the World for the base year & the 2nd year have also been included in the analysis. Custom duties on the relevant commodities for the base year are taken from the Indian Customs tariffs 2010-11. For the second year, the duties are taken from the Notification No.17 (Department of Revenue, 2013) regarding tariff reduction on commodities under CEPA.

In our 4-digit HS Code approach, weighted tariffs are assigned to the 4-digit commodities if all its sub-commodities have different custom rates. Here, the assumption is that every sub-commodity under 4-digit commodity have equal share in imports from Japan to India, so posses equal weights. For example, if the commodity 'wxyz' have 10 sub-commodities with two of them having custom rate of 10%, four of them having 7.5% & four of them with 0%, then weighted tariff for 'wxyz' is (2/10*10 + 4/10*7.5 + 4/10*0) is 5 percent. So the base year weighted tariffs are calculated and assigned likewise.

For the second year, weighted tariffs are assigned to every 4-digit commodity which have undergone reductions in tariffs, in accordance with the 3rd notification and the calculated base year tariffs. For example:- If the commodity 'wxyz' contains 10 sub-commodities and base year tariff is 5 percent (calculated/given) and only 6 sub-commodities face reductions, five of them to 3.65 & one of them to 0% as per the notification, then the weighted tariffs for 'wxyz' is (4/10*5 + 5/10*3.6 +1/10*0) is 3.8 percent. Calculation of weighted tariffs for base year and 2nd year is done to compute the welfare.

5.3 Results and Analysis

There is increase in imports from Japan to India from base year (last year before CEPA came into force) to first year (1st annual year after CEPA came into force), by 9,54, 960 lacs rupees (2095.59 million USD[13]), where majorly all commodities imports rose. However, from 1st to 2nd year, imports from Japan decreased by 4,06,000 lacs rupees (890.94 million USD). The reason for this decline could be GDP related, where last two years faced very slow growth as compared to the base year & imports shrank due to prolonged low growth. But the overall growth in imports from base year to second year was positive with increment in imports of approx. 5,50,000 lacs rupees (1206.94 million USD) (Figure 5).

Total imports from the rest of the world/ ROW (Total imports to India from the world minus total imports to India from Japan) for base year & second year are calculated for commodities in the analysis and cumulative deterioration in imports from ROW from base year to 2nd year is calculated. Instead of the decline, there was the rise in overall **imports from the rest of the world by 1,18,22,765 lacs rupees (25944.18 million USD). Thus the total trade creation from base year to 2nd year for India was amazingly positive with 1,23,71,815 lacs rupees (27149.03 million USD). (Where is the figure or table to support this statement).** This completes more than half of the analysis with results favoring enforcement of CEPA.

Our next step is to see the welfare implications of the reductions in tariffs. For this purpose, we have to weigh consumer surplus generated in India due to increased imports from Japan, with tariffs revenue loss for ROW due to decreased imports to India from ROW. Consumer surplus is shown in the figure 6 indicates that with the fall in tariffs causing decline in prices from 't'

to t′ imports from Japan increases from q to q′, is raising consumer surplus by the amount shown in triangle ABC. Also, since imports from ROW have actually increased, this proved the welfare to be positive. Mathematically, Consumer surplus (figure 6) for 2010-2014 (0.5*tariff reductions*cumulative increase in imports) & tariffs revenue loss for ROW for 2010-2014 (cumulative decrease in imports*base year tariffs), are 5,76,852 lacs rupees (1265.86 million USD) and 6,12,88,000 lacs rupees (134,491.98 million USD) respectively. Hence, Welfare is found out to be approx. 6,18,00,000 lacs rupees (135,615.53 million).

Figure 5. Imports from Japan for Base year, first year & second year.
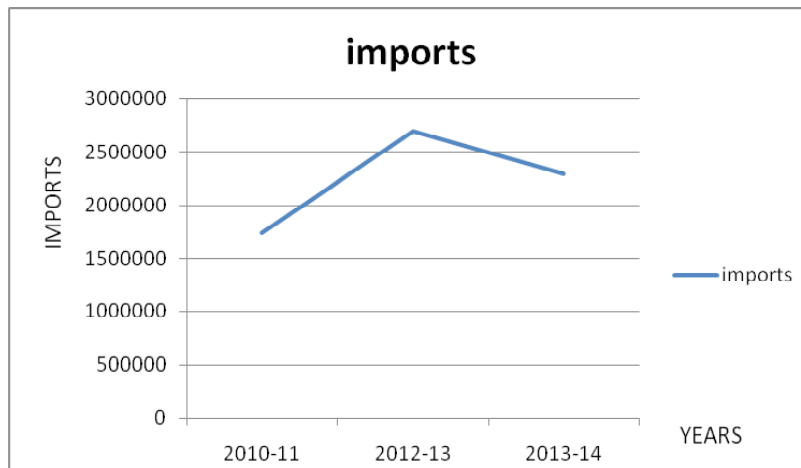
Figure 6. Net Consumer Surplus Generated "ABC".
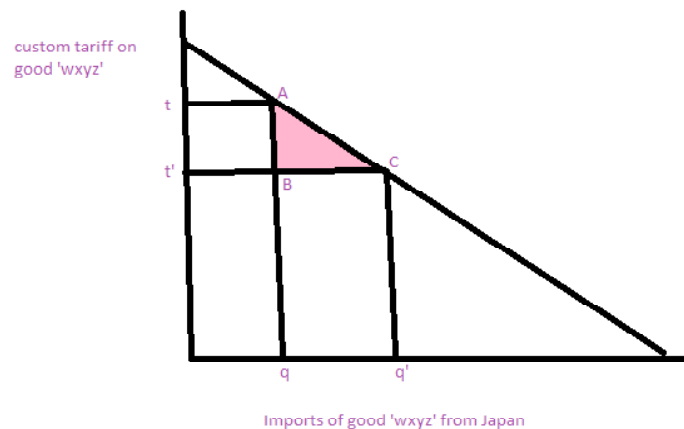
5. Conclusion

This study aims to evaluate the Indo Japanese agreement CEPA, which is a comprehensive trade agreement covering both trade and investment with articles on safeguards, antidumping duties and anti corruption implementation. The evaluation of a Free Trade Agreement is the success it achieves in terms of increase in trade and investment as a result of opening of trade restrictions. This is based on expectations of the two countries and its alignment with multilateral trading agreements. This study examines the trade creation and trade diversion effects of CEPA for three commodity groups - machines, engines and pumps; electronic equipments and Textiles.

The study empirically proved that there was trade creation for India and positive overall welfare in case of all three commodity groups as a result of implementation of the CEPA agreement. Trade creation has great relevance in the context of the Indian economy where technological advancement and **R&D** sector needs to pace up. Trade growth raises the economic pie for both the nations, raising the growth in investments, employment creation, and technology transfers.

Our analysis also supports the argument that the reduction in trade barriers between two structurally and culturally different economies induces economic growth for both the nations with greater overall welfare. Although the results depend upon the partial equilibrium approach, ignoring linkages with other markets, this assumption is not too vague in our direct effect measurement method because the concerned products taken for the analysis are assumed to have substitution elasticity to be less than one. The results can be generalized for other commodities also and we can conclude that the economic impact of the agreement seems to be positive as of now and will continue to improve with further notifications of tariff reduction on goods enforcement.

The CEPA 2011 is a complete balanced agreement **which is fully WTO compatible** and follows the principle of non-discrimination in its implementation. The agreement would help both the countries in trade expansion, although the degree of success may vary between the two countries on account of different technological status, availability of money in the market

depending upon the interest rates, the level of stringency of the Non Tariff Barriers (NTBs) such as technical barriers to trade (**TBT) and Sanitary and Phytosanitary (SPS)** measures; and the efficiency of manpower in terms of productivity per man-hour. Success of the policy requires stability and consistency in implementation for maximum benefit to be derived from it. This is not to say that the policy should be rigid. The agreement itself envisages modification depending upon the trade environment in future. A contentious issues that needs an overhauling is the labour laws reforms which have a direct nexus with efficiency and scale of production.

The CEPA between India and Japan if implemented in the right spirit would not only increase the economic growth of both countries and may become a catalyst for forging friendships and mutual understanding in other areas as well. With this, it will pave way for many bilateral agreements in the near future.

6. Scope For Further Research

The study may also be extended by the use of other frameworks of analysis as its the agreement matures. A natural corollary of this paper would be to consider the impact of FDI flows on welfare as a result of CEPA and compare the results with findings which show greater benefits of FDI flows over cost in the host and home countries, (Moura and Rosa, 2010), (Sanna-Randaccio, 2002).

This should include an analysis of FDI flows, services trade, technology transfers, and social and political integration also to broaden our analysis on the after effects of the agreement. Theoretical implications of CEPA on trade in services & FDI flows sound very favourable, giving a way for empirics, but the measurement in respect of technological transfers seems difficult.

Annexure 1. Indo-Japan Trade

Year	Exports US (Million $)	Imports US (Million $)
1996-97	2005.96	2187.45
1997-98	1892.07	2144.9
1998-99	1652	2465.72
1999-2000	1685.37	2535.8
2000-2001	1794.48	1842.19
2001-2002	1510.44	2146.44
2002-03	1864.03	1836.33
2003-04	1709.29	2667.68
2004-05	2127.91	3235.13
2005-06	2481.26	4061.1
2006-07	2868.12	4599.54
2007-08	3858.48	6325.92
2008-2009	3025.7	7886.27
2009-2010	3629.54	6734.18
2010-2011	5091.24	8632.03
2011-2012	6328.54	11999.43
2012-2013	6100.06	12412.29
2013-2014 (april-dec)	5163.96	7327.01

SOURCE: https://www.jetro.go.jp/en/reports/statistics/

Annexure 2. Indo- Japan FDI flows

	OFDI	FDI Inflows
Year	US (Million $)	US (Million $)
1996	5.56	262.13
1997	0.00	485.43
1998	2.86	460.42
1999	0.00	261.45
2000	0.00	174.67
2001	0.00	150.50
2002	-0.82	145.55
2003	0.00	124.14
2004	0.00	139.09
2005	1.40	265.88
2006	-0.56	512.40
2007	3.39	1506.07
2008	0.86	5551.20
2009	13.98	3664.26
2010	4.25	2863.60
2011	9.17	2325.90
2012	18.84	2802.10

SOURCE: https://www.jetro.go.jp/en/reports/statistics/

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1   *http://siteresources.worldbank.org/ICPINT/Resources/270056-1183395201801/ Summary-of-Results-and-Findings-of-the-2011-International-Comparison-Program.pdf), published in 2014.*

2   Exchange rate as per average of annual year 2010-2011 (1 USD = 45.57 rupees), rbi.org.in/scripts/publications view.

3   Software for Market Analysis and Restrictions on Trade (SMART) Model is used to compute total trade creation/diversion in the importing country & can be extended to measure overall welfare implications of the agreement also.

4   *https://www.jetro.go.jp/en/reports/statistics/*

5   *http://www.in.emb-japan.go.jp/PDF/J_C_list_2012_%20(rev).pdf*

6   *http://dipp.nic.in/English/Investor/Japan_Desk/FDI_Synopsis_Japan.pdf.*

7   Partners in Progress", Economic Times, September 5, 2014

8   Trade diversion as explained by Trade Diversion: Commentary on development, globalization, and trade by Jonathan Dingel, is an economic term related to international economics in which trade is diverted from a more efficient exporter towards a less efficient one by the formation of a free trade agreement or a customs union

9   The recent year 2013-14 was chosen for selecting the top ten imports from Japan available at ITC, intracen.org/Market Analysis

10 HS Code: The **HS** was created and is administered by the Brussels-based World Customs Organization (WCO). The first 6 digits of an **HS code** indicate the same product description for all 190 countries, but that does not mean that the rates of customs duties are the same. There are over 5,000 groups of 6-digit codes.

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