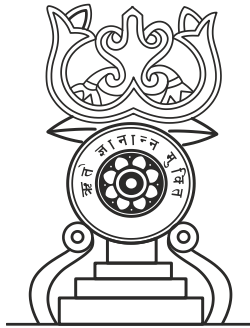


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KAMALA NEHRU COLLEGE
(UNIVERSITY OF DELHI)

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

AKADEMOS enters its twelfth successful year as a faculty research journal. As a community of teachers we thank each other for extending cooperation in every form. We are thankful to our principal, Dr. Kalpana Bhakuni for her relentless encouragement in making it a journal of repute. We are particularly thankful to all the reviewers who gave us their valuable time and expertise to improve the quality of our work. This endeavor owes much to faculty members Namita Paul and Amrita Singh for investing considerable effort in proofreading and editing the articles, Dr. Azka Kamil for her contributions and all the faculty members, scholars and researchers from across the world who have contributed towards the enrichment of the journal with their valuable research.

AKADEMOS

Editorial Policies and Processes

Introduction

Akademios (ISSN 2231-0584) is the bilingual, multi-disciplinary, peer-reviewed academic journal of Kamala Nehru College that has been published annually since 2006. It is a UGC approved journal and is listed on their website. Over the years we have evolved to become a publication that strives to publish research of the best quality and we invite papers from the Humanities, Commerce and Mathematics. Manuscripts are accepted from scholars, researchers, and teachers from all institutions across the world.

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of work to ensure the academic and scholarly integrity and record of the work and the journal acknowledges this contribution and regards the review process as sacrosanct.

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Editorial Board

Chief Editor – Namita Paul

Postal address – Kamala Nehru College, August Kranti
Marg, New Delhi, 110049

Email – knc.akademos@gmail.com,
namita.p@knc.edu

Editor (Hindi) – Sushma Sehrawat

Postal address – Kamala Nehru College, August Kranti Marg,
New Delhi, 110049

Email – Sushma241@gmail.com

Editor (English) – Amrita Singh

Postal address – Kamala Nehru College, August Kranti
Marg, New Delhi, 110049

Email – knc.akademos@gmail.com,
amrita.s@knc.edu

Team Akademos also consists of:

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Editor's Note

**If women are expected to do the same work as men, we
must teach them the same things**

–Plato

Since its inception, *Akademios* has evolved many times over to strive towards excellence in research. This year was no exception with the inclusion of *Akademios* in the UGC list of approved journals, making it one of the few journals in the University of Delhi to receive this status. This inclusion marks another milestone in the long journey that the journal has taken. Beginning as an academic endeavour that gave the faculty members of Kamala Nehru College the opportunity to disseminate their work in 2006, we have come a long way. We received our ISSN number in 2010 and in 2015, we became a peer-reviewed journal before receiving recognition from the UGC in 2017.

It is particularly significant that the research journal of a women's college has received this recognition because it represents the progress made by women in research. Often the profession of teaching is associated with women because women are stereotyped as 'nurturing' in traditional patriarchal societies. Research is seen as belonging to a masculine realm, an area where women cannot flourish so the existence of a reputed research journal in a women's college becomes the evidence that can challenge stereotypes. Equally significant is the fact that the journal welcomes contributions from researchers irrespective of gender and all the research that is published goes through a rigorous process of reviewing and editing to ensure high standards of quality. This combination of the journal's origin in a women's college with its non-discriminatory publication policies is truly unique. We provide a research space that actively strives towards gender equality by giving everyone a fair opportunity. It might seem like a simple task, but it requires us to be conscious and aware of inequality and how it might affect our choices.

Our work as researchers needs to address issues of inequality because it feeds into our work as teachers. As teachers we have taken on the task of educating the next generation and ensuring that they carry forward progressive ideas of equality with them. Therefore, our work as researchers should go beyond academic knowledge to bring about real change and inform debates regarding equality in civil society. Our students must become the real beneficiaries of the knowledge that we generate to ensure that the knowledge survives long after we are gone.

–Namita Paul

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Pleasures of Transnational Cultural Modernity: Consumption of Television Reruns and Fan Practices

Previous research on television watching practices in the field of cultural studies has explored the element of pleasure in consuming television, discussing the problematic overt emphasis on pleasure (Hill 2007) or the guilty-ridden pleasure of watching television itself (Morley 1986). The act of watching television or televisual content may be conscious or unconscious, where audiences may or may not reflect on the television text as a purveyor of ideology. Subsequently audience engagement and mode of viewing a genre such as news and current affairs will be distinctly different from other genres such as situation comedies. Battles and Hilton–Morrow (2002), for instance, argue that situation comedies rarely deal with political issues and largely depend on interpersonal relationships and individuated acts to pull the narrative forward. In that sense audience expectation from situation comedies will tend to be different from other television genres. Popular psychology reports from a study conducted in 2012 suggest that watching reruns of our favorite television shows may boost our will power and may have restorative powers¹. As per the report, the participants in the study who were asked to write about their favorite shows performed better at structured tasks than those who were asked to list items in their room. The researchers concluded that watching reruns had a “measurable restorative effect from a familiar fictional world.” Being a consumer of popular television shows has led me to think further on why and what do audiences seek in watching reruns of popular television shows. Is it because of television programming which relies on tested television shows to ensure high volume of audiences to be delivered to advertisers or do audiences themselves seek particular kinds of pleasure in watching reruns of their favorite shows? Why do we watch what we watch?

Transnational television content has been available in India from 1991 onwards via satellite, cable, direct-to-home and the Internet more recently.³ Before the convenience of watching television shows online, the repertoire of English-language shows produced in the US and UK available in India on cable was limited. Some of the longest running and most popular English-language drama and sit-com shows in India include but are not limited to *Friends*, *How I Met Your Mother*, *Big Bang Theory*, *Baywatch*, *Sienfeld*, *Bold and Beautiful*, *Sex and the City*, *Will & Grace*, *Dharma & Greg*, *Small Wonder* among others. India has never been a prominent exporter of transnational television content to international networks, barring Bollywood films. On the other hand, it has received much television content from the West. Rohit Chopra and Radhika Gajjala (2012) point out that transnational global media culture has inevitably brought to bear the concepts of concomitant cultural imperialism and homogenization of global culture in developing countries. However, some recent work on global media culture has been insightful in providing conceptual and theoretical maps of the complex spatial and temporal dynamics of media production, circulation and reception among audiences. The production, circulation and proliferation of television media texts via global economy is an exciting field of cultural enquiry to understand how these media texts are received, re-articulated and re-situated by audiences themselves.

Reading the working of transnational media production practices into what Stuart Hall (1997) calls “global mass culture”, one can understand the unbound nature of media content circulating globally today when he says that it is:

...dominated by the modern means of cultural production, dominated by the image which crosses and re-crosses linguistic frontiers much more rapidly and more easily, and which speaks across languages in a much more immediate way...by all the ways in which the visual and

graphic arts have entered directly into the reconstitution of popular life, of entertainment and of leisure...by television and by film, and by the image, imagery, and styles of mass advertising. Its epitomy is in all those forms of mass communication of which one might think of satellite television as the prime example...its whole purpose is precisely that it cannot be limited any longer by national boundaries. (27)

Arjun Appadurai (1990) on global cultural economy and transnational 'mediascapes' observes that they are,

...image-centered, narrative-based accounts of strips of reality, and what they offer to those who experience and transform them is a series of elements (such as characters, plots and textual forms) out of which scripts can be formed of imagined lives, their own as well as those of others living in other places.(299)

The global cultural economy then in its transnational mode of operation is primarily influenced by and flows via the nodes of American cultural production. David Kompare (2005) in his work tracing the historical emergence of reruns and repeat television in America remarks that a cultural and industrial history of reruns in the US points towards this phenomenon as a legitimate business practice in running of the television industry. He also goes on to argue that the format of repeat television in the US was to also construct a sense of national history and national past, something which is also discussed by Lynn Spigel (1995) in her work on popular memory and its negotiation with official historical past where televised heritage comes to stand in for heritage itself fostering particular notions of gender, class, race and ethnicity albeit in a teleological fashion.

Kompare further argues that television reruns should be seen as commoditized objects circulating in capitalist economies of cultural

production thereby referring to the monetization of syndicated content, advertising revenues and a pre-tested and adapted audience for those programs. While this does explain the business logic of scheduling reruns of old television content, however it does not adequately explain the continued patronage, engagement and consumption of reruns by the audiences themselves. More specifically it does not sufficiently throw light on how transnational television content and its reruns find resonance with viewers in a country like India, long after the show has stopped running or the continued fan engagement and concomitant fan practices around certain shows. This requires an attempt to unravel the inherent logic of transnational television reruns of episodic narratives, the themes that make them timeless and the interrelated questions of cultural production and reception.

My query with respect to reruns of popular television shows is specifically to do with the American sitcom *Friends* which ran on NBC from 1994 to 2004, completing 10 seasons and 238 episodes. The show follows the everyday professional and love lives of six friends in their 20s living in Manhattan, New York. Each character is sketched with particular quirks such as the “control freak” chef, the “dumb but good-looking” actor, the “waitress obsessed with her looks”, the “nerdy paleontologist”, the “witty corporate cog” and the “free-spirited masseuse and singer”. These characters are essentially performing as young people carrying out modern day professions in one of the most expensive cities in the world.

From New York to New Delhi

It has been more than 20 years since the show aired on television but according to the Broadcast Audience Research Council in India between January and June 2016, the show aired on Viacom 18's Comedy Central (English entertainment channel), had 2.08 million impressions (Sathe 2012).⁴ Every few years there are rumors of the cast reuniting for another season⁵ or the release of the trailer of the film based on the show.⁶ More recently, an unofficial

Facebook page by the name of David Schwimmer (name of one of the cast members) released a poster for the new season in 2018. At the time of writing this in August 2017, the post had been shared by 2,35,000 users on Facebook.⁷ This was eventually dubbed as a fake post since it was not made from an official account.

The sitcom works on syndication, and generates \$1 billion in syndication revenue for the Warner Bros every year and the cast of the show makes 2% of the syndication revenue each year as syndication royalties.⁸ In 2002, NBC negotiated to renew the show for its last season, and are reported to have paid each member of the cast \$1 million per episode for the last season.⁹ In 2002 the show was doing 24.7 million viewers per week, with a 12 rating with adults between the ages of 18 and 49 making these numbers. The sitcom made use of many revenue channels, including the first-run ad revenues, broadcasting syndication and DVD sales. While no current DVD sales revenue figures have been released, a report indicates that in 2003 2.1 million copies of *Friends* DVDs were sold for \$75 million.¹⁰

The show's rights were acquired by Romedy Now (an English-language television channel that broadcasts romantic comedies (American television shows and Hollywood films)) in 2014 and ran for a few months after which the rights were also acquired by Comedy Central, which continues to broadcast the show in India. The show has previously run on Star World and Zee Café (English-language television channels that broadcast syndicated popular American television shows), sometimes simultaneously, with both channels showing different seasons. The content head for Romedy Now defends their decision to acquire the old sitcom on the premise that it fits well within their "love and laughter" motto, additionally the programme scheduling is done in such a way that individual episodes can be watched every night of the week from Monday to Thursday and "binge-watched"¹¹ on Saturday in a marathon session.¹² The show also finds its audience not just on television but

also on free online streaming websites and subscription-only portals such as Netflix, an online Video-on-Demand streaming website which bought the rights for streaming *Friends* for \$500,000 per episode.¹³ While Netflix does not divulge the number of subscribers streaming a show or their viewing patterns but a Netflix spokesperson has been quoted as saying that *Friends* draws as much online buzz as other contemporary shows about young adults.¹⁴

In addition to this, popular culture practices continue to refer back to the show and its continued presence in audiences' lives. Comedy Central UK hosted a FriendsFest in 2014 where they recreated the sets from the show. An Indian couple living in the UK got engaged on the sets, with the couple recreating the proposal from one of the episodes of the show.¹⁵ A 2005 study carried out by linguistics professors in the University of Toronto revealed that the use of the word "so" in the show as an adverb intensifier prefix to emotions slowly found its way into mainstream vocabulary.¹⁶ The BuzzFeed India website has eleven web posts about the show *Friends* in the format of lists and quizzes. The show continues to be iconic among many generations, with phrases from the show making into everyday conversations, including but not limited to, "How you doing?"¹⁷ and "We were on a break!"¹⁸. The show's mellow, light and youthful content continues to reverberate with audiences who still relate with the thematic contours of every episode which more or less revolve around love, heartbreak, personal lows and professional hurdles.

The show, with its emphasis on the individual in a society, the hopes and ambitions, the individual struggles and challenges, is aspirational when it comes to living on your own, pursuing your dreams, dating woes etc. The characters do not engage with their immediate political environment, where current events only come in passing as a reference to a joke. Socio-economic issues are the individual's alone who must triumph over them to be a part of the society. The show is a capitalist dream –a new vacation, a new car,

a new job, a new piece of jewelry, new-found love, all of these are the lampposts of high points in the character's lives. All the characters in the show are heterosexual (barring comic references to one of the character's father who is gay and performs in drag) and white.

The emerging question is that how can a show that aired in 1994 and ran till 2004 still continues to find relevance among audiences in India? A similar thought is articulated by Adam Sternbergh (2016, par. 4) who observes:

The world of *Friends*

community of audiences who still watched the show and continued to engage with it. Since I was looking for new and old audiences, I searched for online groups dedicated to the show. I found a group specifically for Indian fans of the show on a popular social networking website (Facebook) with over 87,000 members. It was a closed group and I had to send in a formal request for joining in. The description of the group reads as “Great TV Show which gets more funnier (sic) each time you see when not in great mood. Do watch any episode it really makes your day and you become friends to the characters in the even though you don’t know them personally.” For the purpose of this research I adopted the methodology of an online qualitative and quantitative survey along with online participant observation of the group community to study individual fan behavior and inter-personal fan practices.

Before carrying out the survey I wrote a time-bound post in the group in May 2017 asking interested members to write to me about their experience of watching the show and if they would be interested in taking part in the study. I received 87 messages from members who were interested in talking about the show and demonstrated interest in taking part in the study. After an exchange of messages about the show, their memories of it and their continued engagement with it, I emailed the survey to them. Out of the total 87, 83 members completed the survey. My respondents were both male and female, between the ages of 17 and 38, living in metropolitan cities of India. Most of the respondents remember watching their first episode of the show when they were anywhere between 12 to 14 years of age on television (47%) and on DVD (22%). On television, the respondents recalled watching the show on Star World and Comedy Central in equal numbers, followed by Zee Café. 94% of the respondents admitted to still watching the show on a regular basis, with 55% watching it on television. During the initial interview exchange, some respondents admitted that they come across the show while surfing channels and do not

specifically seek out the show during its scheduled hours. About 59% of the respondents said that they specially tuned in to watch the show.

The show came to an end in 2004 and Comedy Central has been running different seasons and episodes multiple times during the year, this is also evident from 88% of the respondents who claim that they have watched some episodes more than 5 times. Each episode is roughly 22 minutes, with 8 minutes of commercial break. While television (cable networks/DTH) continues to dominate as the medium of preference for watching all kinds of televisual content, 57% of the respondents used Video-On-Demand and online streaming services such as Netflix, Hotstar and Amazon Prime (Netflix, Amazon Prime and Hotstar are paywalled online streaming platforms which offer watching of television shows and films on their platform for a fee. Hotstar is an Indian platform whereas Netflix and Amazon Prime are international services). Revealingly 90% of the respondents admitted to watching television shows online (which may also include illegal and pirated streaming websites). 73% of the respondents admitted to streaming *Friends* episodes online, suggesting that it's not just programming of reruns on television but also voluntary seeking out of old episodes online for viewing.

In some of the detailed descriptions on why they like the show, the respondents explain the characters, humour, relatable situations, and context of the show, which has an undying appeal for them. Some responses also described the uniqueness of each character and the building of a relationship with the characters after all these years. Some respondents also admitted to knowing the characters like their own friends and predicting how the characters will respond in a given situation. The show continues to be an important reference point even in the year 2017 for many of them. Many pointed out to the nonchalance with which the characters dealt with important life decisions and issues such as marriage, divorce,

job loss, childlessness and dating failures. As one young female respondent said: “The show tells you to take life easy...*Friends* is easy on the head, not too complex and always funny.” Some of the respondents (9 females and 5 males) also shared that watching reruns of episodes they have seen before is reassuring, and the concerns and issues of the characters continue to find relevance in their life as well. Even though the show speaks of the American way of living, some of the cultural practices and issues finding prominence in the show such as finding a dream job, throwing a get-together, retail-therapy to address mood swings, dating troubles, falling in and out of love, resonate with them at a personal level, and consequent identification with the characters bringing them back to the show.

An overarching observation by women respondents was about how the show has had an impact on the way they dressed, and specially their hairstyle. A running joke in the show is one of the character's overweight days when she was young and the constant fat-shaming that she went through when she was young. This is referred to time and again to remind the character (and perhaps the audience as well?) to not get over-weight in order to fit in and dwell on vanity if you want to be the most popular girl in your social circle. At least 27 women respondents variously mentioned “appearances”, “looks”, “hairstyle”, and “clothing style” in their detailed replies to what attracts them to the show.

In the survey I also asked the respondents to construct the image of Manhattan that they form in their mind while watching the show. Some recurring adjectives included “free” and “freedom” along with “love”, “open about sexuality”, “modern” and “young”. While it will not be wrong to suggest that the Manhattan of the show is hardly representative of Manhattan in real life, it will be useful to discuss the lack of any racial and ethnic diversity on the show. There are no Hispanic or Black characters even peripherally present in the show or sexual diversity in terms of characters other

than those of the heterosexual kind. There is also a discernible air of anti-intellectualism embedded within the show, where one of the characters who holds a doctorate and is a paleontologist is made fun of, stopped from discussing his work or publications, is branded as boring and is derided as “Not an actual Doctor”.¹⁹ None of the other characters ever speak about education, politics or issues plaguing the country or any other subject matter which could be considered “heavy”. Any references to the economy are limited to their own personal jobs and the amount of money they make. The show in that sense is largely conformist to idealized notions of good house, good job, and money to spend, with person to love and maintaining the status quo. It is not surprising that the one-page brief for the show was that the show will be about six friends who hang out at the coffee house.²⁰

In the year 1999, trying to emulate the popularity of the show in question, an Indian version of the show titled *Hello Friends* in Hindi aired for a total of 26 episodes before being discontinued. The show was very similar to the original, retaining similar character arcs and back stories but failed to be “real” or relevant to the audiences, much like cardboard cutouts. One of the group members I interviewed remarked that the show, “...was too good to be real, I mean how is this possible in India in the late 90s? The comedy was very forced and you can’t sound American-level cool in Hindi”.

Re-living the show: Online Fan Practices

The field of cultural studies and research on media texts as artefacts of culture has certainly helped transcend the previous assumptions around meaning-making and the ways of seeing and knowing. Much of the research in the field of cultural studies has firmly argued that the meaning of a text is not embedded in the text itself but the meaning is generated when the audience encounters the text and engages with it. While the first level of production of a cultural text may be guided by the dominant mode and logic of

culture industry production, it is in fact the second order of production (consumption) by way of which the audience receives, makes use of and interacts with the text (Certeau 1984). Michel de Certeau calls this active consumption of texts as “poaching” (74). Henry Jenkins (1992) calls this active consumption “textual poaching” and fans as “active cultural producers” and notes the various ways in which fans may engage with a text, including recontextualization (where fans may add to the text’s narrative and offer explanations), cross-overs (cross-referencing other television programmes and characters) and personalization (fans inserting themselves in the narrative).

During the course of my survey, it emerged that for the audiences, post-viewing engagement with the show continues to be high with 92% of the respondents agreeing to having read news articles about the show as well as participating in online quizzes themed and centered around the show (76%). Subsequently I carried out online passive participant observation in the group over a period of three months, from May 2017 to July 2017 and kept a track of posts to the group by the members and their interactions with each other over those posts.²¹ The group exists as a space of socialization and creative expression, of demonstrating aesthetic and creative labour and continuing the show’s narrative by participative community media production. Some of the images circulated in the group are sourced from elsewhere on the Web and some are especially created by the members (more often than not the members mention if the fan art is an original piece of work). The members of the group primarily engaged with each other via the production, circulation and distribution of memes in the group. The members in the group interacted fairly regularly with at least 4 or 5 posts to the group every day. The group’s fan practices can be described as sharing of digital texts revolving in and around the show and the content can be categorized in to memes (including still photographs, screenshots and GIFs), quizzes, videos and personal statuses.

Digital memes are the hallmark of our online experience and interaction on the Internet and are a distinctive feature of contemporary popular culture. Memes have existed much before digital communication, when Richard Dawkins in his book *The Selfish Gene*, published in 1976 defined “meme” as a unit of culture, be it a certain kind of behavior or style or even an idea that could spread within a given culture. Dawkins, in conceptualizing the meme, referred to it as a change in culture brought on by mutation on the basis of his theory of selection. The meme as we know now took its current shape and form after it was appropriated by users on the Internet when they drew cultural references from films, cartoons, music videos, video games, photographs etc. to depict an emotion, a phrase or a comment on an issue. The inherent qualities of the Internet meme are its reproduction, reappropriation, and distribution via the Web. It would not be wrong to suggest that the Internet memes we consume now are a meme of Darwin’s meme idea itself. The meme then while being an idea, is also a cultural artefact, and in this context, stands at the intersection with fan art production. Limor Shifman (2014) suggests a mimetic framework to study memes by “...incorporating several mimetic dimensions...and understanding memes...as groups of content units”(39). While analyzing the memes, it would be useful to look at the form, content, the ideology, stance and the textuality as well as the visuality of the memes.

The immersive fan memes included (i) collage of a scene from the show with the dialogues superimposed in the lower third of the photograph. Often these memes may either be originally created by the group members themselves or saved from other sources from the Web. Often group members also stressed on giving credit to the page or person who originally made the meme, thereby also bringing the idea of authorship to the meme itself, though that is an alien concept to the premise of the meme. Some of these posts have members commenting on that scene from the show with their own interpretation or opinion, some of these comments also involve

drawing examples from the member's own personal lives. The other category of memes on the page includes (ii) screenshots or GIFs (Graphic Interchange Format) of a scene that stands as a referent to the episode itself or the specific scene in question. Such posts have members commenting with the dialogues in the said scene or their favorite part of the dialogue from the scene, with other member's reaffirming or suggesting why a character did what they did in the scene. A form of personalized meme category includes (iii) still photographs from the show with the creator's own message superimposed on the photograph. The content of some of these messages varies from 'Why I like this character?' or 'Why I like this couple on the show?'. More often than not the message also includes why they want something similar in their own lives. Another nostalgic memorialization via the meme included (iv) using every character's standard phrases superimposed on their photographs or screenshots. On such posts members usually up vote the phrases they like the best and also the ones they immensely dislike. Members also tag their friends from within the group drawing their attention to the post. Cross-over memes and those referring to other trending phrases or memes on the Web is also popular on the group with (v) juxtaposition of trending memes or phrases on the internet with the characters of the show. This kind of cross-referencing also included juxtaposing a screenshot and a dialogue from the show with another show and dialogue in a kind of cross-textual referencing. In one of the recent posts in July 2017 a lot of cross-textual references between another popular show *Game of Thrones* led to many such memes. Some memes also include (vi) members posting a screenshot from the show and suggesting alternate endings in the episode or an entirely new story and (vii) superimposing the names of the show's characters on stock images taken from the Internet or other popular culture references.

Members also share short video clippings of specific scenes that they like, captioned with their own take on the scene, inviting comments from other users and tagging their friends to take part

in the conversation. Such posts lead to fascinating discussions on the member's own version of why a character behaved the way they did or disagreeing with other members on motives, statements and behavior of the characters. Another very popular way of engaging with the show on the group is sharing online quizzes themed around the show with other members of the group. There are perhaps hundreds of online quizzes about the show available on the Web and on any given day at least one quiz is shared by a member. Among the various kinds of quizzes, members share quizzes about specific characters such as "Do you know him or her?", "Are you more like him or her?", "Which profession from the characters should you have had?" and "How much do you really know the show?" among others. Such posts lead to members posting their scores, sharing trivia about the show with others and posting explanations about the quiz. Members also post personal statuses from in and around the show, such as a long-standing joke from the show, or an unresolved conflict from the show, which they'd like other members to weigh in on. Some personal statuses also take the form of questions where members ask the group who they identify with the most or discuss a contemporary issue and wonder how the characters of the show respond to it. More recently, there have been cross-reference questions such as how a character from this show would have responded to a situation from another show if given a chance. Such posts attract passionate discussions, many disagreements and hypothetical arguments.

The pleasures of watching: Some Notes

The television culture industry may find reruns profitable, but for the audiences of the show, it remains iconic not just on television but also in their video-on-demand and online streaming choices where they consciously seek out the show. The show certainly obfuscates class conflict, racial inequality and alienation of labour. It squarely puts the onus of survival on the individual, where Monica, a budding chef needs to find her own footing while

wading through endless catering jobs and compromises with multinational food corporations. While the show also obliquely refers to struggle, it only does that in passing, where Ross, an emerging scholar and academician negotiates the complex world of tenure and academia. Joey, a struggling actor, has to pull himself together to get regular acting jobs in order to keep his medical insurance (there is no mention of an actor's union or a recognized body that works for their welfare). Or someone like Rachel, who learns that she cannot always be her daddy's spoilt rich kid, but she'll have to be her own spoilt rich kid. Chandler on the other hand is the smart corporate whiz who saves enough for a rainy day, and still has unresolved issues with his father's sexuality and occupation as a drag performer. Phoebe on the other hand is the only character who is allowed to criticize mass production, standardization and commodification only because she is – as one of the characters in the show describes her – 'flaky'. She is unpredictable, weird and eccentric, someone who believes in ghosts, spirits and auras, and hence by extension most of her beliefs are untenable and to be brushed off. My respondents to the survey as well as those interviewed described watching the show as a leisurely activity and discussed the pleasures derived from the show at length. Barring a few – who did mention that the show brings forward the challenges of living in a city like Manhattan – none of the respondents chose to reflect on the socio-political issues underlining the show. For majority of them, the show was just that, situation comedy among six friends.

The undying appeal of the show is exactly this, footloose and fancy free, every man (or woman) for himself (or herself). Though one can rely on friends to bail us out and provide comfort, the state has no role to play, its presence is only a mild irritant, at best. The show is the representation of the best that 'American life' has to offer: freedom, autonomy and choice. The pleasures of watching the show are also inextricably linked with its long-standing popular culture presence on the Web. For the members of the fan group,

the show and its characters are seamlessly integrated with their everyday digital practices of sharing jokes, memes and posts on social media, on the group and off it. The show is non-confrontational and equally liked by advertisers. In that sense the fact that the show makes no external reference to social issues, economy or polity, it continues to exist in suspended animation in a timeless space, much like a heterotopia, and perhaps that's the reason it continues to find relevance even 13 years after the last episode was aired. As one of the respondent's put it, "*It is a clean show and touches a chord every time, every human emotion and every conflict a person may go through is in the show*".

Before writing this paper, I assumed that the show's audiences would lament the unavailability of other situational comedies and similar content produced in India or even similar content from the West. However, it does emerge that there is no dearth of content, with different shows finding their presence and following among the audiences viewing habits. This particular show however continues to be that familiar space most Indian audiences continue to return to, find relevant, seek comfort in, and identify with their life, not just as banal television but as a meaningful repository of love, relationships and friendship.

Notes

1. The study on watching television reruns and their psychological impact is discussed here, <https://www.psychologytoday.com/blog/the-science-willpower/201209/watching-your-favorite-tv-show-can-boost-your-willpower>, viewed on 15th May 2017
2. A detailed discussion of the study is available here, <http://www.buffalo.edu/news/releases/2012/09/13646.html>, viewed on 15th May, 2017
3. For a more in-depth discussion on the Indian television experience post the 1990s within the framework of globalization, refer to Narayan, Sunetra Sen. *Globalization and Television: A Study*

of the Indian Experience, 1990-2010. New Delhi. Oxford University Press. 2013. The book examines in detail the liberalization of the television space, opening up of the economy, rise in purchasing power, developments in telecommunication and the concomitant changes in audiences, channels, available content, revenue models etc.

4. BARC defines impressions as television viewership in thousands of a target audience who viewed a show, averaged across minutes, for more see, <http://www.barcindia.co.in/glossary-terms.aspx>

5. For instance, this report from 2016 on a reunion <http://www.cnbc.com/2016/01/14/friends-cast-to-be-reunited.html>

6. A report on the fake movie trailer can be accessed here <http://indianexpress.com/article/entertainment/television/fake-friends-movie-trailer-releases-online/>, viewed on 1st June 2017

7. For an online discussion on audience feedback please see this https://www.buzzfeed.com/andreborges/why-god-why-are-you-doing-this-to-us?utm_term=.xkOjPAexa#.wbn8LQRDZ, viewed on 1st May, 2017

8. Report on the earnings and loyalty figures of the cast, <https://www.usatoday.com/story/life/entertainthis/2015/02/27/youll-never-believe-how-much-money-the-friends-cast-still-earns-today/77593556/>, viewed on 1st May, 2017

9. Report on the loyalty and syndication rights deal, <http://www.nytimes.com/2002/02/12/business/friends-deal-will-pay-each-of-its-6-stars-22-million.html>, viewed on 1st May, 2017

10. Figures on the revenue model and DVD sales figures, http://money.cnn.com/2004/04/27/news/fortune500/friends_dvd/, viewed on 1st May, 2017

11. Binge-watching is a relatively new term with reference to television shows first experienced due to easy availability of television episodes online. Rather than watching one episode per day or week

(depending on the scheduling) on TV, audiences can also choose to watch more than one episode in one sitting online. This has also led television networks to run back-to-back episodes, especially on the weekends to hold on to audience share.

12. Report on Romy Now's assessment of the show, <http://www.indiantelevision.com/television/tv-channels/english-entertainment/romedy-now-banks-on-popular-90s-sitcom-friends-140619>, viewed on 15th May 2017

13. A comparative report on online streaming statistics of two popular shows, <http://www.vogue.com/article/seinfeld-vs-friends-streaming>, viewed on 16th May 2017

14. This article also discusses other transmedia activities around the show such as portals like BuzzFeed.com doing regular features and short stories on the show and its characters or quizzes

15. The article can be accessed here, <http://www.huffingtonpost.in/2016/09/01/a-friends-obsessed-indian-couple-just-got-engaged-in-monica-an/>, viewed on 15th May 2017

16. The study and its detailed discussion can be accessed here, http://articles.chicagotribune.com/2005-09-07/features/0509060254_1_linguistics-intensifiers-roberts, viewed on 20th May 2017

17. This line spoken by Joey's character, appeared for the first time in the thirteenth episode of Season 4 titled 'The One with Rachel's Crush'.

18. This line spoken by Ross's character, appeared for the first time in the fifteenth episode of Season 3 titled, 'The One Where Ross and Rachel Take a Break'

19. For instance, in Season 10, episode thirteenth, Ross and Rachel are in the hospital where Rachel tells him not to call himself a doctor (with a PhD) since the word doctor means something in the hospital.

20. The article on the continued fan following of the show can be accessed here, <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/home/you/article-2465332/Friends-Why-loving-hit-TV-20-years-on.html>, viewed on 20th May, 2017

21. The field site for the study was a closed Facebook fan group based on the show. Passive participant observation involved accessing the group daily and maintaining field notes of activities of the members including comments and posts

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Aakriti Kohli

Department of Journalism

Delhi College of Arts and Commerce

University of Delhi

Phosphorus: A Limiting Nutrient with Limited Resource

Introduction

Today, our society is in the middle of a web of environmental crises, ranging from shortage of safe drinking water, declining water table, lack of clean air to breathe and depletion of both non-renewable and renewable natural resources. We, the humans, can solely be held responsible for all of them because we need natural resources to fulfil our daily requirements of food, energy and rapid urbanisation. Despite such exploitative ways, we are not able to provide food security to a large population of the world. Food security exists when all people, at all times have access to sufficient, safe and nutritious food to meet dietary needs for an active and healthy life (FAO 2005a). A good supply of food, both in terms of quantity and quality has to be ensured to get food security for all. Apart from the basics of water and energy, fertilisers play a critical role in enhancing the quality of food crops. The NPK (nitrogen, phosphorus and potassium) fertilisers are the most commonly used ones. The NPK denotes three of the most important elements required for the growth of plants. Phosphorus (P) is particularly important for root growth and strengthening tissues found in stems and stalks. P is also involved in life sustaining crucial processes as phosphoglycerate molecule trapping carbon in Calvin cycle and forms the structural components (phospholipids) in cell membranes of plants. Not only that, it is also essential for human beings where it is present as hydroxyapatite in bones, (Ruttenberg 2007), as energy transfer medium in high energy bonds in Adenosine Triphosphate (ATP) and in the double helix DNA structure of genetic material, constituting ~1% of human body weight. All this phosphorus is made available to humans from soil, through plants.

The Limiting Nature of Phosphorus

Soils are the only supplier of P in food chains beginning with plants (producers). The exchange of P between soil and biota occurs over

a shorter time scale of 13 years with the average residence time of P in soils to be 600 years (Filipelli 2009). Indian soils are generally deficient in phosphorus (FAO 2005a; FAI 1989). This natural deficiency in soil can be due to many reasons; the inherent low levels of P (the crustal abundance of P is 0.1% (Nriagu and Moore 1984), the presence of P in the non-available forms or occluded forms and most importantly even when the available forms (fertilisers) are added to soil they immediately change to insoluble forms leaving a small time window of a few hours for plants to absorb the phosphate (Figure 1). Traditionally, farmers used animal and human wastes and other P rich sediments to replenish the soil with this relatively rare element in nature (Clabby 2010). Nowadays fertiliser application is the way to compensate for it. The understanding of the role of microbes in solubilising the precipitated P and making it available for absorption by plants can be a crucial (Richardson & Simpson 2011).

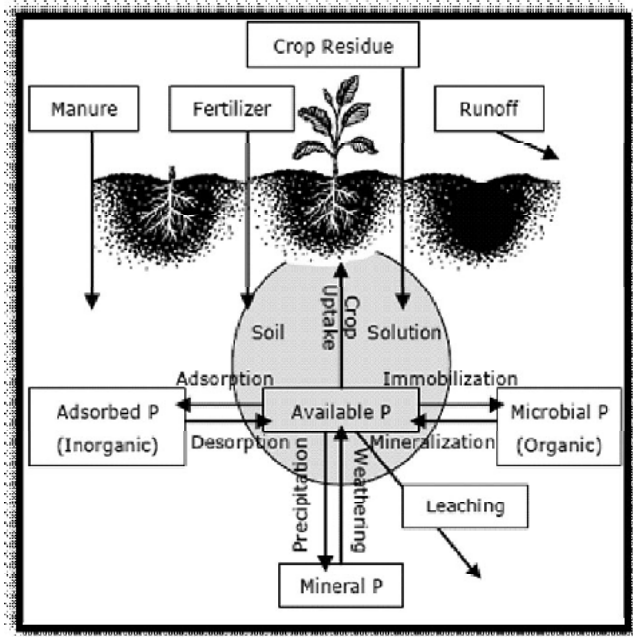


Figure 1: A simplified Phosphorus cycle in soil (Source: Hyland et al. 2005).

In natural systems, weathering of rocks provides P to soil. The obtainability of P through weathering is a slow, complicated process and depends on several factors like P content of the rock, climatic conditions, and the presence of P binding compounds. Although, P cycles itself in nature like other elements (Carbon, Nitrogen and Sulphur), its biogeochemical movement is different from them, as P containing rocks are the major reservoirs and the gaseous phase involved is minimal, making it a geological cycle (Figure 2). The time taken for one complete cycle of P is very long, in order of almost 0.1 Giga years (Gy) (Slansky 1980). It is this long duration which makes the flow of P from phosphate rock to ocean beds unidirectional for all practical purposes and hence makes P a non-renewable resource of importance (Figure 2). This non-renewability of phosphate rock can be compared to that of petroleum (Cordell et al. 2009; Dery & Anderson 2007)

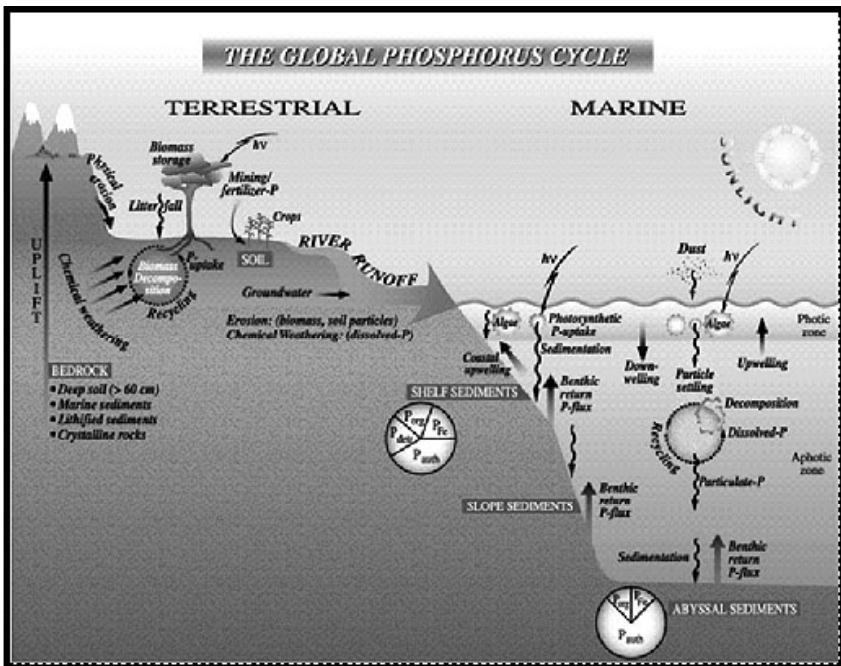


Figure 2: Diagrammatic representation of Phosphorus cycle (Source: Ruttenberg 2008).

As observed in various studies done across the globe, P is an important productivity determining nutrient for any ecosystem (Herbert and Fownes 1995; Parfitt et al. 2005; Schimel et al. 1994; ; Schindler 1977; Stevens and Walker 1970; Walker and Syers 1976). In a terrestrial ecosystem, the new soils are generally rich in rock derived nutrients like calcium, magnesium, potassium and phosphorus and are limited by atmospherically obtained nutrients such as nitrogen and carbon but with time, they adapt with some atmospheric nutrient fixing mechanism and then, the geologically derived nutrients like P becomes limiting (Chadwick et al., 1999). In an established, stable ecosystem, the average concentration of P in soil is 0.09% (Nezat et al. 2007) or 380-1330mg/Kg in upper 15cm of soil (Soon 2008) and the amount of available P is even smaller, not more than 0.01% of the total soil P.

The transfer of P from terrestrial to aquatic (lacustrine and riverine) systems occurs through leaching of soils, soil erosion and harvesting of crops (Martens and Rotmans 1999) wherein its behaviour varies due to stagnant or fluvial nature of water body. In rivers, the P is either carried away as soluble or particulate phosphorus. The soluble P is available for absorption of aquatic plants whereas particulate P adheres to smaller sediment particles which can be made bio-available later. The bio-available P in sediments help make fertile agricultural land out of flood plains. The lakes on the other hand make a perfect environment to study the different aspects of P cycle like fractionation, coupling-decoupling of P with other elements, microbial and phytoplankton absorption and desorption reactions as they are a confined ecosystem and especially important for understanding nutrient limitation in case of N and P, also known as cultural eutrophication (Ruttenberg 2008). The lake ecosystems have also been used to decipher the past changes in climate of the catchment region (Srivastava et al. 2013)

In oceans, the distribution of P is stratified i.e., the variation is found in both horizontal and vertical profiles of ocean. Alfred Redfield et al., (1963) has identified the molar ratio of C:N: P as 106C: 16N:1P to understand the ideal system and nutrient limitation. The ultimate P removal from the system is controlled by the burial of sediments with organic matter as their primary content. With the subduction of oceanic plate, the P is recycled into the mantle with carbon and nitrogen. Sedimentary organic phosphorus, is likely to be incorporated into the crystalline apatite during subduction zone metamorphism. As a result, subducted organic P does not return to the earth's surface at the same rate as carbon and nitrogen and thus the phosphorus cycle is decoupled from that of carbon and nitrogen during subduction and metamorphism. This crystallized mass upon exposure gets weathered to produce bioavailable phosphorus (Ruttenberg 2007; Guidry et al. 2000).

The Phosphorus Resource

Phosphorus (P) in terrestrial and aquatic mediums is most commonly found in combination with oxygen as phosphate[PO_4]³⁻ ion. Nearly all dissolved and particulate forms of P are combined, complexed or slightly modified form of this ion (Jahnke 2000). In the mineral form, P is found in combination with calcium as mineral apatite, accounting for 95% of P on earth (Jahnke 2000). Most of these phosphate deposits found in nature are sedimentary in origin and provides 82% of the world's phosphate production (Howard 1979). These sedimentary deposits are mostly of marine origin formed by organic material at the seafloor (Follmi 1996). The other minor reserves include the guano deposits, the droppings of seabirds, bats and seals.

The phosphate fertilisers are manufactured mainly from phosphate rocks. About 90% of the world-wide demand for rock phosphate is for food production through fertilisers (Smil 2002; USGS 2008). The rock phosphates have been used for manufacturing fertilisers

since the beginning of the 20th century, but their consumption observed a peak after the Green Revolution. With no substitute and limited resource availability, P would play a crucial role in attaining global food security. In other words, we are all dependent on mined phosphate rock for fertiliser supply. The existing growth rate of population, increasing demand for food exerts pressure on exploitation of phosphate reserves. The global Phosphorus Research Initiative led by Swedish and Australian scientists estimated that the existing phosphate rock reserves would last for another 30–40 years (Clabby 2010). More importantly, the distribution of phosphate rock reserves across the world is highly uneven (Figure 3). The major reserves are lying with, USA (27%), China (17%), Morocco and Western Sahara (17%) and some smaller reserves with Jordan, Syria and other countries (UN 2005). When the reserves are so concentrated, a handful of countries can govern the global markets. In 2008, China increased its export tariff on phosphates by 135% to discourage export and secure its domestic supply (Fertilizer week 2008) increasing the price of fertilisers in the international market (Cordell 2011).

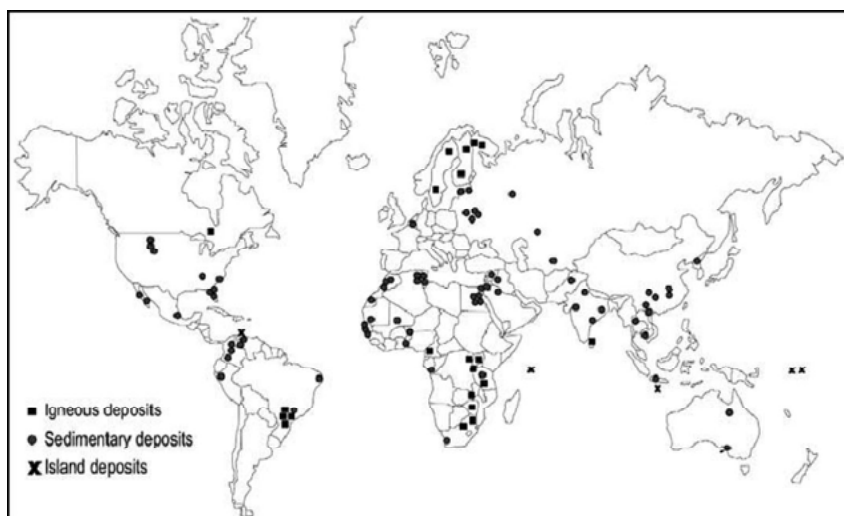


Figure 3: Map of Phosphate deposits across the world (Zapata, 2004; Source: <http://web.mit.edu/12.000/www/m2016/finalwebsite/solutions/deposits.html>).

Like the production, the demand is also variable. In some of the developed countries, the demand for phosphates have stabilised as the soils have already crossed critical levels of P and require only lighter applications (Cordell et al. 2009). On the other hand, the developing nations like India and South Africa are amongst the worst affected where the demand for phosphates would continue to rise in near future due to natural P deficiency in soils. There, the over-application of fertilisers is also a cause of concern that result in accumulation of P in soils and the excess is drained to the water bodies leading to eutrophication (Gunther 1997; Steen 1998). The application of fertiliser in Kg/hectare of arable land is much higher in India than the world average (World Bank 2016). According to Smil (2000b) five times more P is mined than what is actually consumed by the humans in food as almost 55% of the phosphorus is lost between farm and fork, due to which a large portion of P ends up in water bodies and landfills enhancing the threat to sustainable use of phosphate reserves. The process of mining and processing of phosphate rock has its own drawbacks. The amount of water and acids used is huge, which in turn produces large amount of mineral residues in the sands and clays (Straaten 2008). Some of the phosphate rocks even have elevated concentrations of cadmium, arsenic and certain radionuclides (Mortvedt and Beaton 1996) which if not removed properly can get into food chain.

Indian scenario

India is primarily an agrarian country with agriculture contributing to 22% to its GDP. With 20 agro-ecological zones, a large variety of soils are found here, and these soils suffer from degradation of various degree. The use of fertilisers began in India in the early 20th century. Its use observed a major hike after the introduction of High Yielding Varieties (HYV) of crops. For phosphate, the most common form of fertiliser used is di-ammonium phosphate

(DAP) constituting 63% of total P_2O_5 consumption, other complex fertilisers' makes 27% of the usage and the remaining 10% is single superphosphate (SSP) (FAO 2005b). The reserves of phosphorus in India required by industries are mainly present in the form of apatite in the states of Andhra Pradesh and West Bengal and rock phosphate in the states of Madhya Pradesh and Rajasthan. Of all the requirement of phosphate fertiliser in India, only 10% is met by the indigenous sources, for the rest, we are dependent on imports from other countries (India Minerals Year book 2015). Currently, India has joint ventures like JIFCO with Jordan, IMACID with Morocco, TIFERT with Tunisia and is working in cooperation with Syria, Russia and Indonesia for import of phosphates (Department of Fertilisers, GoI 2015). Dependence on other countries for the imports makes India more vulnerable to the vagaries of international market (Figure 5). Something like phosphorus, which is an essential element for all living organisms and a non-renewable resource as well, need strategic conservation attempts to sustain its availability.

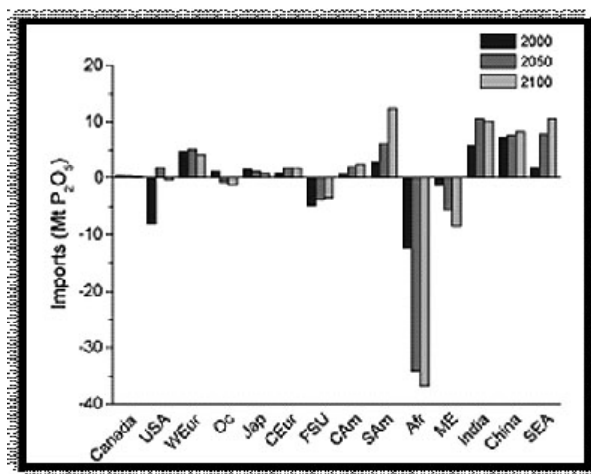


Figure 5: Expected trend of net import and exports of phosphorus in India along with different world regions (Source: Vuuren et al., 2010).

Conclusion

The essentiality of phosphorus for living forms drives not only environmental, but political and economic concerns as well. In Indian context, the application of fertilisers is highly imbalanced, especially when India relies heavily on imports of phosphate rocks for manufacturing fertilisers. A strategic approach to field application as well as conservation methods is the key to future sustainable use. This is possible if fertilisers' application on fields is scientifically tested and only the required amount is used. The use of new technologies of fertilisers application is pertinent, as the increase in international price would hike the per unit cost of food production, which a country like India, with large population living below poverty line cannot afford. A better understanding of the sub-soil processes and conservation of phosphorus leakage from fields to aquatic bodies can hold the P in soil and hence prevent eutrophication. The P that gets dumped with the waste in landfills and the use of P in other chemicals and detergents should be discouraged. Above all, with all the efforts put in place the P would still remain a non-renewable resource, by attempting all the conservation efforts, we can prolong the duration of its usage. Unlike petroleum, there is no replacement of phosphorus in living beings.

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Akanksha Mishra
Environmental Science
Kamala Nehru College
University of Delhi

Planning, Economic Development and the Constituent Assembly of India: A Brief Study

Abstract

The Constituent Assembly was one of the first forums that debated at length the entire political, social and economic structure of what would become the Republic of India. Within this gamut of topics, economic issues received slightly lower consideration and planning, lower still. Nevertheless, the Debates provide a fascinating glimpse into the economic ideas associated with a wide range of ideological positions, ranging from the socialists and their long-held belief in nationalization and planning, to the Gandhians and some conservative elements as well. Focusing on the critical areas of agriculture, industry and the overarching structure of the planned economy, I would argue that these opinions provided a crucial link between the idealistic formulations which preceded independence and the concrete Committee and parliamentary debates which forged the Planning Commission in the early 1950s, at a time when the ideals were on the cusp of becoming reality but before the nation had begun to grapple with the nitty-gritty of planning and economic development themselves.

It is well known that the Constituent Assembly, which met between 1946 and 1949, forged what we today consider to be the backbone of every section of Indian life – the Constitution. While the ideals of the Constitution transcend time, historians find greater interest in the debates which preceded the actual writing of the Constitution. This is because the debates occurred at a critical juncture in this history of India – they began when the final contours of partition were being drawn within an ever-growing spiral of violence and ended when the infant nation was beginning to move out of the transitional Dominion period and into full-fledged nationhood.

While much attention has been showered on the political and social aspects of these debates, it is equally important to remember that the debates were crucial for the formulation of various economic and socio-economic clauses as well. Debate on economic aspects occupy somewhat less of the pages of the Constituent Assembly Debates (Proceedings) and this is one of the reasons why attention to the economic aspects of the Constituent Assembly debates has been somewhat scarce. (On a point of clarity, it should be noted that hereafter I shall be abbreviating the Constituent Assembly Debates (Proceedings) as CAP followed by the volume number and date).

It is therefore not surprising that scholarship on the genesis of postcolonial India's economy has so far tended to ignore these debates. While some seminal works, such as those of Benjamin Zachariah, tend to wind up around the time the Constituent Assembly was being formed, others are found to focus more on the committees or on personalities themselves (Zachariah 2012). For instance, Vivek Chibber's excellent analysis of the subject focuses on the specific committees that were formed at this time and the background negotiations that accompanied them (Chibber 2006). Francine Frankel, whose work begins roughly around the time the Constituent Assembly started out, also pays greater attention to the committees before moving onto the Plan documents and the related debates (Frankel 2006). This list may be increased by including BR Tomlinson, whose succinct study of the planning process also depends overtly on the plan documents themselves. (Tomlinson 2013.)

To be fair, it should be noted that barring Zachariah, the focus of scholars has traditionally been on the results of the plans for the Indian economy, rather than the genesis of ideas. As such, historians such as Chibber and Frankel focus more upon the structural shifts that occurred around the planning process, leading

eventually to the failure of the planning system as a means of enforcing government goals and instead turning into a liability. Others, such as Amiya Bagchi, have focused upon the plans from an economist's viewpoint, pointing out the various errors and miscalculations in the models followed by the planners (Bagchi 2004).

That said, it should be noted that the Constituent Assembly was known for bringing people from the entire Indian political spectrum onto one stage in a manner that the nation had not seen before. From the socialist groups and the Gandhians, who had dominated the nationalist fora prior to independence, to groups such as the Congress Right, who made their weight felt throughout the debates. Political interests and provincial concerns would naturally have made these proponents of various ideologies follow specific tactics (as happens even today in Parliament), but that should not detract from the core concepts that were put forth, debated and accepted or rejected as the task of writing the Constitution gathered steam.

In terms of economic debates, this wide range of opinion came to center on the vital facets of the economy – the agricultural sector and the related question of zamindari abolition, industry and the related questions of nationalization and state control, division of various sectors between the Center and the states and finally, the overarching structure of the economy and the related question of whether it would follow a liberal or a socialistic mould.

These questions had taxed the minds of the nationalists and socialists even prior to independence. Starting with the somewhat liberal Visvesvarayya Plan in the mid-1930s, a number of formulations had been put forth. These – as will be seen in the next section – had come to possess an increasingly socialist tone, which was in keeping with the growth of the socialist segment (formalized as the Congress Socialist Party) in the Indian National Congress.

Economic planning, nationalization of large and vital industries and strict control over others and land reforms became the staple of these formulations.

As the 1940s had proceeded, however, the socialists were not the only group that devoted their mental faculties to the question of what the economy of an independent India would look like. From the Gandhian camp of JC Kumarappa and Shriman Narayan to the capitalists like GD Birla, many non-socialist groups began to put forth their own formulations. While some aspects of their plans proved to be remarkably similar to those of the socialists, they also differed widely on a number of aspects.

This ever-widening cast of ideologies and leaders came together in the Constituent Assembly, leading to the interactions which I have noted above. Such interactions, crucially, occurred around the same time as the first committees of the Congress and the Indian government, were beginning to consider the vital questions relating to the economy in earnest. Hence, it would not be too much of a stretch to argue that the ideas of the members of the Constituent Assembly provided a useful mirror for ideas which would find resonance in these committees and later in the First Five Year Plan.

Hence, I would argue that the Constituent Assembly debates are critical for a number of reasons – firstly, they offered a wider platform for economic ideas than any that had existed prior to independence. Secondly, they offered crucial insights into how the idealistic phase of pre-independence considerations would gradually move into the more complex and technical discussions regarding actual policy formulation. Thirdly, they would explain how some ideologies – including those of the socialists themselves – were gradually losing ground and would therefore help explain the difficulties which the socialist agenda faced in the committees of post-independence India. Fourthly and perhaps most crucially, these debates display the failure of some sections to enshrine their

ideals in the Constitution itself. While it may be debated whether the specific concerns of the various groups could technically be accommodated in a broad document such as the Constitution, it is nevertheless true that the failure to do so deprived these groups of a useful tool with which to push forward their later economic agenda. Their failures in the Constituent Assembly would be the precursor to their eventual defeat in the committees.

Therefore, to answer the question – how did the Indian ideas on planning and economic development move from the pre-independence fora to the post-independence Planning Commission and how did the mix of ideas change during this process? – it is necessary to look at these debates in some detail. While it would not be possible for me to delineate the background to the Constituent Assembly and the linkages with the committees in detail, I would endeavor to trace both alongside consideration of the actual debates.

For this purpose, the first part of this essay is devoted to explaining the ideas and ideological positions as they existed at the time of creation of the Constituent Assembly, the second would focus on the actual debates and the results of such debates, while the third would seek to draw some tentative conclusions regarding the implications of the results of these debates for the immediate future, where committees would prepare the ground for the creation of the planning apparatus.

I

Concern about planning and the socialistic model as tools for economic upliftment of a nation full of potential but immensely backward, was growing from the late 1920s. Jawaharlal Nehru's visit to USSR in 1927 and Subhas Bose's journey to Europe during the late 1920s paved the way for the interaction of Indian minds with the broad contours of the experiments taking place in Soviet

Russia. While information was scarce and deeply colored by ideology, it nevertheless led the younger generation of Congress leaders – Nehru and Bose included – to flirt with the idea of planning and socialistic economic development in the Indian context (Nehru 1972 and Bose 1980).

From the early 1930s, we find Nehru arguing for a socialist pattern of economy, including planning, nationalization of large and vital industries and banks, strict control over private enterprise, use of cooperatives in agriculture and major modifications to the foreign trade and currency policies of the government. While some demands, especially those relating to imposition of a countervailing excise for cotton piecegoods coming from Lancashire and changing the rupee-sterling exchange rate to one more favourable to Indians had been current since the opening decades of the 20th Century, others came to be formulated under direct or indirect influence of the USSR model (Nehru 1974).

More than Nehru himself though, it was Subhas Bose who appeared as a champion of a socialist economic pattern. Though he himself had a rather confusing formulation regarding the similarities between fascism and communism, he followed a consistent policy of pushing for socialistic goals to be included in the Congress resolutions in the 1930s. Most notable in this regard is the Haripura Congress, where he made his position on socialism clear

Socialism is not the immediate problem for us- nevertheless, Socialist propaganda is necessary to prepare the country for Socialism when political freedom has been won. And that propaganda can be conducted only by a party like the Congress Socialist Party, which stands for and believes in Socialism.

Beyond this, in speeches and discussions with the eminent scientist Meghnad Saha, he made it clear that he was firmly in favour of a socialistic economic policy which would take the country towards socialism (Bose 1980).

Following a somewhat similar trail was Babasaheb Ambedkar's suggestions for economic development. Trained as an economist in Columbia and London, his PhD and DSc dissertations provided interesting suggestions regarding the historical contexts of centre-state financial relations and the origins of the present problems of the rupee (Jadhav 1991). More than these excellent historical studies though, it was his understanding of economic development in the contemporary context that sets him apart. Ambedkar accepted the Marxist concept of economic exploitation of the masses, but argued that social and caste exploitation were no less critical in the Indian context. The latter, by limiting mobility of capital, labour and skill within castes in a hereditary manner, deprives the nation of the development it should have had. Eradication of caste barriers was, therefore, a vital part of unlocking the true potential of the nation (Jadhav 1991).

The result would be a casteless and - in a Marxist sense - a classless society. However, it would witness Ambedkar's own interesting take on state socialism. For him, state socialism would mean -

- a. state ownership of agricultural land and key industries to meet demands of the poorer strata of society.
- b. maintenance of productive resources by the state.
- c. a just distribution of the common produce among the different people without any distinction of caste or creed (Jadhav 1991).

In the 1940s, his disenchantment with the private sector grew and he argued that one should

“Put an obligation on the state to plan the economic life of the people on lines which would lead to highest point of productivity without closing every avenue to private enterprise and also provide for the equitable distribution of wealth” (Ambirajan 1999).

Indeed, he began to argue that in case of agriculture, there should be state ownership of agriculture with a collectivised method of

cultivation. State ownership of industries, especially heavy industries and nationalisation of insurance were also on his agenda. Hence, despite the growing disillusionment with the private sector, Ambedkar remained a firm believer in individual liberty to achieve economic growth. Indeed, he found no solution in the violent methods of communism, since he was also a firm lover of democracy. At the same time however, he believed that economic justice and development come before political freedom and not the other way around (Jadhav 1991 and Ambirajan 1999).

It was however, not Bose and his friends in the Congress Socialist Party, or Ambedkar for that matter, that led the way in formulating the first economic programme for India that was explicitly influenced by the ideals of planning. This was the achievement of M Visvesvarayya, an eminent figure in both the technical and the nationalist circles of the Raj era. His Plan was influenced more by the ideals of Keynes and the New Deal that Roosevelt was championing in the United States. Therefore, we find in his work suggestions for an overarching economic council that would include representation from business bodies (but not from labour!) and would be tasked with forming plans for the economy, a government role aimed more at promoting than regulating industry and a large private sector working in cooperation with the state. By contrast, he was far less forgiving for agriculture, arguing for some amount of force to be used in creating cooperatives and providing for model farms and all forms of state aid to these in order to promote agriculture (Visvesvarayya 1938).

On the other hand, there arose Gandhian alternatives, including those offered by JC Kumarappa and Shriman Narayan Aggarwal. To look at Aggarwal's formulation, we find the Gandhian structure of a hierarchy of village-based bodies being fully embraced. Agriculture would be the prime activity of the country and production would be for local consumption, leading to regional self-sufficiency. What little was required from outside the region

would be traded but only for things that the region itself had surplus of. Industry would be the handmaid of agriculture and most industries would be small and village-based (aka cottage industries), eschewing the evils of large-scale industrialization. He recognised however, that there would be industries – coal and petroleum for instance – which had to be large and centralised by design and these would be in the hands of the state. Beyond them however, there would be a decentralized, self-sufficient, agriculture-based economy that would work towards fulfilling basic requirements of food and clothing rather than aim at foreign trade or capitalist gains (Agarwal 1944).

Finally, there was the famous Bombay Plan, which claimed to place the capitalists in the same boat as the proponents of socialist and planned economy. While claiming to find little merit in the purported conflict between socialism and capitalism, the capitalists led by GD Birla conceded a number of essentially socialist demands. These included strict regulations of industry, including the much-debated controls on patterns of investment. While trying to keep as much of the economy open to capitalist and private activity, they nevertheless conceded a large space to government-owned and government-controlled industries, thus falling back from the position claimed earlier by industrialists and definitely from that demanded by Visvesvarayya. Agriculture, for them as for most socialists and Visvesvarayya, would involve creating cooperatives and providing adequate credit and marketing facilities, along with technical education to the farmers (Mathai, Birla, et al. 1945).

All these positions, along with some of their proponents, met under the National Planning Committee of 1939. Formed at the behest of then Congress President Subhas Bose and having the then champion of socialist economic development Jawaharlal Nehru, the NPC split into a number of smaller sub-committees to debate the nitty-gritty of what would become free India's economy. While it is not possible to discuss the points in detail, I may mention that

the reports of the sub-committees (which came out very belatedly in 1948) showed the essential points of contention. For instance, the Industrial Finance Sub-Committee had been provided a strongly socialist brief by the Secretary of the NPC and noted socialist, KT Shah. However, the capitalist-dominated sub-committee rejected the suggestions of state-control in favour of a more liberal and private-industry led system. The Chemical Industries sub-committee, on the other hand, had no difficulty in recommending that the state control all chemical industries since they were large industries and of vital importance to not just civilian affairs, but munitions production as well (KT Shah, et al. 1948).

At the cusp of independence, then, we find that a number of positions existed on what the structure of post-independence Indian economy would be. Ranging from the socialists to the capitalist and the Gandhian, these positions would find an important forum – the first after the dissolution of the NPC in fact – in the Constituent Assembly. Here, they would run into not just each other, but the ideas of the Congress Right and even the Muslim League, both of whom had had little role to play in the formation of economic plans and structures in the pre-independence era.

II

The Constituent Assembly was formed as a result of the complex deliberations that took place between the Indian National Congress, the Muslim League, the British and various smaller parties regarding the modalities of the transfer of power. In its truest sense, it was not a body elected by universal adult franchise like the modern parliament (Hasrat Mohani, CAP Vol VII, 4 August 1948, Part I, Damodar Swarup, CAP Vol VII, 5 August 1948, Part II), but tended to have representation from virtually every part of India. What is notable however, is that not every section was represented throughout. For instance, bickering with the princely states

regarding representation meant that their representatives came months after the Assembly had begun its work, with many signing their names as late as November 1948. While this led to some demands for postponing of vital agenda, the Assembly nevertheless continued to work without them. Again, the Muslim League took its own sweet time in joining the Assembly.

That said, it was obvious from the start that the majority of members were from the Congress and they included both the Congress Left and the Right. Notably, while proponents of the Right, such as Vallabhai Patel and Rajendra Prasad, took up important positions and introduced a number of important resolutions, the only recognized leader with socialist leanings who took an equally active role (or was allowed to) was Jawaharlal Nehru. Other socialists, including KT Shah, were gradually relegated to the position of introducing amendments, which were often relegated to other sections of the Constitution or flatly rejected. The latter, as may be guessed, was due to the comparatively weaker position of the socialists within the House, a reflection of the gradual decline of the socialist group within the overall power structure of the Congress (CAP Vols II-VIII, 1946-1948).

Nevertheless, economic development and planning began to feature in the deliberations from the Objectives Resolution itself. Moved by Nehru, the resolution did not include “socialism” or “planning” within the text itself but Nehru declared, by way of explanation, that he hoped the country would move in a socialist direction (Jawaharlal Nehru, CAP Vol II, 13 December 1946). Given that Nehru had been one of the most vocal supporters of socialism and move towards a planned economy in the pre-independence period, this position was hardly surprising.

Indeed, the socialists seemed to be broadly satisfied with his statement. Minoos Masani, one of the foremost members of the CSP, found that the resolution was altogether along the lines he

had hoped for. He further asserted that the principles of equality of education, ending of social inequalities and social security would be achieved by following the resolution and its spirit (M Masani, CAP Vol II, 17 December 1946). Another left-leaning figure, RK Sidhwa, agreed with Masani that the goals the socialists had hoped for were broadly championed in the resolution thus put forth by Nehru (RK Sidhwa, CAP Vol IV, 19 August 1947).

However, not all were satisfied with Nehru's resolution. BR Ambedkar, who as we have seen above, had a well-defined conception of how the Indian economy should take shape, argued that Nehru had chosen to simply speak of problems rather than find solutions. He wondered why the lines –

that in order that there may be social and economic justice in the country, that there would be nationalisation of industry and nationalisation of land. I do not understand how it could be possible for any future government which believes in doing justice, socially, economically and politically, unless its economy is a socialist economy.

could not be found in Nehru's speech (BR Ambedkar, CAP Vol II, 17 December 1946). While he did not mention it, perhaps Ambedkar had, in view of Nehru's pre-independence statements, been led to believe that Nehru would stand by the essential aspects of what he had then believed socialism to be made up of. At the same time, this position was in consonance with his growing disenchantment with the private sector and growing belief in the role of the state in alleviating the numerous social and economic ills of the country.

Others also hoped that Nehru would call for a more thorough socialization of the country's economy. PR Thakur, for instance, put forth the demands for nationalisation of vital industries such as basic and large-scale industries, as well as mines. (PR Thakur, CAP Vol III) NV Gadgil, on the other hand, demanded that at

the early hour, the Assembly should resolve to write the entire constitution along socialist lines. He pointed to the Congress Election Manifesto of 1948, which had suggested nationalization of key industries and abolition of the zamindari system. However, Gadgil was willing to countenance a private sector and was therefore not demanding a Soviet socialist model (NV Gadgil, CAP Vol IV).

However, most of these demands were rejected on the grounds that the Objectives Resolution was merely a guiding document and the specific arguments placed by the members should be dealt with at the relevant moment ie when the actual sections dealing with the economy were being debated (Chairman, CAP Vol II, IV). Now as we have seen above in Section I, the demands for socialization of the key resources of the country – especially industries – had been a staple of the socialists and even the Gandhians had to some extent assented to it. The Bombay Plan, despite being born of the pens of capitalists, had also suggested state control, management and even ownership. However, with the members' suggestions to this effect being stonewalled, any possibility of enshrining the socialist ideals in the Resolution itself was lost. As is well known, the Resolution would later become the Preamble of the Constitution. It may be argued that while not legally enforceable, inclusion of these points in the Preamble would have set a precedent on which the later development of the Constitution could proceed.

Another opportunity arose during the debates on the Fundamental Rights. The draft for the Fundamental Rights accepted the Right to Property, stating that if the state wanted to acquire property belonging to private persons, it would have to pay “just compensation” for it. This brought forth protests from Ajit Prasad Jain and Phool Singh. Phool Singh feared that if by just compensation, market prices were taken as benchmarks, nationalisation of industries and land would prove an impossible expense (P Singh, CAP Vol III, 1 May 1947). Jain argued that

nationalization of mines, factories and other productive sectors would occur in the interests of the masses. As such, there should be little or even no compensation at all for such actions (AP Jain, CAP Vol III, 1 May 1947).

As debate moved into the distribution of sectors into the Union, State and Concurrent Lists, the question of planning itself came up for debate. Especially controversial was the inclusion of planning within the Concurrent List. K Santhanam wondered whether this would allow the central government to take over any industry – private or public – in any state on a whim. However, he sought to situate this within the overall debate of federalism and the rights of the states vis-à-vis the Centre (K Santhanam, CAP Vol V, 20 August 1947).

This view was strongly challenged by Balkrishna Sharma. He warned against being overtly alarmed by the “hobgoblins” of excessive Central power. For him, the danger was really the decentralization of economic power, since this would pave the way for the disintegration of the country. Indeed, he argued that the country should be better served by Central planning, since the Centre would be in a better position to do justice to all regions. Indeed, he used this argument of the Centre’s sagacity to argue that the Centre should be able to nationalize industries which it felt would serve the country better by being in government control. (B Sharma, CAP Vol V, 21 August 1947).

At this juncture, it would be prudent to note that the debate on the powers of the Centre over industries and economy in general had been going on for a long time and especially since the Act of 1935, which had made industry a state subject. Ambedkar, in his study of Centre-state financial relations, had argued that each provincial government organ must be as financially independent as possible, as lack of this independence had created the unwholesome demands on the part of the provinces of British India

on the imperial treasury. At the same time, he believed that the Centre should have the political will to rein in the errant states and so ensure the best coordination of economic resource utilisation. This was the essence of what Ambedkar held to be collective responsibility (Ambirajan 1999).

Interestingly, the question now took the shape of a strong planning vs weak planning debate. Seen in this light, we should consider Ambedkar's belief in putting "an obligation on the state to plan the economic life of the people on the lines which would lead to highest point of productivity" as an argument for a stronger centre than the states with the Centre having the onus for planning and coordination (Ambirajan 1999). It may be remembered that Visvesvarayya – by no means a socialist – had sought a careful balance between the powers of the Centre and the States, while ultimately favouring the Centre to some extent (Visvesvarayya, 1938). Others, from the socialists to the Bombay Plan, had argued for central control in the interests of uniformity and overall strength of industrial policy (Mathai, Birla, et al. 1944). Only the Gandhians such as Shriman Narayan had demurred, preferring a decentralized economy that would see industry more as a tool of agriculture than the other way around (Agarwal 1944).

These contours were evident during the debate as well. GL Mehta, a noted industrialist, argued that the only power that could claim to do justice to the demands of all the states was the Centre and as such, power of planning and formulation of economic policy should vest in it. Mehta argued further that in some areas – labour policy for instance – there was need for national uniformity and this could only be achieved by the Centre. That said, he insisted that more important than actual division of power was the spirit of cooperation between the Centre and the states, since this would ensure maximum benefit to the nation (GL Mehta, CAP Vol V, 21 August 1947).

Despite their arguments having much common ground however, Balkrishna Das did not view GL Mehta's arguments as sincere. He countered by stating that Mehta actually wished to put control of the national economy in the hands of the capitalists and to this end, was making this argument for central control. He signed off with the accusation that as long as there were capitalists in the country, the common man would continue to suffer (B Das, CAP Vol V, 21 August 1947). Amidst this vitriolic exchange, Narayan Das sought to put forth a Gandhian perspective. He argued that there was every possibility that one day the Central power may prove to be evil or whimsical. Such evil could only be contained if there was power in the hands of the villages, where the masses lived. For this reason, he argued that power should not be concentrated in the hands of the Centre at all (N Singh, CAP Vol V, 21 August 1947).

The most serious attempt to enshrine socialist principles in the Constitution was made by Kazi Karimuddin, a Congress Member from CP and Berar. Following upon the demands for socialism made by Hasrat Mohani, Karimuddin moved a private member's resolution stating that –

This Assembly is of the opinion that the economic pattern of this country shall be socialist economy based on the principle of nationalization of key industries and co-operative and collective farming and socialization of the material resources of the country and that the Government of India shall adopt the said principle immediately.

(Kazi S Karimuddin, 17 February 1948).

Karimuddin's goal here was to obtain a declaration from the Constituent Assembly and thus achieve the socialist turn that Ambedkar had sought to be placed in the Objectives Resolution earlier. While the resolution itself didn't include planning, it included virtually all the goals put forth by the planners as ideal

for the country. As such, acceptance of the resolution would have been tantamount to accepting an economy that would be strictly planned and follow a socialist idiom. However, Karimuddin ran into a most unexpected barrier – Nehru himself. Nehru had been unwilling to participate in the debates beyond the parts where he himself moved resolutions or clauses of the Constitution. While it is not possible to analyze Nehru's mind for the reasons for his reticence, one would have hardly expected the fiery socialist of the 1930s, one who had himself spoken of a socialist economy during the Objectives Resolution, to oppose such a resolution.

The reasons Nehru put forth for thus opposing Karimuddin included the argument that the government's prime goal would be increasing productivity instead of following any specific ideology. Indeed, following ideological goals at this critical juncture may lead to "petty disaster", followed by "graver crises" and "semi disaster". Hence, instead of seeking to change the structure of the economy by seeking to nationalize or control existing industries, his government's goal was to set up as many new industries as possible and thus improve productivity. For these reasons, he considered Karimuddin's resolution to be impracticable and asked him to withdraw it. Faced with the prospect of being opposed by the very person who had championed socialism and planning, Karimuddin withdrew the resolution. (J Nehru and Kazi S Karimuddin, CAP Vol VI, 17 February 1948).

Improving productivity, as an instrumental goal, was not alone in being used by those opposing a strongly planned and socialized economy. In various reports submitted to the Constituent Assembly, it is mentioned that the nationalization of industry would "wash away the twin anchor sheets of Central finance- Income tax and Customs." Abolition of zamindari and other land reforms, on the other hand, would wipe out large amounts of agricultural tax. (Annexure B, CAP Vol VII, 4 August 1948, Part V). Others, such as the leaders of the Congress Right, sought to use technicalities to

ensure that the debates were not bogged down by questions of economic structure. Rajendra Prasad, on more than one occasion, blocked the likes of RK Sidhwa from introducing resolutions regarding nationalization, planning, etc. While he did so on technical grounds, it had the effect of stymying discussion on the economic future of the country (R Prasad, CAP Vol IV, multiple dates).

Vallabhbhai Patel played a similar role with regards to land reforms. When faced with resolutions demanding abolition of the zamindari without just compensation and nationalization of land, Patel argued that these debates were occurring in the provincial assemblies and need not take up the time of the Constituent Assembly. In doing so, he ensured that no overarching principle of economic development was pushed through and made binding upon the government. (V Patel, CAP Vol III, 1 May 1947). As the debates went on and the Constitution was passed, clause by clause, it increasingly became clear that the socialist and somewhat Gandhian goals regarding the economy would not come to fruition. With little support from Nehru, the proponents of nationalization, socialization and state control (or even decentralization of the economy) found few takers. The Constitution, as it finally took shape by late 1949, was really one that the Congress Right preferred and not one that was envisaged by the Congress Left and the communists. This, as we shall see in the concluding section, was part and parcel of a larger shift that ensured a weak, capitalist-led economy despite the acceptance of the principle of planning.

III

One of the reasons why the socialists had failed to get their agenda passed was that they were gradually becoming a spent force in Indian politics. From their heyday in the late 1930s and early 1940s, they were gradually moving out of the Congress and out of the limelight of the Indian political spectrum. With Subhas Bose,

an early champion of planning gone, this departure would leave the socialists severely weakened and deprive Nehru of the support he might otherwise have received from this group (Chibber 2006). Furthermore, the Gandhians were gradually being sidelined. Despite Shriman Narayan himself holding the position of the President of the Congress in the 1950s, the Gandhian leadership was deprived of their spiritual leader – Gandhi himself – in 1948. This was followed by their being sidelined from the Congress decision-making process. Interestingly, the Gandhian ideals of a decentralized village-based economy, was actively opposed by the socialists and even by Nehru. Having himself noted that sectors like the cottage industries were of political and social utility but dubious as economic tools, Nehru did little to bring to reality the Gandhian goals (Advisory Planning Board Report, 1947, Economic Programme Committee Report, 1948).

Despite this, the Gandhians managed to retain some influence, especially in matters pertaining to agriculture, not least because they were the only ones with any detailed scheme regarding this sector. For instance, the Agrarian Reform Committee (ARC) of the Congress (1948) had Gandhians among its members and suggested some interesting methods of dealing with agricultural problems. These included the formation of rural cooperatives, fixing of land ceilings, formation of panchayats as rural governing bodies, protection of tenants and allowing them to purchase the land they tilled and setting of three points for deciding who should have the land – a. he should transfer the land according to well-defined laws and at a reasonable price b. he should not sublet his land and c. he should be good at husbandry and management of the land. It should be noted here that these points were not exclusive to the Gandhians such as Narayan, but had been championed by the socialists as well. However, it was the Gandhians who had fleshed out these goals into a coherent structure, which now became part of the suggestions of the ARC (Agrarian Reform Committee Report 1951).

On the other hand, the failure of the socialists to have socialist principles enshrined in the Constitution proved to be a precursor to their failures in the committees. Having ensured that no overarching directives existed (except some in the Directives of State Policy, which were non-enforceable), the Right could leave the actual formulation of industrial and planning policy in the hands of the various committees that came up.

These committees had socialist representation, but where they made their influence felt, they were quickly overruled. Hence, in the Advisory Planning Board, KT Shah's arguments for nationalization were overruled. Instead, it was argued that nationalization beyond defense industries may burden the state and prevent rapid growth of the economy. Indeed, beyond defense, the state should only participate where it found private industry to be unwilling to invest (Chenoy 1983).

A more pro-nationalization line was taken by the Congress' Economic Programme Committee, which had Nehru as its Chairman. The EPC for its part argued that large-scale privately held industries would be provided a grace period of five years. At the end of this period, the government would nationalize them so as to be in sole control of the entire large-scale sector. (Economic Programme Committee Report, 1948). The pro-socialist tone of this report was referenced by Karimuddin during his speech (Kazi S Karimuddin, CAP Vol VI, 17 February 1948).

As we have seen though, Nehru struck down the idea as being impracticable. This was partly because the industrial bodies such as FICCI, had launched a vicious campaign against the report, warning the government that this would seriously hamper investor sentiment and prevent growth of the industrial sector. Eventually, Nehru was forced to declare that the government was not bound to follow the EPC report. Instead, the Statement of Industrial Policy of 1948 proved to be a very pro-industrialist and pro-capitalist

document (Chenoy 1983). Nehru was eventually able to rid himself of the influence of Congress Right and its capitalist sympathizers (Zachariah 2004). However, as scholars have pointed out, his faith in socialism and planning had been severely watered down over the years and he refused to shore up the socialist agenda either in the final days of the Constituent Assembly or in the committees that accompanied or followed it (Zachariah 2012).

In the end, devoid of any overarching commitments to nationalization, major agricultural reforms or planning in the Constitution and being defeated by pro-industrialist and Congress Right members in the committees, the socialist agenda found only a weak expression in the final planning apparatus (First Five Year Plan 1952). As Chibber has shown, the planning apparatus was formed without teeth or muscle and soon came to be utterly dependent on whatever faith Nehru reposed in it (Chibber 2006). Beyond the plan formulation though, the Planning Commission had little say. Nationalization had been thrown out of the window, as had stringent state control. This created technical difficulties which ensured that planning produced deficits instead of surpluses and was eventually given a bad name in the late 1950s (Chibber 2006).

Thus, we see that the debates on the economy in the Constituent Assembly displayed a continuation of the concerns of the socialists and Gandhians with the economic structure and economic regulation of independent India. However, their arguments were defeated, preventing any overtly socialist or even Gandhian articles being inserted into the Constitution, at least as far as the economy was concerned. Mirroring a broader decline, the efforts of these groups was further defeated in the committees – including by Nehru himself – and resulted in the eventual formation of an economic system that was pro-capitalist in many sectors and possessed a planning mechanism that had no real ability to regulate the economy.

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Aritra Majumdar

Department of History

Sivanath Sastri College

Kolkata, West Bengal.

The Mythic and Miraculous: The Problem of Gender in *Forty Rules of Love*

Abstract

The London based Turkish novelist Elif Shafak's 'Forty Rules of Love' received widespread adulation for preaching a story of platonic love, in an increasingly loveless world, between the much venerated Sufi scholar – Jalal-ud-din Rumi and his mentor – the eccentric dervish Shams Tabriz. The relationship between the two is projected as a representation of the humane version of Islam- Sufism. This version is assumed as the binary opposite of Wahabism which is perceived to desire a fanatic political system based on a selective and parochial interpretation of 'shariah' –religious law. The novel attempts to steer clear of this fanaticism, invoking it repeatedly only to establish the desirability of 'Sufism' it establishes it as an alternative. However, a close reading of the novel reveals several contradictions that raise questions on the nature of intervention proposed by the novel. This essay will examine the novel as reifying oriental myths and misogynist tendencies largely with respect to the treatment of women. The novel reverts back to the oriental representations of Arab-Islamic cultures fuelled "by the slant of the Christian West and the Islamic East, which provided an added fantasy in the Orientalist mind – the "othering" of the Muslims. Such orientalist representations of subaltern Muslim women further calcified and institutionalized their subhuman identity and subalternized them to both local patriarchy and their western sisters." (Hasan 2005)

Keywords: Feminism, Orientalism, Sufi, Islam, Fantasy, Stereotype, Normative, Religion, Self, Patriarchy, Binary, Gender

The process of canonisation is a natural by-product of literary production, and determines literary consciousness of the age. The process is determined by many factors including the political mood of the era as well as visibility, and promotion offered by institutions

of circulation. The best seller emerges as a species of literature that intersects both axis at a harmonious point inevitably, and therefore ensures its place in literary posterity. Such recognition, however, is not necessarily a correct appraisal of the literary value of the work, rather as O Henry's famous eponymous short story "Best Seller" proved it may be a product of escapist fantasy. The London based Turkish novelist Elif Shafak's *Forty Rules of Love* follows a similar trajectory. It has achieved international recognition but on a critical reading, one begins to suspect that the reasons for its success may lie elsewhere than literary merits.

The book achieved widespread adulation for preaching a story of platonic love, in an increasingly loveless world, between the much venerated Sufi scholar – Jalal-ud-din Rumi and his mentor – the eccentric dervish Shams Tabriz. The relationship between the two is projected as a representation of the humane version of Islam-Sufism. This version is assumed as the binary opposite of Wahabism which is perceived to desire a fanatic political system based on a selective and parochial interpretation of 'shariah' –religious law. The novel attempts to steer clear of this fanaticism, invoking it repeatedly only to establish the desirability of the 'Sufism' it establishes it as an alternative. However, a close reading of the novel reveals several contradictions that raise questions on the nature of intervention proposed by the novel. This essay will examine the novel as working within the post-colonial bazaar as reifying oriental myths and misogynist tendencies largely with respect to the treatment of women. The novel reverts back to the oriental representations of Arab-Islamic cultures fuelled "by the slant of the Christian West and the Islamic East, which provided an added fantasy in the Orientalist mind – the "othering" of the Muslims. Such orientalist representations of subaltern Muslim women further calcified and institutionalized their subhuman identity and subalternized them to both local patriarchy and their western sisters." (Hasan 2005)

The delineation of these orientalist traces necessitates an examination of the structure and purported motives of the novel. Located within an interlinked polyphonic narrative of life and art mirroring each other, the novel apparently outlines a feminist project: liberation of a lonely American Jewish housewife – Ella Rubinstein on the cusp of her fortieth birthday, and vulnerable to a midlife crisis. The novel seeks to examine the patriarchal residue in normative social relationships, and the consequent disadvantages accrued by women. Despite her location in the metropolitan Massachusetts, and a job as a reading assistant in a prestigious reading agency, Ella still suffers from being relegated to “angel in the house” role. The novel conflates this relegation with a deprivation of an authenticity in a post-modern consumerist west. This deprivation is redressed by liberating the woman protagonist; liberation achieved through restoration to a universal inclusive Sufism founded upon the principle of humanist love. The normative symbols of love like Valentine’s Day are exposed as hollow rooted in a ritualistic consumerism, and thus meant to showcase the loss of authenticity. Almost in the Nietzschean tradition, words have lost all meanings, and are debased currency. Thus, Ella in receipt of David’s ‘romantic’ message accompanying his gift – a heart shaped diamond pendant laments that “reading his card felt like reading an obituary. This is what they will write about me when I die.”. In a world where the spectacle – ‘simulacra’, is privileged over substance, Ella has reconciled to this loss of authenticity, and dismissing love as a shallow sentimentality. At a dinner table conversation, she urges her daughter Jeannette to “Stop Daydreaming and get real, will you? You’re being so.... romantic.” The dialogue with Jeannette sets up an interrogation of the essence of terms, and traces a clear binary between shallow modernity and authentic Sufism. Ella must abandon the former and accept the latter. Within this binary, the former matrix is clearly introduced in the aftermath of the dinner table conversation. The ritualistic acceptance and expiation takes place within the traditional code of woman cooking, and male

expatriation achieved through gratitude for being served and forgiven. This neatly fits into the schism of the 'angel in the house' – the emotional fulcrum of the family who lends lifeblood to the marriage by self-sacrifice. Consumed by self-guilt, for her husband's infidelities, she craves for love. In the novel Aladin, Beybars and Kierra mirror her, and exhibit the severe existential crisis that could have befallen Ella were she not liberated. The liberating agents Aziz and Shams are introduced as non-normative characters in quest of establishing an alternative mode of meaning. As wandering dervishes, they come directly in conflict with the social contract that lays down settlement as the foundational aspect of civilisation. Their quest is, therefore, a quest for counter culture that is accepting of transgression from norms of settlement and by extension a familial structure. Counter culture can be understood as a subculture "whose values and norms of behaviour differ substantially from those of mainstream society, often in opposition to mainstream cultural mores" (Mirriam Webster n.d.) Though Darwishes like Shams are located at the margins of the society, if not outside it, by a refusal to dress, behave or settle down like a common man, yet they must retain some link to the society not only in order to survive, but also to perform their identity through an audience on which to exercise their miraculous powers. True to its nature as a subculture, Darwishes replace the norm of social amalgamation and conformity with its opposite: defiance of such amalgamation and conformity to underscore the contradictions hidden and unresolved in the parent normative culture.

One common vehicle of transgression is the destabilisation of normative religion. Such normative religion is represented by caricatures like the Judge, Baybars and Sheikh Yassin. These characters are sketched cursorily, and invested with such absolute parochialism that Shams has little choice but to emerge glorious from these interactions. Similarly, in Ella's correspondence Ella is invested with such little agency and passivity that Aziz's transgressive persona is

accentuated without effort. This caricaturing constitutes an act of re-orientalism where Orientalist discourses are perpetuated by diasporic Orientals. Lisa Lau – a postcolonial critic notes that re-orientalism “dominates and to a specific extent distorts the representation of the Orient, consigning the Oriental within the Orient to a position of the other.” This occurs by means of “generalisation and totalisation, and the insidious nature of truth claims.” (Lau 2009, 5). The generalisation occurs among other things via connotative coding that is determined by oriental biases. Barthes in his book *S/Z* points out that literary texts incorporate among other codes a connotative code that can be defined as “The accumulation of connotations, sequential thoughts, traits and actions constitute character.” (Barry 2002, 14) . *Forty Rules* often employs such oriental coding that severely contradicts the apparent liberatory premise of the work. The judge, for example, is defined as possessing a broad face, a sagging belly, and short stubby fingers, each with a precious ring. This coding marks him as invested with gluttony, ostentatiousness and an inflated sense of self-importance. It evokes an image of authoritative, punishing phallic figure dressed in expensive fur coats and pricey jewellery. The introduction to the judge is suggestive of excess that immediately marks him as a detestable character. The connotative code invoked here is further complimented by a strong suggestion of whimsical personality: “with one ruling he could send a man to the gallows, or he could just as easily pardon a convict’s crimes lifting him up from the dark dungeons.” Such whimsicality and indulgence is a typical oriental construct, and eases the way for Shams to steal the show during all interactions. It is no coincidence that the judge is a creation of Aziz – an occident, white man firmly set in the metropolitan. In contrast to the “esoteric and individualistic interpretations” of Shams, the judge insists on an ossified and totalitarian code of conduct as constituting the Sharia. Baybar is another typical example of such oriental construction. In the tradition of the Judge, religion only serves to amplify his masochistic tendencies. He reeks

of a barbaric chauvinism that is portrayed as a direct function of his allegiance and adherence to normative Islam. He is invested with no redeeming complexity that could rescue his character from caricature, and only serves in turns to accentuate Shams' messianic quality, or Rumi's fortunate ascent to a non-normative religion. Two instances suffice to prove this claim: the first is his unmerciful whipping of Suleiman – the drunk apparently for flouting the Islamic prohibition against drink, but actually clearly for placating his ego challenged by Suleiman's refusal to beg for mercy. On another instance, he thrashes Desert Rose for daring to assert their similarity on account of a tainted past. His hypocrisy is laid bare forcefully by his seeking services of prostitutes especially Desert Rose despite marking her as a pollutant or drinking in her chamber. Both characters stand out to be typically emblematic of the violent, uncivilised and hypocritical who subjugate, and, therefore, necessitate rescue of the subaltern by Shams – the medieval variant of the occident.

Shams' character sharply contrasts with the oriental characters, since he is modelled on Aziz himself. An examination of the codes that constitute his character is therefore imperative. As an anchor to Rumi, and later Ella, Shams is constructed as an anti-establishment figure with an aversion to civilizational codes, especially routine. He is possessed by an almost pantheistic orientation towards nature that gels well with a cosmopolitan spirituality. This cosmopolitanism is complimented further by a curious and contemplative nature that aids quick learning. The master gushes "What took other dervishes months, sometimes years, to learn took him only weeks, if not days." The first section ends with an analogy of silkworm that foreshadows the evolution of Ella suggesting therein that the destruction of an old self determined by an old world order is necessary to produce a precious new self. As future events prove, it is not as much a question of breaking free as much as a complete abandonment of the old world order. The novice emerges

as an early symbol of this transgressive legacy; any attempt to mediate a liberated self through the old world order is fraught with rejection. Inevitably, the novel constructs the old world order within the framework of a stereotypical fanatic Arabic Islamic culture - the most common cultural and literary representation of Arab lands in the western world. As Driss Roudani observes and highlights through her research: "The Western representation of Muslims and Arabs is not a recent fabrication but it had been operational and deep-rooted in the West conceptualization ever since the first contacts with Arabs and Muslims. Down to the Middle Ages, especially during the Crusade Wars and along the Arabs expansion in Europe until the very days of the Third Millennium, the West promotes almost the same stereotypes for Arabs and Muslims" (Ridouani 2011).

One key aspect of oriental gaze like the patriarchal gaze is a benevolent occident who rescues the (effeminate) orient from itself. This aspect is a consistent motif of the novel as Shams and his modern alter-ego Aziz rescue at least five people Ella, Rumi, Hassan- the Leper, Suleiman – the drunk and Desert Rose –the harlot. However, mere rescue or assistance cannot be considered as a sole determiner of an oriental framework. Such a claim necessitates a detailed exploration of the semiotics of the interactions between the characters that validate the reading. The case of Desert Rose is introduced in the second section of the novel: Water. Out on an exploration of the town, Shams stumbles upon the brothel in the "seamy side of the town". The brothel is an avowedly patriarchal space constructed out of the trajectory of 'illegitimate' male heterosexual desire. In her book *The Creation of Patriarchy*, Gerda Lerner comments that the origins of prostitution can be traced to the practise of slave holding. She notes that slave owners rented out 'surplus women' for sex and therefore brothels arose from the surplus availability of women to male chiefs, rulers and owners. "The practice of using slave women as servants and sex objects

became the standard for the class dominance over women in all historic periods. Women of the subordinate classes (serfs, peasants, workers) were expected to serve men of the upper classes sexually, whether they consented or not” (Lerner 1986). The act of prostitution involves not the purchase of sexually disinterested or disembodied services, but rather involves a contract and agreement to purchase the sexual use of usually a woman for a fixed time period. Sheila Jaffreys therefore calls it ‘commercialised sexual violence’ as “The act of using a woman in prostitution could be seen as the purest form of objectification. An unknown body which is paid for is likely to offer more effective gratification in this regard than a woman who is known and may intrude demands and make comments which might remind her user that she is a real person. The danger for women of this male practice is sexual violence, since every act of sexual objectifying occurs on a continuum of dehumanization that promises male sexual violence at its far end” (Jeffreys 1997). As a result, prostitution has not been “hidden, ignored and minimised (like other forms of violence) but rather defined as something different. This makes it especially troublesome for women to name their own experience, since the payment of money in some way justifies, and legitimises, the behaviour” (Jeffreys 1997). The brothel emerges as a product of a heteronormative desire to limit the visibility of prostitutes, a geography of containment where non-normative (including non-marital/non-intimate) sexual practises can be articulated away from public eye. In the Islamic context within which the novel is articulated the desire of containment is emphasised as the articulation of sexual desire is regulated strictly. Only heterosexual and heteronormative sexual practises are considered “legitimate” and any non-marital sexual practise is labelled under “zina” or adultery – not only a grave sin but also publicly punishable by death or flogging.

Shams' intervention in this space is ostensibly aimed to transgress, and repudiate normative morality through a refusal of the binary of sin and virtue, and corresponding legitimate and illegitimate spaces. – the determining factor being the practise and articulation of 'legitimate' or 'illegitimate desire. Subsequently, Shams' intervention rescues desire determined by the binary and its corresponding mapping alongside reward and punishment. Shams rather advocates, and apparently practises a non-normative, inclusive and fluid model of religion rather than a normative, exclusionary and stratified religion associated with tradition. The failure of the traditional normative religion is reflected in the symbol of the hermaphrodite – the confusing flux between male and female features represents the instability of the project. The fragrant rose garden destabilises the binary further by suggesting purity, and thus nature's rebuttal of the binary. Desert Rose manifests the fallacy of binary by her paradoxical identity – a rose (suggestive of purity and fertility) in a desert (suggestive of bareness and death). This in keeping with Aziz's later replacement of religiosity with spirituality.

Yet, a close reading informs the fractures and contradictions manifest in Shams as he inevitably ends up contributing to and validating the binary. Seeking to defend the virtue of Desert Rose, he proclaims her as a "good girl". This epithet locates her squarely within the moral matrix that locates non-matrimonial sex as 'bad', and hence condemnable. Desert Rose is 'good' as she isn't a willing participant in the exchange of bodies like the 'bad' hermaphrodite, rather an exploited victim who has internalised societal condemnation. Continuing this strain of judgement, he announces to the bemused Hermaphrodite that "soon she'll embark on a spiritual journey to find God. She'll abandon this place forever." By highlighting the incongruity of a spiritual journey within the boundaries of the brothel, Shams regurgitates the same moral gaze that marked it as immoral in the first place. This condemnation is further accentuated by the verb 'abandon' that suggests salvation

is not accessible unless she dissociates completely from the world of desire, and seeks an ascetic celibacy. Her ready acceptance of this doctrine follows from the fetishisation of female body and the consequent premium on 'virginity.' The devaluation of Desert Rose follows from this exoticisation as the village chief is prescribed the cure of sleeping with a virgin. Shams' prescription of abandonment to reach a prelapsarian state of purity plays back into the same semiotic system, reinforcing and validating it. By suggesting a clear binary between desire and salvation, Shams ends up reinforcing the very patriarchal networks he had set out to repudiate. Small wonder then that Desert Rose echoes him as she describes her resurgence as: "But I have abandoned that awful place. I went to the public bath and washed myself forty times with forty prayers. I took an oath to stay away from men. From now on, my life is dedicated to God." In a moment of self-glorification praise, he warns the hermaphrodite that he is an atypical dervish as he prefers to believe in a non-textual scripture, preferring a more egalitarian material text in the form of the immediate world. The sense of self-superiority and self-entitlement that Shams utters to a bewildered audience is in itself a function of the privileged masculinity that sees it fit to cancel a belief system, and replace it with another without granting any agency to the female. The label of 'privileged masculinity' might come under scrutiny considering that Shams and Rumi are in a very intimate homosocial relationship, if not a homoerotic one. Yet, masculine homoeroticism can intersect with masculine privilege, and is not always completely free of it. Kimmel and Coston suggest that "There are masculinists who are proponents of gay male machismo who rely on hegemonic ideals. This reliance is the main site of access to privilege for these gay men." (Kimmel and M. Coston 2003). Also as Butler pointed out, a marginalised community like women can exercise their privilege with respect to other marginalised communities like queer women by a simple act as wearing a wedding ring, which indicates their heterosexuality and privilege accrued by conforming to normativity.

Susumo Kuno points out that attitudinal shifts are enshrined within the syntax of a given linguistic utterance. He points out that the attitudinal shifts can be studied in terms of the degree of empathy i.e. “the speaker’s identification, which may vary in degree, with a person/thing that participates in the event or state that he [/she] describes in a sentence,” or as “a camera angle on x rather than y”. (Graham 1996). Applying this rule to Shams’ reply, it can be observed that he employs *me* twice, and the first person pronoun ‘I’ no less than seven times in six sentences that constitute his reply. Therefore, the degree of self-empathy is extremely high as there is only a singular reference to any other agent – they, the typical Dervishes who are immediately dismissed for their blinkered vision. For a man determined to be egalitarian, Shams’ monologue reverts far too quickly to a dismissive self-congratulatory entitlement that prides in its righteousness and superiority over a fallen people in the manner of a typical occident.

Another such ironic reinforcement of patriarchal codes occurs during the mosque scene. The scene finds Desert Rose cross dressing and sneaking into a mosque to hear the fabled sermon of Rumi. Enrapt, listening to the sermon she doesn’t notice the lad next to her stepping on the edges of her scarf. Before, she has a chance to react the scarf falls from her face. She ties it back hurriedly so that she can continue to hide behind it. However, the brief moment of uncovering is enough for Beybars - the guard to recognise her, and drag her outside. She is about to be lynched for violating the sanctity of the mosque when she is rescued in the nick of time by Shams. The scene is intended to shed light on one of the key patriarchal operations: appropriation of space. Patriarchy allows little or no space for the female subject as public space especially is visibly masculine. Spaces are excavated from places by transgressive vectors of behaviour. Desert Rose’s act is an attempt at reclamation of space from places by interrupting the ‘sacred’ space of mosque with the ‘profane’ sexualised body. The distinction between ‘space’

and 'place' is envisioned well by Michel de Certeau who distinguishes the two as part of evolving a semiotics of resistance against the 'panoptic' gaze of city. Certeau argues that a place is marked by an adherence to discipline and hierarchy, and thus a stable "configuration of positions." A space on the other hand is an unstable configuration formed by "intersections of mobile elements.... vectors of direction, velocities, and time variables. Space occurs as the effect produced by the operations that orient it, situate it, temporalize it, and make it function in a polyvalent unity of conflictual programs or contractual proximities." (Certeau 1984). Desert Rose, therefore, enacts a moment of space making and the novel attempts to locate it as a maiden attempt at tracing a path of salvation. However, it is imperative to notice the act of space making is informed by a desire to be guided and determined by a male figure – Rumi. Since Rumi has not been liberated from conventional religiosity, and thus can't aid liberation, the attempt is frustrated. No sooner has female space been excavated than the patriarchal order reclaims it back through collective shaming and violence (by Baybar and onlookers). Completely overpowered, Desert Rose finds a saviour in another male figure – Shams, who quickly points out truthfully that religiosity is only a veneer for sexual politics, as violence is just a vehicle of repressed coveting. While this reflects glowingly on Shams establishing him further as a benevolent messiah, it elides the contentious politics of rescue which allots no agency or power to a woman – she is overpowered by men and rescued eventually by a man. In its hurry to establish the credentials of Shams, the novel conveniently overlooks the systematic disempowering of women it enacts.

An analysis of the other women characters underscores this systemic disempowerment of women. Kerra, for example, is harshly reprimanded by Rumi for daring to dusting and touching his books. The incident reeks of entrenched patriarchy that kept education off bounds for women. Her counter-poise Kimya is allowed access

to education under the tutelage of Rumi, aided by the ghost of his late wife Gevher. Gevher – the helpful ghost is presented with no other mark of distinction other than the floral slippers bought by her husband – Rumi. This detail is deemed sufficient for certifying Kimya's claim that the ghost is guiding her. The implication that the female identity is dependent upon an object procured by, and by extension the male figure is elided by the sentimentality of the scene as Rumi gets misty eyed about the memory. This patriarchal network is perpetuated further even though a female kinship that is co-opted by hetero-patriarchal frames. Two instances suffice to illustrate it: the tacit support by Gevher to Kimya for marrying Shams, and Desert Rose's aid to Kimya to make herself attractive to an unresponsive Shams. The former is a case of appropriating the queer, which flows from a patriarchal structure. The only power relation permissible in patriarchy is a binary – the male in whom power resides, and the powerless woman. In such a scenario, any gesture that indicates a loss of masculinity, specifically a claim to ownership of the female body, established as natural order is met with anxiety, incredulity and dismissed as unnatural. Hence, Kimya counters Kerra's concerns with an assurance that Shams will "learn (from her) to be a good husband and a good father." The conflation of husband with father is a typical heteronormative construct that subordinates desire to procreation, as it ensures that women perform reproductive labour, and thus maintenance of status quo. This domestication project shifts the entire burden of keeping the marriage functional on her, absolving Shams of every responsibility in the marriage. This burden is further complicated by the nature of marriage, which is primarily conceived to shield Shams from calumny, and ensure that the demise of the flaneur Shams. Rumi hardly protests the proposal, and Shams too consents readily; the novel provides no opportunity to doubt it as Shams is silent on it. A more sympathetic reading might read the silence of Rumi and consent of Shams as the fallout of prohibitive heteronormativity where freedom to express sexuality

is inexistent. Compulsory heterosexuality entails an erasure of queer desire, and a necessary adherence to heterosexual marriage. It could be argued then that the marriage is a device for the two 'friends' to be together without incurring social wrath. While such a reading can certainly not be ignored, it is also imperative to note here that such a compromise follows from male privilege. While the victimisation of men can't be ignored, yet at the same time it is useful to note such an arrangement is fundamentally unjust to the woman. While the two men collude on a device to stay together, there is little heed paid to the emotions and desires of the woman in question. This erasure of woman's self is fundamentally a patriarchal arrangement, especially considering Rumi holds considerable sway over Kimya – being a father figure to her and a mentor to her. Rumi's possession of cultural wealth and Shams' charisma place them in positions of power over Kimya who is vulnerable and comparatively lacking in power. This is not to deny, Kimya doesn't exercise her agency in choosing to marry Shams' ignoring a well-intentioned and accurate warning by Kerra about the folly of her endeavour. It is to suggest that her recklessness is a result of her confidence in heteronormativity that is perpetuated as the natural order. Shams and Rumi at least in appearance conform to the code, if not in intention or spirit.

The marriage night scene is more appalling for its normalisation of misogyny. Throughout the novel, he is extolled as unconventional and subversive, yet on the eve of the marriage night he flippantly conforms to the patriarchal value system of female virginity and purity. Usually Shams is dismissive of conventional binaries preferring to refute them by siding with the pejorative side of the binary. This is repeatedly proven during situations like conversing with the leper beggar – Hasan, or his tender care of the drunk Suleiman or encouraging the prostitute Desert Rose to abandon the brothel, and offering her shelter the novel constructs him as an unconventional character at odds with normative

religion. His apparently blasphemous comparison of the Prophet and Manusr-al-Hallaj and interrogation of normative religion establishes him as an apparently subversive character. Yet during the marriage scene, he abandons this side. This scene is narrated by Shams himself as he leads the reader through the whole emotional maelstrom that rises within him. Brooding on the sadness of the songs being sung, Shams concludes that women associate marriages with death like him. The death referred to here is the death of the subversive Shams, as he succumbs to normative pressures and enters a marital alliance. In contrast with his habit of departing from tradition, Shams follows tradition and gifts Kimya a comb made of tortoiseshell in keeping with the tradition of the groom gifting the bride after lifting her veil. Moreover, to confirm the death of his homoerotic self, he kisses his bride repeatedly on her lips – an intimate gesture keeping in with his expected role, and fondles her intimately acknowledging his arousal. Then just as suddenly he stops and affirms his inability to consummate the marriage. The sequence of events merits a recollection here: Shams consents to the marriage, gifts his bride, kisses her and arouses her only to abandon the project. The only explanation offered is his realisation of the depth of Kimya's emotions after observing the intricately woven carpet. Whether it is homosexual guilt or a moral scruple, either way Shams doggedly refuses to fulfil his marital obligations. When Kimya protests that this refusal will lead to accusations against her, as she will be subject to a slanderous campaign, Shams protests feebly eventually conceding that she is 'right'. Rather than resist such a narrative, and campaign against it (As he has previously done), Shams gives in to it meekly. He decides to take the route of self-flagellation, and cuts his own hand to spill blood on the sheet – the sure marker of consummation. Thus, he writes back into the binary of virgin vs fallen woman that led to the exclusion of Desert Rose. Although the novel makes Shams act 'valourously' and repentant, the male privilege that determines this act can hardly be mistaken. He doesn't

choose to abandon his role as the arbitrator of female purity, rather chooses to conform to the role. label it as 'right'. Thus the two wise men in their wisdom – the scholar and the dervish, both offer Kimya as the sacrificial lamb at the altar of their friendship. Thus, Kimya unwittingly turns out to be collateral damage in this skirmish between this. Interestingly, it is a male figure Aladin who rightly points out the male privilege, the immoral self-centeredness of this marital alliance. Although Aladin is smarting more from a wounded ego than any real concern for Kimiya, he has accurately surmised the level of intimacy between the two men, and the device they employ to preserve it.

When she asks Desert Rose for advice on how to arouse Shams, she immediately rushes to defence of Shams: "Shams is an enlightened man. I do not think this is the right way to approach him." The mapping of expression of desire as not right, and hence immoral and wrong only attests the degree to which Desert Rose has internalised the notion that seeking physical pleasure is unbecoming of 'enlightened' beings. The female is restricted to the role of a barbaric seductress incapable of enlightenment. Kimya overcomes this objection by reminding Desert Rose of the natural primacy of desire, but fails to impress Shams. Extending Arlie Hochschild's definition of emotional labour, it could be argued that Kimyalabours to make herself attractive in the marital workplace to satisfy the husband-customer – the ultimate judge of the product's value. The customer, Shams brusquely dismisses her attempt coldly "I am disappointed in you, Kimya." The rejection and judgement embodied by disappointed is a direct product of the self-entitlement that Shams feels. She is censured, therefore, by both man and woman. It could be argued, no doubt, that the rejection is basically a manifestation of frustration at Kimya's repeated attempts to tame the queer. Trapped in a heterosexual marriage, and burdened further by guilt Shams' dismissal is a timely reminder of the disenfranchisement of queer populations. Yet, it is

equally undeniable that his 'disappointment' follows from Shams' anger at Kimya's refusal to restrain and muzzle her desire and demand her share of love and intimacy.

Subsequently, the novel allows Kimya to accept the responsibility of failure of consummating the marriage and die of heartbreak. The ease with which she accepts Shams' neglect, and his complete lack of guilt beyond the mundane 'saddened' firmly establishes the authorial complicity in a patriarchal framework that rebuts the liberatory choices the novel seeks to explore. It is not denied that the novel comments on the restrictions patriarchy imposes upon men by fixing their role in a hetero-patriarchal societal framework. The novel does comment upon the impossibility of expression of non-normative desire like homoerotic love in a patriarchal society Shams' murder is symbolic of the absolute intolerance that such expressions arouse. Yet, while expressing this impossibility the novel fails to realise that it simultaneously reinforces a masculinist justification for the choices the men make. This disastrous choice also comments on the novel's failure to evolve any comprehensive model of female agency. The choice suggests that independent female choice not mediated through a male is liable to be disastrous for the female herself. Interestingly, the same is not applicable to Ella who finally decides to take the plunge and divorce David. By the end of the novel, she is completely free of the self-guilt that plagued her back. Unlike the oriental women, her choice liberates her.

The novel, therefore, intentionally and unintentionally raises several questions on the nature of representation especially representations of normative gender and cultures. Its investigation into the pressures of patriarchy and social conventions, while good natured, also perpetuate an underlying masculinity that it originally set to rebut. The interventions are particularly troublesome when one examines *Sweet Blasphemy* the novel that records the stories of Rumi and Shams. It does successfully raise several pertinent questions on

the normative world orders of “fundamentalist Islamic orient and the consumerist Judeo-Christian occident” but its positing of Sufism as a quest for spirituality which can fill the void at the heart of both” (Adil 2010) is particularly a simplistic and misleading solution to the complexity of problems it raises. It betrays a tendency to engage in re-orientalism and perpetuate the centrality of the white western subject. The novel can therefore be assumed to be determined by an imperial gaze that “reflects the assumption that the white western subject is central much as the male gaze assumes the centrality of the male subject.” (Hawthorn 2006, 48). By its conflation of the male and the oriental gaze, the novel undermines its emancipatory project, rather reaffirms the side-effects of the post-colonial paradigm that allows the post-colonial to be fetishized and consumed in a world increasingly suspecting of multiculturalism.

The novel can therefore be safely presumed to be determined by an imperial gaze that “reflects the assumption that the white western subject is central much as the male gaze assumes the centrality of the male subject.” (Hawthorn 2006, 48). By its conflation of the male and the oriental gaze, the novel completely undermines any emancipatory project, rather reaffirms the side-effects of the post-colonial paradigm that allows the post-colonial to be fetishized and consumed in a world increasingly suspecting of multiculturalism.

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Huzaifa Pandit

PhD Scholar

University of Kashmir

Examining Sexism and Feminist Self-Identification in Young Indian Adolescents and Adults: Females are Less Sexist but Not Feminists

Abstract

Sexism is not just a problem of the past; it is still pervasive and perpetuated in everyday life. Feminism is an ideology that aims to tackle sexism and provide equality between men and women in its roots. By straitjacketing men and women into a pattern of behavior pre-approved by society, sexism dehumanizes both men and women. The present study examined gender differences in sexism and feminist self-identification for young adolescents and adults (40 males and 40 females). In line with our expectations, results revealed that males reported significantly higher on ambivalent sexism (hostile and benevolent sexism) relative to females, but there were no differences in feminist self-identification. That is, while young Indian adolescent and adult women endorse sexist statements significantly lesser than men, but they do not endorse the philosophy of feminism which aims to reduce sexism, any more than men. The findings have been studied in context of the potential 'stigma' of the feminist label.

Introduction

Sexism is defined as an “individual’s attitudes, beliefs, and behaviors, and organizational, institutional, and cultural practices that either reflect negative evaluations of individuals based on their gender or support unequal status of women and men” (Swim & Hyers 2009). It is closely tied to gender stereotypes, defined as social consensus regarding the attributes of men and women (Crawford & Unger 2000). Gendered expectations prove to be a hurdle for any woman or man whose preferences do not neatly align with the stereotypes. By straitjacketing men and women into a pattern of behavior pre-approved by society, sexism dehumanizes both men

and women (Bhasin 2004; Horowitz 1997). However, psychologists have studied harmful effects of sexism on the well-being of women. Accordingly, sexism has focused on stereotypes that harm women.

According to Glick and Fiske (1996) stereotypes about women appear to contain both negative as well as positive judgments. Direct negative evaluations include statements such as, “women are less competent than men”, “women should know their place”, “women push themselves in places where they are not wanted” etc. This refers to *Hostile Sexism* (HS) or the antagonistic attitude of people towards women and feminist ideologies. Individuals who score high on HS are more likely to deny that women possess positive, uniquely human, secondary emotions (e.g., compassion, hopefulness, and nostalgia) (Viki& Abrams 2003). Evaluations of women also include statements such as, “women need taking care of”, “women should be protected”, “women should be cherished” etc. may appear to be positive but are in fact subtly sexist in nature. These evaluations are referred to as *Benevolent Sexism*, a more subtle form of sexism i.e. sexist ideologies that may be passed off, as tradition and may even be perceived as flattering by women (Jackman 1994). Individuals usually endorse these beliefs because they do not define them as sexist (Barreto & Ellemers 2005; Swim, Ferguson, Hyers & Cohen 2005). For instance, the chivalrous attitude men have towards women may be reinforced and appreciated in society, however, is actually sexist because activities such as “opening the door for women”, “paying for women”, “protecting women” cast women in a weaker role, as ‘something’ to be cherished and protected by men. Based on this understanding, Glick and Fiske (1996) conceptualized sexism as fundamentally *ambivalent*, encompassing both subjectively benevolent and hostile feelings toward women.

Both aspects of ambivalent sexism, hostile and benevolent sexism are related to negative outcomes for women. For instance, high

hostility towards women (HS) was related to men's verbal aggression against their dating partners; these results are consistent with the generally accepted view that all of these variables foster and justify men's aggression against women (Forbes, Adam-Curtis & White 2004). In support, another study found that men with higher scores on HS were more likely to report the proclivity to commit an acquaintance rape (Abrams, Viki, Masser & Bohner 2003). With respect to benevolent sexism, a study found that female undergraduate volunteers rated profiles of a hostile sexist and benevolent sexist men; relative to hostile sexist benevolent sexist men was rated as most likeable but least typical (Bohner, Ahlborn, & Steiner 2010). Benevolent sexism in this way helps in maintaining the gender inequality where men play the role of protectors and women "damsel-in-distress".

Feminism is an ideology that aims to provide equality between men and women in its roots. It is grounded in the belief that women are oppressed or disadvantaged in comparison to men, and that their oppression is unjustified (Ellis & Carlson 2008). It places a high value on women, and considered to be important and worthwhile human beings (Crawford & Unger 2000). One of the simplest definitions is proposed by bell hooks (1984); it is a movement to end sexism and sexist oppression. This is an important feature; feminism fights the harmful effects of patriarchy on women as well as men (e.g. Bhasin 2004; Brittan 1989; Kupers 2005; Messerschmidt & Connel 2005). Further, feminist scholars have noted that men and women are situated within several different but related systems of domination and oppression (e.g. Bhasin 2004; Collins 1990). Yet, there is a dangerous silence generated around sexism world over.

Sexism is not just a problem of the past; it is still pervasive and perpetuated in everyday life (Ronai, Zsembik, Feagin 2013). The purpose of the study was to examine gender differences in endorsement of ambivalent sexism (hostile and benevolent sexism)

and in feminist self-identification. It was hypothesized that (One) females will report lower ambivalent sexism (hostile and benevolent sexism) relative to males and (Two) females will report higher self-identification relative to males.

Method

Participants

Eighty students (40 males and 40 females) aged 16-20 years from different schools and colleges in Delhi (NCR) were selected for the study through convenience sampling. As can be seen in Table 1, the gender groups were matched for age and education in order to minimize the influences of these variables. Participant's ages ranged from 16 to 20 years and the mean age of male participants was 17.63 years whereas, the mean age of female participants was 17.55. Participant characteristics have been provided in Table 1.

Table 1

Demographic Characteristics of the Participants

	Males		Females		<i>T</i>	<i>p</i>
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>		
Age ^a	17.63	1.44	17.55	1.36	.24	.812
Education ^a	12.78	1.29	12.70	1.04	.29	.776

Note. ^aIn years $\alpha = .05$

Design and Procedure

The participants were divided into two groups: males (N=40) or female (N=40) based on their gender. All participants completed measures of sexism (hostile and benevolent sexism) and a one-item feminist identification scale. Participants completed identical questionnaires with demographic questions that were emailed to them in a Google form. (The link for the form is <https://goo.gl/forms/CUGfITpCFRA7bSMW2>)

Measures

Gender differences were examined on endorsement of sexist attitudes and identification with feminist ideology. The measures used have been described below.

Ambivalent sexism inventory. The Ambivalent Sexism Scale (ASI; Glick & Fiske 1996) is a 22 item self-report measure composed of two item subscales that measure hostile sexism and benevolent sexism. Each of the subscales contains items designed to measure attitudes relevant to power (dominative or protective paternalism) and gender differentiation (competitive or complementary). The inventory uses a six-point Likert scale with scores ranging from 0-5. Examples of items from the scale include, “women are too easily offended” (hostile sexism) or “women should be cherished and protected by men” (benevolent sexism). Strong agreement with the statements is given a score of five and a strong disagreement with the statement is accorded a score of zero. A few items are reverse scored for example, *Feminists are not seeking for women to have more power than men or men are complete without women*, for these items a strong agreement will be awarded zero points, and a strong disagreement will be given five points. Overall, higher scores on this inventory imply greater (hostile and benevolent) sexism. The reliability of the inventory was verified by the researchers by conducting six studies with over 2000 respondents, it was found to be overall ASI score (an index of ambivalent sexism), as well as the Hostile Sexism and Benevolent Sexism subscale scores, each have acceptable internal consistency reliability (with alphas averaging in the .8 to .9 range).

Hostile Sexism (HS). Hostile Sexism in the Ambivalent Sexism Inventory aims to measure the antagonistic attitude of people towards women and feminist ideologies. This ideology asserts that women are often trying to control men through their relationships or sexual seduction. The scale consists of 11 items that assess direct

and transparent aspects of sexism, hence has been named hostile sexism scale. Items include: “*women seek to gain power by getting control over men*”, “*women exaggerate problems they have at work*” etc.

Benevolent Sexism (BS). This subscale of the Ambivalent Sexism Inventory assesses more subtle form of sexism i.e. sexist ideologies that may be passed off, as tradition. For instance, it measures the chivalrous attitude towards women, which may be appreciated in society, however is actually sexist because it casts women in a weaker role and as ‘something’ to be cherished and protected by men. This scale assesses the extent to which an individual endorses the view of women as something to ‘have’ rather than be seen as actual human beings. The sub-scale also includes 11 items, namely, “*Men are complete without women(R)*” “*a good woman should be set on a pedestal by her man*” etc.

Feminist Self Identification

A single item “*I identify myself as a feminist*” asked participants to indicate how strongly they self-identified with the feminist ideology: The measure uses a 6-point Likert scale with scores ranging from 0-5 where 5 indicated strong agreement of self-identification with the label of feminist and 0 indicated strong disagreement. The item has been used in previous studies to examine identification with the ideology of feminism (e.g. Leaper & Arias 2011; Case 2014; McCabe 2005).

Statistical Analysis

First, preliminary information regarding age and education of the male and female participants were compared to make sure that there were no significant differences across the participants. Second, descriptive statistics i.e. means and standard deviations for the ambivalent sexism inventory (hostile and benevolent sexism) and feminist-identification scale were obtained. After which the data were screened for normality, outliers, fit between distribution and

assumptions of parametric statistics. Gender differences in endorsement of sexist attitudes and feminist ideology were examined using independent samples *t* tests on the measures of the study. Cohen's *d* was assessed for independent *t* tests.

Results

Gender differences in endorsement of sexist attitudes and feminism were examined using independent samples *t* tests on the measures of the study. Table 2 shows independent samples *t* tests in endorsement of sexist attitudes (Hostile and Benevolent Sexism) and feminist identification of males and females. Effect sizes (*ES*) for paired *t* tests can be studied with the help of Cohen's *d* and *r*. Cohen's *d* were calculated using Cohen's (1988) formula: $ES = d/2$, where $d = M1 - M2$. 'Small' effect size is 0.10, 'medium' is 0.25, and 'large' is 0.40 (Cohen 1988).

Table 2

Independent samples t tests for Males and Females on Hostile Sexism, Benevolent Sexism and Feminist Self-Identification Measures

Measure	Male		Female		<i>t</i>	<i>P</i>	
	M	SD	M	SD			
Cohen's <i>d</i>							
ASI	58.65	11.75	41.57	16.24	5.39	.000***	1.20
HS	28.52	7.79	17.75	9.56	5.53	.000***	1.23
BS	30.12	7.13	24.30	10.50	2.90	.005**	0.65
Feminist Self-	2.70	1.47	3.35	1.58	-1.90	.060	0.42

Note.

ASI= Ambivalent Sexism Inventory; HS= Hostile Sexism, BS= Benevolent Sexism ****p*< .001 ***p*<.01

As can be seen in Table 2, male participants ($M=28.52$, $SD=7.79$) reported significantly higher scores relative to female participants ($M=17.75$, $SD=9.56$) on hostile sexism; $t(78) = 5.53$, $p = .000$ with a large effect size. Male participants ($M=30.12$, $SD=7.13$) also scored significantly higher than female participants ($M=24.30$, $SD=10.50$) on benevolent sexism scale $t(78) = 2.90$, $p = .005$ with a large effect size. However, contrary to our expectations, differences between means of female participants ($M= 3.35$, $SD= 1.58$) and male participants ($M= 2.70$, $SD= 1.47$) on feminist self-identification approached significance, but fell short $t(78) = -1.90$, $p = .060$.

Discussion

The objective of the study was to investigate the gender differences in endorsement of sexism (hostile sexism and benevolent sexism) as well as feminist self-identification. The results of the study were in line with our hypothesis, i.e. women had scored significantly lower than men on (ambivalent) sexism. This was true for both hostile and benevolent sexism. However, contrary to our expectations, women did not report higher feminist self-identification than men.

Hostile Sexism (HS) refers to the antagonistic attitude of people towards women and feminist ideologies. It asserts that women are often trying to control men through their relationships or sexual seduction (Glick & Fiske 2001). Findings are consistent with past researches that have found that males report greater hostile sexism than females (e.g. Case 2007; Glick & Fiske 1996; Swim et al. 2001). One of the explanations for the significant gender differences on hostile sexism is that endorsement of hostile sexism in men seeks to justify their experience of higher status in society (Glick & Fiske 2001; Schmitt, Branscombe, & Kappen 2003). In addition, men may wish to believe that their higher status is justly obtained, and they have earned it, which could prevent them from acknowledging sexism (Jost & Kay 2005). It can also be argued

that women experience more sexist attitudes and identify sexist experiences more than men (e.g. Drury & Kaiser 2014; Kohn, Lafreniere, & Gurevich 1990; Osman, Barrios, Langnecker, & Osman 1994; Swim, Hyers, Cohen & Ferguson 2005;); for example in spite of being a country of diverse cultures, the problems women face at home or within their families in India are uniform regardless of religion, caste, or community (Pande 2015). Women are thus likely to score less on any measure aimed to test sexist beliefs, especially one as direct and blatant as hostile sexism. In support, in an interesting online project, Bates (2016) encouraged women to catalogue instances of sexism experienced on a day-to-day basis. Consequently, thousands of women from different ages, backgrounds, races, and nationalities wrote about their harrowing experiences of harassment on street, at work, in clubs, and at homes. Furthermore, in a study, empathy along with knowledge towards sexist attitudes towards women was found to reduce hostile sexism in men as well as women (Zawadzki et al. 2014). Therefore, men's desire to maintain current gender inequality and women's ability to empathize with their own gender as a result of greater experience of sexism in everyday life can help explain significantly lower hostile sexism in women relative to men.

Benevolent Sexism (BS) refers to a more subtle form of sexism that might be disregarded because of its ostensibly positive qualities (Glick & Fiske 1996). Previous studies examining gender differences in benevolent sexism report mixed findings; gender differences were either smaller in magnitude or even reversed (e.g. Glick et al., 2001; Glick & Fiske, 1996; Masser & Abrams, 1999). This is because, unlike hostile sexism, benevolent sexist attitudes are seen as socially acceptable endorsement of conventional gender roles due to the seemingly positive and chivalrous nature of the construct. Individuals usually endorse these beliefs because they do not define them as sexist (Barreto & Ellemers 2005; Bohner, Ahlborn & Steiner 2010; Glick et al. 2000; Swim, Ferguson,

Hyers& Cohen 2005; Swim, Mallett, Russo-Devosa&Stangor 2005). BS is fostered by men's intimate interdependence on women and includes protective paternalism (e.g., "Women ought to be protected and provided for by men"), idealization of women (e.g., as "pure" and delicate), and celebration of heterosexual intimacy (e.g., "Every man needs a woman he adores") (Hebl& O'Brian 2009). In the present study, men reported significantly higher on benevolent sexism relative to women. In support, a study found that men who endorsed benevolent sexism did not realize that these behaviors can potentially be harmful for women (Swim et al. 2011). While, men may find these attributes to be "chivalrous" and "flattering" for women, women are likely to reject these seemingly positive attitudes that put women on a pedestal but reinforce their subordination (Glick et al. 2000).

However, contrary to our expectations, gender differences in feminist self-identification were not significant. This implies that, although there is gender difference between endorsements of "sexist" attitudes i.e. women endorse hostile and benevolent sexism significantly lesser than men; there was no significant gender difference in feminist self-identification. This seems paradoxical considering that feminism in its essence is dedicated to end sexism and sexist oppression (hooks 1984). However, research suggests that this discrepancy between pro-feminist orientation and feminist identity ("I'm not a feminist but...") is not very uncommon (e.g. Aronson 2003; Burn, Aboud&Moyle 2000; Williams & Wittig 1997). This is true in spite of increased awareness of gender-based discrimination amongst women (e.g. Crosby 1984; Siegal 1996). One of the reasons for this could be that the participants had little knowledge about the ideology of feminism. People are likely to be misinformed about feminism by its portrayal in media. Reliance on mass media for main source of information on feminism and feminists is likely to be related to low levels of commitment to feminist identity (Zucker 2004). The lack of positive portrayal of

feminism in media (“feminists are men haters”) may make both males as well as females reluctant to identify with feminists (Douglas 1994). Internalizing negative stereotypes about feminists may be an impediment against adopting a feminist identity for men as well as women. Particularly, for men, the potential stigma of feminism may also be strong. It has been suggested that feminist men may be seen as feminine men because the feminist label is strongly associated with women (Anderson 2009). Patriarchy in general criticizes men who are not “masculine”, for men “femininity” is degrading and insulting, and to be associated with a movement which has this notion becomes stigmatizing. Overall, the findings of the study reveal that men endorse sexism significantly more than women. This was true for hostile as well as benevolent sexism. However, there was no significant difference between men relative to women on feminist self-identification.

The study, despite being comprehensive, has certain limitations which may be addressed in follow-up researches. Firstly, a sample of 80 urban students (males and females) aged 16-20 years was taken through convenience sampling. Subsequent studies should use a larger stratified sample. Secondly, the survey used was standardized in the west. Thirdly, only ambivalent sexism as a form of sexism was examined in the study. Future researches can assess other forms of sexism such as modern Sexism (Swim, Aikin, Hall & Hunter 1995) and Neo Sexism (Tougas, Brown, Beaton, & Joly 1995) for more comprehensive understanding of sexism. Also even though there was no significant difference between the demographics of the participants college and school students were clubbed. In conclusion, the study aimed to understand gender differences in sexism and feminist self-identification. Results demonstrated that women scored significantly lower than men on ambivalent sexism (hostile and benevolent sexism). However, there were no gender-differences in feminist self-identification. Therefore, findings of this study suggest that

although women display lower endorsement of sexist attitudes than men, they do not significantly differ on feminist self-identification relative to men.

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Examining Sexism and Feminist Self-Identification in Young Indian Adolescents and Adults: Females are Less Sexist but Not Feminists

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Impact of Goods and Services Tax in India

“GST to strengthen growth, make the economy more predictable”

–Narendra Modi

Abstract

Goods and Services Tax known as GST is significant mile stone in the indirect tax structure in India since independence. GST is a tax reform that transforms the country to: “One Nation, One Tax, One Market”, by replacing all indirect taxes levied on goods and services by the Central and States government, simplifying the tax structure, easing compliances and digitization. More than 160 countries have implemented GST/VAT in some form or other. France was the first country to introduce GST. Now in India GST was implemented on 1st July 2017 with objective to support and enhance the economic growth of the country. Goods and Service Tax (GST) is a destination based consumption tax on supplies of all goods and services. All sections of economy viz., big, medium, small scale units, intermediaries, importers, exporters, traders, professionals and consumers will be directly affected by GST. Purpose of the paper is to analysis the impact of GST study the impact of GST on Indian economy. The study was based on secondary sources. It is concluded that GST has positive impact on the economic growth of the India.

Key words: GST, GDP, indirect tax, centre, state, value added, economic growth

1. Introduction

India has witnessed substantial reforms in Indirect taxes over the last 25 years, but Goods and Service Tax (GST) is the biggest and significant reforms in indirect tax structure in India since independence, providing a uniform and simplified way of indirect taxation in India. GST subsumed excise and service tax, and various other local levies including VAT and Octroi. Goods & Services

Tax (GST), a single unified indirect tax system aims at uniting India's complex taxation structure to a 'One Nation- One Tax' regime. Goods and Service Tax (GST) is a destination based consumption tax on supplies of goods and services. GST is applicable on all goods and services within the supply chain. The main objective of the concept of GST is to eliminate various forms of indirect taxes that are levied and collected at different points of consumptions and to overcome the shortcomings of the existing indirect tax system, expanding the tax base through wide coverage of economic activities, removing the cascading effect , reduction of exemptions , enable better compliances etc. thereby resulting into formation of common national market for goods and services which directly impact on the GDP extension of the country. To provide the benefits to all stake holders like central and state government and the ultimate consumer by mitigating the cascading impact of taxes on production and distribution cost of goods and services. By providing common base and common rate this act will bring simple and transparent administration of indirect taxation in India.

2. Literature review

- i. **Chaurasia et al. (2016)**, studied "Role of Goods and Services Tax in the growth of Indian economy" and concluded that overall GST will be helpful for the development of Indian economy and this will also help in improving the Gross Domestic Products of the country more than two percent.
- ii. **Dr. R. Vasanthagopal (2011)** studied , "GST in India: A Big Leap in the Indirect Taxation System" and concluded that switching to seamless GST from present complicated indirect tax system in India will be a positive step in booming Indian economy. Success of GST will lead to its acceptance by more than 135 countries in world and a new preferred form of indirect tax system in Asia pacific region also.
- iii. **Ehtisham Ahmed and Satya Poddar (2009)** studied, "Goods and Service Tax Reforms and Intergovernmental

Consideration in India” and found that GST introduction will provide easy and transparent tax system with increase in output and productivity of economy in India. But the advantage of GST are critically dependent on rational design of GST.

- iv. **Garg (2014)** studied, “Basic Concepts and Features of Good and Services Tax in India” with a brief description of the historical scenario of Indian taxation and its tax structure and discussed the possible challenges, threats and opportunities that GST brings to strengthen our free market.
- v. **Khurana, Sharma et al. (2016)** studied, “GST- A positive reform for Indirect taxation system” concluded that the GST will provide relief to producers and consumers by providing wide and comprehensive coverage of input tax credit set-off, service tax set off and subsuming the several taxes.
- vi. **Nitin Kumar (2014)** studied, “Goods and Service Tax - A way forward” and concluded that after implementation of GST in India may replace many indirect taxes and there will be only one tax i.e. GST which is expected to encourage unbiased tax structure to
- vii. **Pinki et al. (2014)** studied, “Goods and Service Tax- Panacea For Indirect Tax System in India” and concluded that the new NDA government in India is positive towards implementation of GST and it is beneficial for central government, state government and as well as for consumers in long run if its implementation is backed by strong IT infrastructure.
- viii. **Sehrawat and Dhanda (2015)** studied, “GST in India: A Key Tax Reform” and concluded that due to dissident environment of India economy, it is demand of time to implement GST. GST will give India a world class tax system by grabbing different treatment to manufacturing and service sector. But all this will be subject to its rational design and timely implementation..

3. Objectives of study

The main objective of the paper is to study the impact of Goods and Service Tax (GST) in India. Specifically stated, the objectives are as follows:

1. To study conceptual framework of GST in India.
2. To study impact of GST on prices.
3. To study impact of GST on common man.
4. To study impact of GST on businesses.
5. To study impact of GST central and state governments
6. To provide information for further research work on GST

4. Research methodology

Research methodology is the blue print of the study. The study is based on the secondary data collected from journals, internet, articles, previous research paper and reports of various firms like, CRISIL's, NASSCOM's, PWC and EY which focused on the various aspects of Goods and Service Act. Considering the objectives of the study the descriptive type research design was adopted to have more and rigorous analysis of research study. The accessible secondary data is intensively used only for research study.

5. Conceptual framework of goods and services tax in india

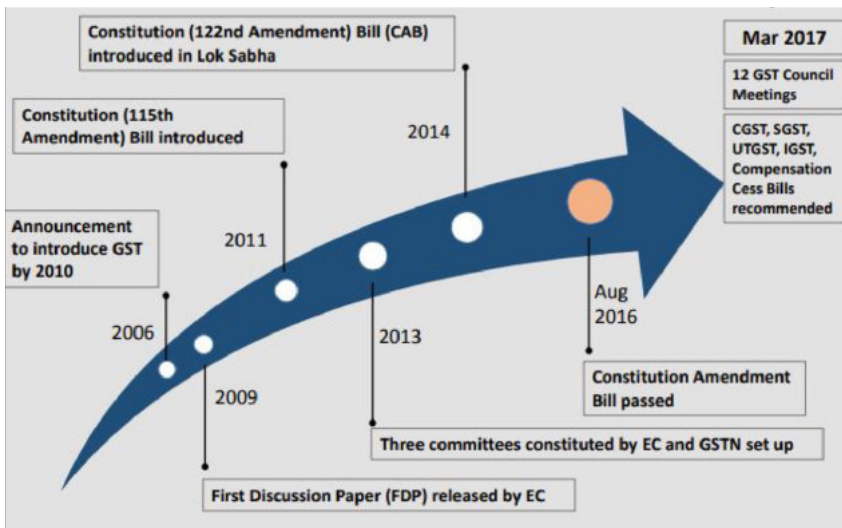
Presently, there are around 160 countries that have implemented GST/VAT in some form or other. France was the first country to introduce GST or Goods and Services Tax. The idea for introducing GST in India is found in the budget speech of the Union Finance Minister in the year 2005-06.

5.1 The journey so far

- 2006 Finance Minister in the budget speech proposed 01.04.2010 as date for introduction of GST
- 2007 Empowered Committee (EC) of State Finance Ministers constituted Joint Working Group (JWG) JWG submitted its report on GST to EC CST rate reduced from 4 to 3%

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- 2008 EC finalized its overall strategy for GST structure, CST rate further reduced from 3% to 2%
- 2009 First Discussion paper on GST was released 13th Finance Commission released its Report on GST
- 2011 IT strategy for GST released Constitutional 2013 SC tabled its report on GST
- 2014 Revised Constitutional Amendment Bill tabled in Parliament
- 2015 Passage of Constitutional Amendment Bill in Lok Sabha Joint Committee constituted by EC releases its business process reports on GST
- 2016 Model draft law released in public domain in June 2016 Passage of Constitutional Amendment Bill in Rajya Sabha in August 2016 Lok Sabha passes bill with Rajya Sabha amendments
- 2017 On 1st July GST was implemented by replacing all other indirect taxes



Source: www.gstindia.com

5.2 Goods and service tax in part of the world

Country	GST Rate
Australia	10%
France	19.6%
Canada	5%
New Zealand	15%
Singapore	7%
Japan	5%
Germany	19%
Sweden	25%
German	19%
India	18%
Pakistan	18%
Malaysia	6%
Denmark	25%

www.gstindia.com

6. Overview of goods and services tax (gst) in india

6.1 Existing indirect tax structure in india

Central Taxes	State Taxes
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Central Excise duty• Duties of Excise (Medicinal and Toilet Preparations)• Additional Duties of Excise (Goods of Special Importance)• Additional Duties of Excise (Textiles and Textile Products)• Additional Customs Duty commonly known as Countervailing Duty(CVD)• Special Additional Duty of Customs(SDV)• Service tax• Surcharges and Cesses	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• State Value Added Tax/Sale Tax• Central Sales Tax (levied by the Centre and collected by the States)• Purchase Tax• Entertainment Tax (other than the tax levied by the local bodies)• Octroi• Entry tax (All Forms)• Luxury Tax• Taxes on lottery, betting and gambling• Taxes on advertisements• Surcharges and Cesses

6.2 Concept of goods and services tax (gst)

Goods and Services Tax (GST) is a single indirect tax on the supply of goods and services, right from the manufacturer to the consumer for across the nation, which will make India one unified common market. GST is a multi-tier tax where ultimate burden of tax falls on the consumer of goods/ services. It is imposed on value addition at every stage in the economic chain. It is a destination based tax levied on consumption of goods and services. Under the GST scheme, a person who was liable to pay tax on his output, whether for provision of service or sale of goods, is entitled to get input tax credit (ITC) on the tax paid on its inputs.

6.3 Objectives of goods and services tax (GST)

The motto of GST is “One Nation, One Tax and One Market”. The main objective of GST is to eliminate the cascading effects on production and distribution cost of goods and service for significantly improvement in the competitiveness of original goods and services in domestic and international markets which encourage economic growth of the country.

6.4 Feature of goods and services tax (GST)

- Goods and Service Tax (GST) is a comprehensive tax levied on manufacturing, sales and consumption of goods and services across the country.
- GST is a simple, transparent and efficient system of indirect tax.
- GST is a consumption base tax.
- GST is based on the “Destination principle” - applicable on all supplies with seamless flow of credit (for both goods and services) till it reaches the end consumer.
- GST is imposed with value addition at every stage of sales or purchase of goods and services at a national level, based on

the input tax credit method, wherein manufacture and traders can get tax credit on the expenses incurred for inputs or goods purchased for the purpose of manufacture or resale.

- Only the final consumer will bear the tax.
- All GST registered businesses are eligible to claim input credit tax.
- PAN based Common TIN registration.
- Use of supply term instead of goods and supply

6.5 Taxes replaced under GST

Central Taxes

- Excise duty
- Duties of Excise (Medicinal and Toilet Preparations)
- Additional Duties of Excise
- Additional Customs Duty commonly known as Countervailing Duty(CVD)
- Special Additional Duty of Customs(SDV)
- Service tax

State Taxes

- State Value Added Tax/ Sale Tax
- Entertainment Tax (other than the tax levied by the local bodies)
- Octroi
- Entry tax(All Forms)
- Luxury Tax

6.6 Taxes replaced under GST

Central Taxes

- Basic Custom Duty
- Export Duties
- Clean Energy Cess
- Custom Cess

State Taxes

- Stamp Duty
- Property Tax
- Tax on Liquor and petroleum products

6.7 Goods and services covered under GST

- GST is applicable on transaction value of all goods and service (exclusion),
- Import of goods and services.
- Export are taxed at zero rate

6.8 Goods and services not covered under GST

- Petroleum products – Petroleum crude, high speed diesel, motor spirit (petrol), natural gas and aviation turbine fuel – Central Sales Tax
- Real Estate- Stamp Duty plus Property Taxes would be payable
- Electricity- Electricity Duty
- Tobacco products- under GST as well as Central Excise
- Alcohol for human consumption- State Excise

6.9 Taxable person

- All manufacture, suppliers, Trader/dealers, importers/exporter of goods and service providers.
- Small business/ traders below a limit are exempted.

6.10 Who will bear the taxes?

GST is a destination based tax —final consumer bears the tax. Seller/ service providers pay tax only on value addition, get full input tax credit.

6.11 Tax rate

Four rate tax structure (5%, 12%, 18% and 28%)-lowest rate on precious metals, stones etc. reduced rate for necessary items and standard rate for other goods.

Before GST	After GST	Products
	Zero	Food grains used by common people
Upto 9%	5%	Items of mass consumption including essential commodities Edible oil, spices, tea, coffee
9%-15%	12%	Computers, processed food
15%-21%	18%	Soaps, oil, shaving sticks
21%	28%	Luxury good, luxury cars, tobacco, aerated drinks, pan masala Note: An additional cess on some luxury goods shall also be imposed.

GST Supplychain example (Assuming GST rate @ 8%)				
Supply of Goods	GST Flow	Input Costs (ex-GST)	Sale Price (ex-GST)	GST Collected
A weaver sells a fabric to a tailor for Rs 108 per metre	The weaver pays GST of Rs 8	0	Rs 100	Rs 8
The tailor sells a ready made completed shirt to a retailer for Rs 270	The tailor pays GST of Rs 12 (After input tax claim. Weaver claims tax credit for Rs 8)	Rs 100	Rs 250	Rs 12
The retailer sells the readymade shirt in his showroom for Rs 540	The retailer pays GST of Rs 20 (After input tax claim. Tailor claims tax credit for RS 12)	Rs 250	Rs 500	Rs 20
You purchase the shirt for Rs 540	No Tax credit claim. You pay entire GST Rs 40 @ 8%	NA	NA	Total : Rs 40
www.relakhs.com				

6.12 Supply under GST

Supply means goods and/or services supply of goods and services by a taxable person in the taxable territory for consideration in the course or furtherance of business. Supply includes sale, transfer, barter, exchange, lease and disposal.

6.12.1 Location based supply

- Intra –State supply
- Inter – State supply
- Import
- Exports

6.12.2 Combination

- Mixed Supply
- Composite Supply
- Continuous Supply

6.12.3 Based on Recipient

- Outward Supply
- Inward Supply

6.13 When will GST be levied?

GST is driven by supply concept. Transactions involved in supply of goods and services to be taxed. Central and States government will be simultaneously imposing Goods and Services Tax on a common base in the following manner:

- SGST -State Goods and Services Tax levied and collected by State government.
- CGST - Central Goods and Services Tax levied and collected by Central government.
- UTSGST -State Goods and Services Tax levied and collected by Union Territory government.
- IGST -Integrated Goods and Services Tax levied and collected by Central government.

6.14 Place of tax

GST will be charged on the place of consumption of goods and services. GST will be applicable on the following supply:

- Intra –State supply and consumption of goods and services — SGST and CGST will be levied further CGST and SGST shall also be levied on specific categories of supply of goods and/or services on which tax is payable on reverse charge basis.
- Inter – State supply of goods and services— IGST will be levied
- Sale of good within Union Territory — UTGST and CGST
- Import of goods and services— IGST shall be levied.
- Exports are zero-rate

Note: IGST would be levied, administered and collected by the Central government would be settled periodically between the Centre and the States.

Example: (Intra-state supply)

'A' sold to 'B' of <u>Mumbai</u>		'B' sold to consumer in <u>Mumbai</u>	
Particulars	Rs.	Particulars	Rs.
Selling Price	1,000	Selling Price	2,000
CGST @ 9%	90	CGST @ 9%	180
SGST @ 9%	90	SGST @ 9%	180
Total Sale Price	1,180	Total Sale Price	2,360
Total tax paid by A	180	Total tax paid by B (360 -180)	180

Example: Inter-state supply

'A' of <u>Goa</u> sold to 'B' of <u>Mumbai</u>		'B' sold to consumer in <u>Indore</u>	
Particulars	Rs.	Particulars	Rs.
Selling Price	1,000	Selling Price	2,000
IGST @ 18%	180	IGST @ 18%	360
Total Sale Price	1,180	Total Sale Price	2,360
Total tax paid by A	180	Total tax paid by B (360 - 180)	180

6.15 Registration

Registration means obtaining a GST Registration Number from the concerned authorities to ensure compliance under GST. Every person is required to take a registration in every state of supply, if total turnover is more than 20 lacks except North Eastern States, Uttarakhand, Himachal and Jammu and Kashmir (10 laces). Each taxpayer will be allotted a state wise PAN based 15- digits Goods and Service Tax Identification Number (GSTIN) as the registration number.

6.16 Goods and services tax network (GSTN)

Goods and Services Tax Network (GSTN) has been set up by the Government as a private company under erstwhile Section 25 of the Companies Act, 1956 GSTN will be used as common portal for submitting registration application, making tax payment and filing returns for GST. It has been incorporated as company with 24.5 % holding by Central government, another 24.5% by EC and all States together and remaining 51% by financial institutions. GSTN would be developing back-end IT modules for 25 States who have opted for the same. The migration of existing taxpayers has already started from November, 2016. The Revenue departments of both Centre and States are pursuing the presently registered taxpayers to complete the necessary formalities on the IT system operated by Goods and Services Tax Network (GSTN) for successful migration. About 60 percent of existing registrants have already migrated to the GST systems. GSTN has already appointed M/s Infosys as Managed Service Provider (MSP) at a total project cost of around Rs 1380 crores for a period of five years. Since all registration and return filing shall be done online, the scope of evasion shall be reduced considerably. This will boost the tax revenue and cause more development of the country

6.17 Benefits of GST

- Overall reduction in prices for consumer.
- Reduction in multiplicity of taxes.
- Eliminate cascading/double taxation effect of taxes i.e. removes tax on tax due to cross tax credit mechanism under GST.
- Uniform Rate of tax and common national market.
- Broadening of Tax base. GST to include almost all goods and services barring a few exceptions.
- Free Flow of Goods and Services—No checkpoints.
- Non –Intrusive Electronic Tax Compliance System.
- Improved compliance and revenue collections.
- Unorganized segment set to come under tax net.
- Goods transportation set to become more efficient, cheaper.
- Greater use of IT will reduce human interface between taxpayer and tax administration.
- Transparency to eliminate corruption.
- Improved compliance and revenue collections.
- Increased international competitiveness and sustainability of domestic industries.
- GST is more comprehensive, effective, transparent, and business friendly tax system.

6.18 Drawback in GST

- Exclusion of petroleum and alcohol products from GST incurred heavy loss to the exchequer.
- Under GST ACT, one would be required to file not less than 37 returns for a fiscal year. This includes several files such as

monthly outward supplies return, monthly inward supplies return, monthly summary returns and one annual return etc.

- GST will hurt the unorganized sector by bringing them under the tax ambit and making a substantially large unorganized sector unviable.
 - However, with improved efficiency, the overall economic activity is likely to get a boost, which will certainly help employment on a national level

6.19 Challenges of GST

- Access to Information technology (IT) is one of the important challenges as GST requires strong IT infrastructure at grass-root levels. India essentially lacks this. It is a big challenge in front of small and medium players who are mostly in the unorganized sector in rural India to upload invoices on time.
- Determining place of supply and location of recipient
- Determining whether the supply is an inter-state or an intra-state supply
- Tax compliance is another challenge due to multiple registrations for a pan-India operator, as compared to a centralized registration with only two half-yearly returns,

6.20 Corrective measure

The government is trying to reduce the burden of compliance for businesses by relaxing the return filing requirements for the first two months post implementation. Also, the provisions of TCS on e-commerce and registration for online sellers have also been relaxed for the time being. To ensure that manufacturers and service providers pass on the benefit to the final customer, the government included an anti-profiteering clause in GST. Under this, it becomes mandatory to pass on the benefit of tax reduction due to input tax credit to the final customer.

7. Impact of GST in India

GST is likely to be a “positive” for economic growth in the short term, Joshi (Crisil) said the reform will improve the ease of doing business, bolster investor sentiment and lure more foreign investment in coming years.

7.1 Impact on prices.

Services would mostly be more expensive in the initial phases, while there will be mixed impact on the prices of goods .GST is expected to reduce the overall production cost by 10% to 15% of several products in view of the removal of cascading impact of multiple taxes under present tax regime and allowing full input tax credit. This will have positive impact on the prices of product increasing the demand for goods and benefit to the consumers. In services, the tax rate has increased from 15% to 18%. The 3% increase could potentially mean an increase in the price of services by 3% for the common man, in the initial period, but in the long run due high input credits and reduction in cascading effect, it is anticipated that the inflationary effect will come down and prices, in general, would come down and stabilize. Thus GST will bring down inflation in the prices of manufactured Goods.

7.2 Impact on consumer

The primary impact to be felt by the consumers would change in prices of goods and services on account of GST rates. In terms of impact in prices, Under GST structure customers will pay less on the purchase price of goods and services due to the appropriate distribution of input tax credit between the manufacturer, retailer, and the supplier. The end-user of products/services will only bear the amount of tax charged by the last dealer and all the previous stages' benefits would be set-off. GST provides for a four-tier rate structure for both goods and services, and seamless flow of tax credits across goods and services. There will be mixed impact on common man some goods becoming cheaper and others likely to get slightly

expensive. On the basis of the experience in other countries, GST may result in an initial inflationary impact in short run which effect common man's pocket but in the long run, GST will ultimately result in decrease in prices and have a positive effect on most of the sectors. In order to understand the impact on the common man, we categorized daily expenses into six heads.

7.2.1 Food: Eating out or cooking at home has become relatively cheaper with reduction in tax rates on essential items and removal of cascading effect of tax on eateries and restaurant. For instance, most of the food items such as sugar, tea, edible oil, food grains, etc, will be charged a lower rate, of 5%. Essential items such as milk, curd, cereals, rice (unbranded) have been exempted from levy of GST. Today, eating out at a restaurant, a consumer pays both service tax and VAT on the invoice, apart from service charge collected additionally. Under GST, the rate of tax on the restaurant invoice could be either 5%, 12% or 18%, depending on whether the restaurant is under the composition scheme, non-air conditioned or air-conditioned, respectively.

7.2.2 Housing: Buying a new house under the GST regime is going to cost slightly higher in the short run. For under-construction property, the existing tax rates are broadly around 6% in most states, comprising service tax and VAT (other than a few where the VAT rate is higher). Under GST, the rate shall increase to 12%, with the ability of the builder to avail all input tax credits resulting in a reduction of his costs which may be passed on to buyers by commensurate reduction in prices. However, this may not be possible for the builder immediately, especially where the builder has already procured the construction material.

7.2.3 Transportation: Buying cars will burn smaller holes in customer's pocket under GST regime as compared to erstwhile regime. Key market players have already announced price-cuts owing to benefit on account of increased credits and marginal reduction in tax rates. Also, travel in radio taxis will cost less, with

the GST rate applicable being 5% as against 6% under the erstwhile regime.

7.2.4 Entertainment: GST is a boom for all who like to spend weekend outdoors, as effective from July 1, going to the movies will be more economical with entertainment tax—that was as high as 50% in some states—subsumed under GST.

7.2.5 Communication: However, GST may not be good news for people who like spending time on their handsets as it are going to pinch the pockets with the rate on most services including communication going up by 3%, from a 15% service tax to 18% GST.

7.2.6 Other daily household items: FMCG goods will witness a mixed impact under the GST regime. On the one hand, aerated drinks purchased from nearby shops will become more expensive, with the GST rate applicable being 28%, along with a 12% additional cess. Personal care products such as soaps, kajal, and tooth-paste and hair oil will see a drop of almost 10% in the effective tax rate applicable.

7.3 Impact on business

GST will affect the business in many ways firstly GST will simplify process by integrating all taxes, making the process of paying tax simpler. GST will remove cascading effect of taxes imbedded in cost of production of goods and services reduce cost of tax compliance and facilitate ease of doing business in India. Under the GST regime suppliers, manufacturers, wholesalers and retailers will be able to recover GST incurred on input costs through tax credit mechanism. This reduces the transaction cost of doing business, which lead to improve competitiveness for business. Reduction in tax burden on producers will stimulate them to produce more. Easy and simplified taxation system will make returns filing easier for the business owners thus encouraging them to file their tax returns. Various taxpayer services such as

registration, returns, and payments, will be done through the Goods and Services Tax Network (GSTN) portal therefore making compliance simple and transparent. It is a general experience that transport vehicles get delayed during movement across States due to toll tax and check post. Inter -state movement will become cheaper and less time consuming, as all these taxes will be eliminated. This will also bring down costs associated with maintaining high stocks, as there will be uninterrupted movement of goods. As per a CRISIL analysis, GST can reduce logistics costs of companies producing non-bulk goods (comprising all goods besides the primary bulk commodities transported by railways – coal, iron ore, cement, steel, food grains, and fertilizers) by as much as 20 %. Major beneficiary of GST would be sectors like FMCG, pharmacy, consumer durables and automobiles and warehousing and logistic industry. High inflationary impact would be on telecom, banking and financial services, air and road transport, construction and development of real estate,

GST will also have impact on cash flow and working capital. Cash flow and working capital of business organizations which maintain high inventory of goods in different states will be adversely affected as they will have to pay GST at full rate on stock transfer from one state to another. Currently CST/VAT is payable on sale and not stock transfers.

7.4 Impact on central and state governments

GST will be beneficial for the Central and State Governments. GST will remove the tax distortions from the economy. This will significantly improve the competitiveness of domestic goods and services leading to accelerated GDP growth and will promote make in India. GST as simple and single unified tax will attract foreign investors to invest in India due to simplicity and enhanced transparency throughout the process. This will increase the FDIs in the country create job opportunities. With a robust user-friendly information technology (IT) system in the form of the Goods and

Services Tax Network (GSTN) portal, GST would be simpler. .Due to the simpler tax structure governments easily administered the collection of CGS or SGST.

GST will bring many of the businesses, who are not paying taxes today, under the tax net and increase the government's revenue. Electronic processing of tax returns, refunds and tax payments through 'GSTNET' without human intervention, will reduce corruption and tax evasion. It will increase tax collections and reduce the budget deficit, and the government will be able to spend more on economic development.

It is also expected that GST structure with seamless input tax credit would reduce the average cost of manufacture by 10% to 15%. GST is expected to increase GDP growth by 1.4 to 1.6% and help achieving the targeted 8 to 9% GDP growth. GST will widen the tax base and improve the tax compliance leading to higher tax: GDP ratio. The Tax: GDP ratio is expected to increase by 2% as per FRBM report. In other research done by NCAER it was suggested that GST would be the key revolution in Indian Economy and it could increase the GDP by 0.9 to 1.7 percent.

GST will decrease the cost of collection of tax revenues of the Government, and will therefore, lead to higher revenue efficiency. As per experts, India will gain \$15 billion a year contributing to rise of GDP between 0.9% and 1.5% as GST will promote more exports, create more employment opportunities and boost growth.

8. Conclusion

GST is an indirect tax reform in Indian indirect tax system which simplifies the tax structure of the country. GST is a method to get rid of inefficiencies of the previous system of multiple taxes. It is expected to bring greater transparency, improve compliance levels .In the GST system, taxes for both Centre and State will be collected at the point of sale on the manufacturing cost. Common man will be benefited by this as prices are likely to come down and lower

prices mean more consumption, and more consumption means more production, thereby helping in the growth of the companies the increased production will lead to more job opportunities

There is no doubt that the corporate would benefit once they settle in under GST and assess the impact on their respective businesses. GST is no-doubt a win-win situation, from India's economic standpoint—it will place the country in the list of nations which have simplified tax regimes, thereby attracting foreign investments, as well as from the common man's perspective with prices of products and services coming down in the long run. It will be interesting to see as to how the government manages to deliver on its promise of holistic economic growth and reduced inflation in the long run, courtesy of the 'one nation, one tax' regime. We conclude that GST will play a dynamic role in the growth and development of our country.

9. Limitations

1. It is based on secondary sources.
2. As GST is applicable in India w.e.f 1st July ,2017 it is too early to study the impact of GST
3. Due to time constrain sector wise detailed analysis was not done.

10. Further areas for research

There remains a scope and gap for further research in this domain of knowledge.

- It can be extended to regional or national level.
- One can make survey on opinion of consumer on GST based the primary data
- One can make a comparative study on impact of GST on Manufacturing and service sector.

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Mamta Bhushan

Department of Commerce

Kamala Nehru College

University of Delhi

A Concise History of the Modern Calculus in Mathematics

Mathematics without history is mathematics stripped of its greatness. Like the other arts, mathematics is also one of the supreme arts of civilization as it derives its grandeur from the fact that it is a human creation. A calculus is a body of calculations or reasoning which are associated with a certain concept. The basic idea of present day calculus had been fermenting in intellectual circles in the seventeenth century.

The word Calculus was derived in mid 17th century from the Latin word Calculus literally meaning, “small pebble” as used for counting on abacus. Calculus is a very important branch of mathematics that deals with a particular method of calculation and mathematical study of continuous change. It involves in it applications of science, engineering and economics. It majorly has two branches namely: *differential calculus* that concerns rates of change and slopes of curve and *integral calculus* that concerns with gathering of quantities and the areas under and between curves. Both the branches make use of fundamental concepts of convergence of infinite sequences and series to a well-defined limit. In differential calculus, that concept is the derivative which is one of the fundamental ideas in complete mathematics and it can also be considered as a cornerstone of modern scientific thought. Calculus has historically been known as ‘the calculus of infinitesimals’. It is a history of mathematics that emphasizes on limits, functions, derivatives, integrals and as well as on infinite series.

Emergence of Calculus was effectively demanded by the philosophical spirits of the times. Natural philosophers had long believed that the universe was constructed according to understandable mathematical principles, although they disagreed about just what these principles were and how they might be

formulated. The early astronomers announced that heavenly bodies move in circular orbits around the earth as center and later that earth itself must be a perfect sphere to reflect the divine hand of its Creator. But all these assertions are now known to be false. In 1612, Kepler explained these motions with scientific formulas. Galileo announced that the distance travelled by a heavy body falling from rest is proportional to the square of the elapsed time , and in 1657 Fermat asserted that light moves along those paths that minimize the time of travel . The question was whether such laws can be formulated and justified mathematically, and what kind of mathematics would be appropriate to describe these phenomenon.

Bhaskaracharya was an astronomer and an Indian mathematician of 12th century A.D. He was born near Vijjadavida (Bijapur in modern Karnataka) and lived between 1114-1185 A.D. He was the head of the astronomical observatory at Ujjain which was the leading mathematical centre of Ancient India. He learned mathematics from his father Maheswara who was an astrologer. The main work of Bhaskaracharya was *Siddhanta Shiromani*, which means “Crown of treatises” in Sanskrit. It is divided into four parts called Lilavati, which means beautiful woman and it was named after his daughter lilavati, *Bijaganita*, *Grahaganita* (mathematics of planets) and *Goladhyaya* (study of planets and spheres) respectively. He also wrote another treatise named *Karna Kautoohala*. These four sections deal with arithmetic ,algebra , mathematics of the planets and spheres respectively. Bhaskara’s work on Calculus predates Newton and Leibniz by over half a millennium. He is particularly known in the discovery of the principles of differential calculus and its application to astronomical problems and computations. Though Newton and Leibniz have been credited with differential and integral Calculus, there is also a strong evidence to suggest that Bhaskara was a pioneer in some of the principles of differential calculus. He was perhaps the first

to conceive the differential coefficient and differential calculus. Bhaskara was the first to introduce the concepts of infinity which states “If any finite number is divided by zero the result is infinity”. Also the fact that if any Finite number is added to Infinity then the sum is infinity. He is known for his calculation of the time required (365.2588 days) by the earth to orbit the sun which differs from the modern day calculation of 365.2563 days, by just 3.5 minutes. The law of gravitation had been proved by Bhaskara 500 years before it was discovered by Newton.

The controversy has been on over who invented calculus, the German mathematician and logician Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz whose period is considered from 1st July, 1646 to 14th November, 1716 or the English mathematician and physicist Sir Isaac Newton whose period is from 25th December, 1642 to 20th March, 1726/27. This calculus controversy often referred to as *Prioritätsstreit*, meaning “priority dispute” had been a major intellectual controversy, one that began simmering in 1699 and broke out in full force in 1711. The product rule and chain rule and other concept such as higher derivatives, Taylor series were all introduced by Isaac Newton which he used to solve problems of mathematical physics. Newton invented calculus while he was doing research in physics and geometry. He used calculus to solve the problem of planetary motion, the oblateness of the earth, the shape of the surface of a rotating fluid, and many other problems which are described in his work in *Principia Mathematica*. In his other works he developed series expansions for functions but he did not publish all his discoveries as at that time infinitesimal methods were still infamous. Newton derived his results first in 1666, at the age of 23, but did not publish it except decades later which he called it as the method of fluxions and fluents and called his calculus the science of fluxions. The book was completed in 1671, and got published in 1736.

Gottfried Leibniz started working on calculus in 1674 and in 1684

published his first paper *Nova Methodus pro Maximis et Minimis*. He provided a clear set of rules for working with infinitesimal quantities for the computation of higher derivatives in differential and integral forms. Unlike Newton, Leibniz arranged these ideas into a true calculus of infinitesimals and paid a lot of attention to formalize the concepts of calculus by determining appropriate symbols for concepts. Both Leibniz and Newton are credited with the invention of calculus. Newton became the first to apply calculus to general physics and Leibniz developed notation used in calculus today. Leibniz was earlier accused of copyright infringement by Newton. This was because many of Newton's colleagues had connections with Leibniz and some of Newton's unpublished manuscripts may have found a way to Leibniz's hand. Newton claimed that Leibniz has stolen ideas from his unpublished notes. But after much controversy and discussion Leibniz is now regarded as an independent inventor of calculus and is known as the father of Calculus. When both the mathematicians published their works there was a great debate as to who deserved the credit, which divided the English speaking mathematicians from the continental European ones. Newton also had powerful allies working in his favor to support his publication *Principia Mathematica*, the publication that made him a scientific celebrity. The genius of Newton and Leibniz centered not so much on the discovery of those ideas as on their systematization.

A careful examination of the findings of Newton and Leibniz was done that showed that they arrived at their conclusions independently. Leibniz started his work on calculus first with integration and Newton started his work first with differentiation. That is why both the mathematicians are known to develop calculus and contribute to this field independently around the same time. Gottfried Leibniz was indeed a remarkable man and a phenomenal mathematician. During his lifetime (between 1646 and 1716), he discovered and developed the most important and salient

mathematical theories. In addition to this, he postulated many theories on mathematics, physics and human philosophy.

Now, after discussing about who discovered calculus, there has always been a question in people's mind that what was the need of developing such a terrible, confusing, jumbled mess of illogical expressions and rules known as mathematics and calculus, that many people just give up trying to avoid at some point. Nevertheless, many students of mathematics persist and study through years of algebra and arithmetic to find themselves facing a very different level of difficulty of maths: Calculus. Initially, mathematics emerged to solve problems and predict the outcomes of every action in everyday life, and as time passed humans became more and more interested in knowing *how*

underpinnings, calculus would be limited. Cauchy developed an acceptable theory of limits, and in doing so removed much doubt about the logical validity of Calculus. Cauchy wrote a treatise on integrals in 1814 that is considered a classic and in 1816 his paper on wave propagation in liquids won a prize from the French Academy. Cauchy did not formulate the ϵ - δ definition of limit that we use today, but instead formulated a purely arithmetical definition. His definition of limit appeared in his monumental treatise, *Cours d'Analyse de l'Ecole Royale Polytechnique* which came in 1821.

John Napier who is best known today as the inventor of logarithms was a Scottish land owner who was the Isaac Asimov of his day. He was the one who envisioned the tank, the machine gun and the submarine. He even predicted the end of the world would occur between 1688 and 1700. Napier's Logarithms are not identical, to the logarithms we use today. Napier chose to use $1-10^{-7}$ as his given number which was then multiplied by 10^7 . If $N=10^7 (1-1/10^7)^L$ then L is Napier's Logarithm of the number N that is $L = \log N$ means $N = 10^7(1-10^{-7})^L$. Napier's 1614 paper on Logarithms was read by a true mathematician Henry Briggs (1561-1630) and together they decided that base 10 made a lot more sense. In the year in which Napier died, Briggs published a table of common Logarithms (base 10) which was a major accomplishment of that time. In this paper he used the words "mantissa" and "Characteristic" which we use even today in studying the values of Logarithms.

Precursors of Calculus

Ancient:-

In early ages, traces have been found that show that ancient period introduced some of the ideas that led to integral calculus, but at that time it was not developed in an accurate and systematic way. Calculations of volume and area, a part of integral calculus can be

found in the Egyptian Moscow papyrus in 1820 BC. At that time there was no indication of any formal method being used for calculation but only simple instructions that lacked major components. Babylonians may have discovered the trapezoidal rule while doing astronomical observations of Jupiter. Method of exhaustion was first used in age of Greek mathematics by *Exodus* in 408-355 BC that indicated the concept of limit to calculate volumes and areas. Between 287-212 BC *Archimedes* further developed the idea of calculus by inventing heuristics which resembles the method of integral calculus. Later in the 3rd century AD the method of exhaustion was discovered independently in China by Liu Hui to find the area of a circle.

Archimedes was the first person to find the tangent to a curve other than a circle. The developers of the calculus such as Isaac Barrow and Johann Bernoulli were meticulous students of Archimedes that assisted him. The Bernoulli family of Switzerland produced at least eight noted mathematicians over three generations. Two Brothers, Jacob (1654- 1705) and Johann (1667-1748), were bitter rivals. These brothers were extremely influential advocates of the newly born calculus. Johann was the most prolific of the clan and was responsible for the discovery of L' Hopital's Rule, Bernoulli numbers, Bernoulli polynomials, the lemniscate of Bernoulli, the Bernoulli equation, the Bernoulli Theorem, and the Bernoulli Distribution. He did a great deal of work with differential equations but at the same time he was a jealous person and cantankerous so much so that he had rivalry with his own son whom he threw out of his house for winning an award he had expected to win himself.

Medieval:-

The ground work for much of the mathematics that we have today and certainly which is a necessity for Calculus is the development of analytic Geometry by Descartes and Pierre de Fermat. Fermat

was a lawyer by profession who used to do mathematics in his spare time. He wrote well over 3,000 mathematical papers and notes. Fermat developed a general procedure for finding tangent lines that is a precursor to the methods of Newton and Leibniz. Isaac Newton who invented calculus at the same time as Leibniz considered Fermat as “one of the giants” on whose shoulders he stood. Descartes ideas for analytic geometry were published in 1637 as one of the three appendices to his Discourse on the method “of reasoning will and seeking truth in the sciences”. In that same year, Fermat wrote an essay entitled “Introduction to plane and solid Loci” in which he laid the foundations for analytic geometry. Though Fermat’s paper was more complete and systematic, but yet Descartes’ paper was published first and therefore he is credited with the discovery of analytic geometry. Today’s Cartesian coordinate system and Cartesian Geometry is attributed to Descartes discovery. The analytic geometry we know today is studied from two view point which were given by Descartes and Fermat. Descartes viewpoint was that if “Given a curve, describe it by an equation” whereas Fermat talked about “given an equation, describe it by a curve”. Pierre de Fermat also obtained the first method for differentiating polynomials, but his real was number theory. Fermat’s last theorem is his most famous problem. He use to write anywhere where he could find space while eating or drinking or doing any other daily activities. He wrote in the major of a text: “To divide a cube into two cubes, a fourth power, or in general, any power whatever above the second, into powers of the same denominations, is impossible, and I have assuredly found on admirable proof of this, but the margin is narrow to contain it”.

Calculus and India

It has always been a matter of controversy if or not calculus was invented in India. Many researches have been done to find the actual truth behind the long lived history of calculus in India. Once

two British researchers namely Joseph and Almeida challenged the evidence and conventional history of mathematics in India, that whether one of the main concepts of calculus, the infinite series was developed by the Indian mathematicians? They spent three years in research through ancient Indian and Vatican texts. They believe that the scientific knowledge of calculus has travelled to Western Europe from India itself. The missionary priests in India in middle 16th century learned the local languages and sent the scrupulous reports back to the Europe. Mathematical historians have long known about the contribution of Kerala's mathematician Madhava towards calculus, but it has not yet been established that how his contributions might have influenced Newton or Leibniz in their discoveries and inventions. Historian of mathematics of University of Manchester, George Gheverghese Joseph who conducted the research with Almeida of the University of Exeter said, "The notation is quite different, but it's very easy to recognize the series as we understand it today." Bhaskaracharya II also made many contributions and remarkable improvements upon existing knowledge of calculus and worked with what is today called as derivatives and integrals. He even had an initial notion of infinitesimals. In the 14th century the Kerala mathematicians, starting with Madhava of Sangamagrama, developed some amazing calculus thereby stating components of calculus. He discovered power series, gave expansions of trigonometric sine, cosine and arctangent functions.

By now it has been proved to be a well-established fact that calculus and the infinite series originated in India across thousands of years ago, starting from 5th CE. Although, the Indian mathematicians at that time were not able to show a connection between the two themes of calculus: derivative and integral but however they have a big hand in its invention. Calculus was needed for agricultural works and overseas trade, the two key sources of Indian wealth at

that time. However, Europeans earlier did not understand the Indian arithmetic, that is, the Indian methods of summing up infinite series using ‘non-Archimedean’ arithmetic, a kind of formal philosophy which in today’s world is known as zeroism.

Transmission of Calculus to Europe

The discovery of infinite series in India was followed by the introduction of the same series in Europe and since both the series were connected there was a question that if or not these identical series were rediscovered independently. The obligation to proof actually lied with the people who claimed that both the series were independently rediscovered in Europe, when Europe was still struggling to learn addition and subtraction without using abacus.

Europeans were backward in navigation and navigation required accurate trigonometric values with accurate trigonometric tables. Hence, European governments offered huge incentives and prizes for a solution in navigation problems and difficulties. Therefore, the Jesuits turned their Cochin College into an institution for bulk translation of Indian texts to European text in 1550. They sent these translated texts back to Europe on the Toledo model. The problem arose as the Europeans did not have a great deal of knowledge about trigonometry and its operations to determine the size of the globe. Thus, in the later 16th c. and early 17th c. Indian texts started appearing in the European continent to solve the problems related to latitude and loxodromes. The Jesuits had access to all the information they needed to achieve their goals, because of the support of the king and local community of Syrian Christians until 1600.

There are other evidences that show that Europeans work was similar to the Indians at that time. Tycho Brahe who gave ‘Tyconic model’, his work was similar to that of Nilakantha, ‘Julian’ day numbers similar to Ahargana, Christoph Clavius’s trigonometric

values interpose version of Indian values, Kepler's findings were similar to Parameswaran's observations, Leibniz's and Newton's works (Leibniz series and Sine series respectively) are among some other examples.

Pioneers of Calculus of the Modern Era

Since the time of Leibniz and Newton, many mathematicians have contributed towards the development of calculus. In the 17th century, European mathematicians like Isaac Barrow, Rene

integral side, providing a more modern form of the ancient

but it was not until 150 years later when, a way was finally found by Cauchy and Weierstrass to avoid basic notions of infinitesimally small quantities. Cauchy introduced the concept of continuity for a function defined on an interval in the same way as Bolzano. In his book , Cauchy even points out that the continuity of many functions is easily verified . The formal definition of limit that we use today was first given by Weierstrass, who was a German secondary school teacher. David Burton describes Weierstrass as the father of Modern Analysis.

Importance of Calculus

Today, calculus is a valuable tool in mainstream economics. Besides the significant aspect that this part of mathematics helps in development of an analytical mathematical thinking,

stated by *John von Neumann*, “The calculus was the first achievement of modern mathematics and it is difficult to overestimate its importance. I think it defines more unequivocally than anything else the inception of modern mathematics, and the system of mathematical analysis, which is its logical development, still constitutes the greatest technical advance in exact thinking.” Calculus has provided a mathematical language that, by means of the derivative, or rates of change can be used to characterize various physical processes and by means of the integral it can be shown how the macroscopic entities such as area or distance can emerge from properly assembled microscopic elements. Finally, the ability to relate the results of limiting arguments by simple algebraic formulas consents the correct use of calculus while retaining skepticism regarding its foundations. This has helped applications to prosper while mathematicians have sought an appropriate axiomatic basis for themselves.

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The Geomorphic Regionalisation of Delhi and its Surrounding

The present study is the description, analysis and interpretation of landforms from the point of view of geomorphic regionalisation. This type of regionalisation involves the delimitation, characterisation and cartographical representation of regional units composed of similar structure and surface forms. It rests in the geomorphological analysis of relief forms and relief forming processes. This promotes the regionalisation of other landscape elements as soil, water, vegetation including natural resources and potentials in the frame of complex geomorphological survey. Regionalisation is an independent form of classification of objects and phenomena which comprise regular terrain associations, the properties of which depend on their geographic position. In such a classification the regions retain their territorial homogeneity and internal unity due to their common history of development, geographic position, common geographic processes and spatial association of individual constituents. This type of classification has a very diverse and practical significance as identification of geomorphic region which form different land systems (area with a recurring pattern of topography soil vegetation and hydrology) has given the needed impetus to tackle some of the environmental problems.

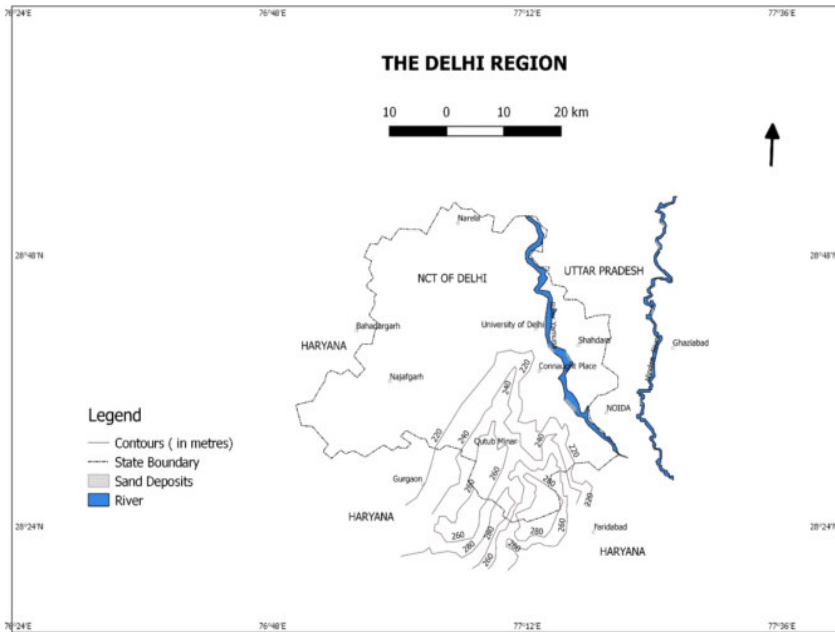
The Delhi Region forms an ideal unit for geomorphological regionalisation as in this region with the passage of time, the geomorphologic features are getting subdued by manmade features. In the heart is the NCT of Delhi, a growing metropolis which has influenced the peripheral region through urbanisation and in many areas inappropriate land use has led to various land problems. Therefore, knowledge of the geology and

geomorphology of the region helps in linking physical environment to land use thus leading to judicious utilisation of the available resources.

The Study Area

The Delhi Region (Figure 1) is situated in the Indo- Gangetic divide between the corridors of foreign invasions and the fertile Ganga Plains and extends between 28°20'-28°54'N latitude and 76°55'-77°27'E longitude. The area comprises of NCT of Delhi, Ghaziabad *tehsil* in the east, parts of Sonapat, Rohtak and Jhajjar *tehsil* of Rohtak district in the west and parts of Gurgaon and Ballabgarh *tehsil* of Gurgaon district in the south. The total area of the region is 3385 sq.kms with NCT of Delhi occupying an area of 1485 sq.kms and the surrounding area of about 1900 sq.kms. The name of the area "Delhi Region" is not on the basis of any political boundary. The criteria for grouping this area into one region is because the characteristics of land in this area is controlled by the lithology and structure of two physical units- The Aravalli hills to the southwest and the River Yamuna to the east. The NCT of Delhi is the largest administrative unit within the area, the rest being the surrounding area, the term "Delhi Region" is appropriate. Geologically the study area comprises of grey to grey brown quartzite and the quaternary alluvial deposits. A general stratigraphic sequence denotes that the oldest rocks are the Delhi Quartzite, which belong to the Algonkian time period while the Alluvial deposits belong to the more recent Pleistocene period. These two geological formations are interspaced by a long interval of time. These different physical features merge gradually into each other resulting in contact zones indicating a change from one landform type to another. The region has a sub-tropical climate which supports a xerophytic vegetation.

FIGURE 1



Source: Map made by author based on Census 2011 map of Delhi and Survey of India, Topographical maps of Delhi and its surrounding.

Physical Setting of the Region

The significant physiographic features of the region are the hills and plateaus of the Aravalli Ridge, the old and the new floodplain of the Yamuna and the low lying areas. The ridge here represents the northern extremity of the Mewat branch of the Aravalli. The time worn hills and plateaus of the ridge are made up of the Alwar series of rocks that is the Alwar or Delhi Quartzite. The ridge is the north-eastern extension of the Aravalli range of Rajasthan which is one of the oldest mountain ranges of significant size. A branch of these Aravallis enters the Delhi Region from the southwest and extends straight to the Yamuna in a north-easterly direction. Apart from the main branch there are a number of flanking spurs adding to the complexity of the landscape. The ridge

The Geomorphic Regionalisation of Delhi and its Surrounding

is fairly dissected and storm water streams have etched into its rounded contours. These dry channels, the gullies and ravines sculptured by soil erosion, the residual hills, the boulders scattered over gullied plains, the undulating dales and vales give the ridge a fairly high degree of picturesqueness.

The River Yamuna is the chief drainage channel of this region and it flows in the north-south direction following the general slope of the land. The Hindon River is the smaller stream to the east and it flows parallel to the Yamuna. The 220 metres contour is the western boundary of the plains, demarcating it from the ridge. With an average height of 200 metres above mean sea level, the plains are considerably fertile and wider in the north and lose themselves in a maze of rocky undulations to the south.

The Yamuna plains have a deep mantle of Quaternary alluvium. These deposits laid down to the east of the ridge up to western banks of the Yamuna, generally comprise of unconsolidated strata of silt, clay and sand interbedded with nodular calcareous material at places. The region of recent deposits is the new floodplain and it occupies a lower level and is liable to inundation during floods. The area has clay loam and high water table facilitating irrigation from wells. The old floodplain is a region of Pleistocene deposit and it is on a higher ground as compared to the new floodplain. Besides this old and new floodplain, there is the basin or lowlying area to the west of the hills where the drainage from the hills collects and converges.

Methodology and Sources of Data

The geology and geomorphic processes determine the surface configuration of the region. These are a result of interacting phenomena which gives rise to various features over the earth surface, thus resulting in different land systems. On a broad basis of homogenous geological structure and morphogenesis (origin and formation of surface forms) the Delhi Region is divided into

two land systems- (A) The Bedrock Area (B) The Alluvial Area
The Bedrock Area is a morpho-structural feature resulting from geological structure. These features are a result of endogenous processes and surface ruggedness is the major geologic information. On the other hand, the alluvial area is a morpho-sculptural feature which has resulted from exogenous processes. For the description of these land systems and their sub units the aspects taken into account are the altitude (Table 1), gradient of slope and the surface configuration. The sources of data are the topographical maps and satellite imageries and the census map of NCT of Delhi. The toposheets used are 53H/1, 53H/2, 53H/3, 53H/5, 53H/6, 53H/7, 53D/13, 53B/14, 53D/15 on a scale of 1:50000.

Two Landsat imageries of the region are used to delineate the land use and land cover characteristics. The imageries are a product of Landsat IV (MSS, FCC) on bands 2, 3 and 4. The imagery of the Delhi Region is on a scale of 1:398000 and the imagery of the NCT of Delhi is on a scale of 1:280000.

Table 1

Altitudinal area of the Delhi Region

Height in metres	Area (% age)
Below 180	15
180-220	53
220-240	22
240-270	8
270-300	0.2
300-320	0.1

Source: Area calculated by the author

Geomorphic Units of the Bedrock Area

The bedrock area is the north eastern extension of the old fold mountains of Rajasthan- the Aravalli Ranges. These ranges are the Pre Cambrian group of mountains and are the remnants of one of the oldest mountains on the earth surface. The geology of this area is hard, compact rocks with rectangular joint system and pale grey, pale pinkish or white in colour. Their long existence and the dry climatic conditions of the region, resulting in sparse vegetation, has made these ranges vulnerable to large scale weathering and erosion. Due to this aspect the height of the ranges is not very much and ranges from 240-300 feet in the Delhi Region.

Subunits of the Bedrock Area: On the basis of their elevation, the bedrock area can be classified into three subunits (a) The Aravalli Ridge (b) The Piedmont plains (c) Undulating to level plains of the Aravalli alluvium.

The Aravalli Ridge: The Aravalli Ridge is the most significant physiographic feature in this area and includes the area enclosed by the 240 metres contour. The area can be further subdivided into smaller units- The Northern Ridge and the Southern Ridge.

The Northern Ridge occurs in the northern part of the region from the north of Sadar Bazar up to Timarpur with its maximum elevation at 240 metres and a steep gradient of slope from 1°1' to 1°30'. The ridge is not continuous all throughout and has been broken up at several places. This rocky region has a thin soil cover which comes under the world group of grey brown soils of the desert and semi desert region. The soils are coarse in texture and deficient in nitrogen but have a thin layer of organic material. The vegetation here is tropical xerophytic thornforest with acacia as the dominant permanent vegetation. Other small varieties include Neem, Dhak and Wild Date Palm. The natural depressions support ephemeral vegetation. As compared to the southern ridge, this part supports some vegetation because of the government policy

to declare the area under reserve forest. However the area is not completely free from human interference and large areas have been cleared for construction of parks and roads. The surface hydrology shows that the ridge is a dry area and only the depressions tend to hold water during the monsoons. The satellite imageries show that most of the ridge is under 'open forests' but in recent years the vegetation here faces some natural problems like thin and poor soil cover, lack of water due to greater surface runoff. In order to maintain the environment of the region and to lessen the process of weathering and erosion, the vegetation in the area has to be protected. This can be done by promoting afforestation and preventing urban encroachment on forest land. The northern ridge further continues southward and after being intercepted by built up area, it appears in the Delhi Region forming the Southern Ridge.

The Southern Ridge is larger in extent and stands out distinctly from the surrounding alluvial plains. The southern Ridge starts from Rajinder Nagar and proceeds southwards up to Munirka. From Munirka it bifurcates into two parts, one part continues towards Gurgaon and the other towards Faridabad. This aspect helps in further sub dividing the Southern Ridge into two smaller units (i) South Ridge 'A' (from Rajinder Nagar to Munirka) (ii) South Ridge 'B' (from Munirka towards Gurgaon and Faridabad).

The South Ridge 'A' occupies the maximum height, width and length, is highly undulating and the elevation varies from 240-255 metres, with maximum elevation at Dhaula Kuan and Buddha Jayanti Park. The major geomorphic processes of weathering and denudation operating here have given rise to features like scattered boulders, bare rocks and ravines. Soil cover is thin and sandy in nature. Soil erosion is a problem in the higher slopes. The satellite imageries show that the area around Shankar road and Buddha Jayanti Park is densely forested. The predominant trees are Acacia and the forest thins out toward Dhaula Kuan. The formation of

ravines is a major problem in the region resulting in accelerating the formation of sandy soil and soil erosion.

South Ridge 'B' bifurcates into two spurs from Munirka, one moving towards Gurgaon and the other towards Faridabad. The area is rocky with average elevation above 240 metres and there is a steep gradient of slope. The ridge reaches its highest point at Kalkaji. The geomorphic processes operating here are those of physical weathering and erosion, with exfoliation giving rise to numerous rounded boulders called tors. Heaps of tors are observed all throughout the southern ridge. The satellite imageries show that the southern ridge is totally bare of vegetation.

The Piedmont Plains: The piedmont plains occur at the foot of the ridge at an elevation of 240-260 metres. The satellite imageries show that the piedmont plains of the northern ridge are under forests while that of the southern ridge are under residential colonies like Rajinder Nagar, Chanakyapuri, R.K Puram, Govindpuri, Greater Kailash and Mehrauli. A large part of the area is under wastelands because of badland topography.

Undulating to Level Plains of the Aravalli Alluvium: These plains are formed by the eroded materials from the Aravalli Ranges and enclosed by the 220-240 metres contours. The region has a slightly undulating topography and the slope is very gentle. The surface has been mainly formed by granular disintegration of Quartzite rocks. The 220 metres contour makes a clear distinction between the Bedrock Area and the Alluvial Area.

Geomorphic Units of the Alluvial Area

The Alluvial area is formed by the deposition of sediments by the major rivers flowing here, the River Yamuna and its tributary Hindon. The river Yamuna rises in the Jamnotri glacier in the Himalayas and flows in a south westerly direction towards the Siwalik Hills. It enters Delhi about 1.6 km north of the Palla village

at an altitude of 210 metres. Within the Delhi Region it flows for a distance of 62 kms and within the NCT of Delhi for a distance of 51kms. The other river in the region is the Hindon River which flows parallel to the River Yamuna in the Delhi Region. This shows that the floodplain of the River Yamuna towards the east is quite high and the smaller river is not able to cut through it and becomes a 'Yazoo Stream'. The Yamuna being a Himalayan river has eroded and transported large amount of sediments which have been deposited in the plains, forming the floodplain of the river. The deposition kept on occurring all along the river forming the New Floodplain and as the river shifted, the older deposits gained further distance from the main river and formed the Old Floodplain. Another feature of the alluvial area is the low lying area or depression which becomes waterlogged during the rainy season. The Alluvial Area can be subdivided into three subunits- (a) Old floodplain, (b) New Floodplain and (c) Low Lying Area or Basin

The Old Floodplain: This is the flat plain to the north, northwest and east of Bedrock area. This plain occurs at an elevation of 215-220 metres, it is not an even plain but has up and down topography due to the presence of low mound and depressions. The major morphological features are the old levees, river terraces and meander plains. The largest old levees are to the north of Nazafgarh. The river terraces mark the dividing line between the old and new floodplain. The soil is made up of coarse clay, silt and sand mixed with nodules of calcium carbonate, locally called *kankar*. The levees and terraces are characterized by saline soils. The satellite imageries show that the area is mostly under settlements. The area to the north of Bahadurgarh is barren because of the sandy condition of the soil.

The New Floodplain: This is the floodplain along the river and has been formed by continuous deposition of silt along the sides of the channel. During floods this area is prone to inundation. The

elevation of this area is 210 metres above mean sea level. Due to regular inundation the area does not have any permanent landform feature. Levees or natural embankments occur all along the river. Most of these levees are 3-4 mts wide and covered by grass or scrub vegetation. Gully erosion can be seen around Chandrawal and Metcalfe house where the river cuts into the Bedrock area. The area between the River Yamuna and River Hindon is mostly under settlements and patches of agricultural land.

The Low Lying Area or Basin: This area is a depression to the west, southwest and east of the Bedrock Area with an elevation of less than 210 metres and occupies 15% of the alluvial area.. The Najafgarh drain diverts the water and saves the area from being heavily inundated especially during the rains. Due to shortage and high price of land in the interior, this area has been brought under settlements.

Conclusion

Geomorphological classification provides an effective summary of characteristics of the area which can form a framework for environmental planners. This is because on this basis not only can relationship between the immediately observable properties be established but also inferences can be drawn about terrain properties which are not directly observable. For the Delhi Region the inferences made by the study of the two major land systems show that the increase in urban landscape sometimes has been at the expense of other land use especially agriculture and forestry. This has resulted in various environmental problems like heat island effect, water logging, increase in barren lands and wastelands and also increasing the risk of disaster due to environmental hazards like torrential rainfall, floods and earthquake. The land system approach to the study of Delhi Region has scope for practical application in environmental and urban planning.

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Donald Davidson's Non-Cognitivist Approach to Self-Knowledge

*"If I tell you that the unexamined life is not worth living,
still less will you believe me"*

With these words, Socrates defended himself to his accusers. His disciple Plato used these same words to accuse the society which has lost touch with the depths of authentic humanity. Since its inception, the problem of self-knowledge has been fundamental to western philosophy. Same is true of any ancient philosophy. The 'unexamined life' that Socrates refers to is a life devoid of self-reflection, and hence of self-knowledge. Therefore, knowing oneself is the main task of philosophy, a form of knowledge that is supposed to be emancipatory in its very nature. This enterprise still remains at the center of philosophy today. In the late twentieth century, however, the problem has taken a new turn, as the question of how we know ourselves has been closely linked with scientific study of human mind and consciousness. In this paper my main aim is to look at Donald Davidson's account of self-knowledge. Davidson is one of the most important contemporary philosophers who have, through a series of articles, tried to reformulate the idea of first-person authority and privileged access of self-knowledge. In doing so, Davidson distances himself from both the traditional account of self-knowledge as well as some of the contemporary accounts.

Broadly speaking, two different answers can be given to the question of 'how do we acquire self-knowledge'? First view is regarded as the observational model of knowing our own minds presented by Descartes. Second view is the inferential view presented by Gilbert Ryle. One is associated mainly with Descartes and the other with anti-Cartesians like Gilbert Ryle. The views presented by Descartes and Ryle on self-knowledge can be said to be a cognitivist account of self-knowledge. This cognitivist approach

is based on an assumption that self-knowledge is a cognitive achievement where we gather new information about our own mental states either through observation or through inference. Unlike the cognitivist approach to self-knowledge, Davidson adheres to the non-cognitivist view of self-knowledge. For Davidson, our self-knowledge is based on presumption and cannot be said to be an achievement in the cognitive sense.

In Davidson's view, both the introspective paradigm of Descartes and the inferential paradigm of Ryle have come under attack. Unlike the observational approach of Descartes and non-observational approach of Ryle, Davidson presented an alternative view about self-knowledge. Davidson claims that knowledge of our own mental contents is based on the first-person authority. And the nature of this first-person authority and privileged access has been discussed at length in this paper. However before moving ahead and discussing Davidson's account of self-knowledge I will first initiate discussing the Cartesian account of self-knowledge. The second section will deal with Ryle's inferential account of self-knowledge. In the last section I aim to bridge the gap between these two extreme positions of Descartes and Ryle by putting forth Davidson's account of self-knowledge.

I

Before going into the detail account of Cartesian understanding of self-knowledge, it is important to understand the notion of self-knowledge. Self-knowledge can be understood as the knowledge of our own mental states, beliefs, desires etc. Intuitively, we believe that self-knowledge has some sort of epistemic status: we know what we are thinking in a direct, non-inferential way; others can know what we are thinking too, but this knowledge can be said to be indirect and inferential. In the field of epistemology and philosophy of mind, it is said that the first- person or the subject has the privileged access to his own thoughts and beliefs. This access

to the content of our own mind exists in such a way that others do not have such access.

Descartes introspective account of self-knowledge as being directly given to us and are said to be free from error. On the basis of these characteristics of self-knowledge, Descartes holds that we know our thoughts infallibly through introspection alone. According to him no one could possibly be in a better epistemic position with respect to one's thoughts than the thinking individual himself. Let us now understand Descartes philosophical position with respect to self-knowledge in detail.

For Descartes, the fact that one exists as a thinking being is indubitable. He claims that a person has privileged access to the contents of one's own mind even in the doubt scenario. Descartes seems to hold a view that the knowledge of our own mind is infallible and is perfectly transparent. It is true that we all are unhesitatingly aware of our desires, beliefs and intentions; such knowledge about our mental states is known as self-knowledge. One of the most important and undeniable fact is that Descartes has clearly become the central figure on the subject of self-knowledge in analytic tradition. Descartes indubitability and infallibility thesis with regard to self-knowledge plays a crucial role in understanding and articulating the notion of self-knowledge even today. Ultimately, this insight regarding the indubitability of the mental, led Descartes to advance a view about the metaphysics of mind that was widely influential, that is, Descartes mind-body dualism. According to this view, mind and body are two distinct entities. The Cartesian view of the mind is that the subject is not only aware of the contents of his mind, there is a special method of knowing the mental contents of one's own mind. This method is known as introspection. Descartes claims that the subject comes to know about the mental contents through the model of inner observation. For him we come to know our psychological self-ascriptions through inner observation. He claims that unlike the knowledge of the external

world, knowledge of our own mind is based on a form of observation that is infallible.

Unlike the epistemic status of self-knowledge there is a non-epistemic way of understanding self-knowledge. According to the non-epistemic view or non-cognitive view, self-knowledge does not consist in observation of one's thoughts. Davidson's notion of first-person authority, Wittgenstein's expressivists account and Richard Moran's agential account are some of the examples of the non-epistemic view of the self-knowledge. I will discuss Davidson's non-cognitive account of self-knowledge in the last section of this paper.

Descartes holds a belief that we know our thoughts infallibly through introspection alone. According to him no one could possibly be in a better epistemic position with respect to one's thoughts than the thinking individual himself. This introspective account of self-knowledge was quite unacceptable by many philosophers.

As we just mentioned, self-knowledge is the knowledge of a person's beliefs, desires, sensations etc. One can ask here, in order to understand this special feature of self-knowledge — is it possible for a person to falsely believe that he is in pain when actually he is not in pain? This question, and similar questions concerning one's beliefs, desires, intentions etc, has been answered differently by different philosophers. For Descartes it is not possible to falsely believe about our mental states. According to Descartes, to believe that 'I am in pain' is to be actually in pain and thus we have an **immediate** and **direct** access to our mental states. He argues that a person can never have false beliefs about his own mental lives. Thus according to Descartes we have privileged access to our mental contents which others lack. There is, therefore, an asymmetry between self-knowledge and knowledge of the mental states of others.

Traditionally it has been observed that philosophers have been interested in knowing the true nature of the self and inquire about the fact that how this self-knowledge is achieved? One such philosopher is Descartes. Descartes main objective was to attain certain knowledge. In order to reach at certainty he began to doubt everything and realized that we can only be certain of our own existence as a thinking being or a doubting being. Descartes thus claims that our mind is transparent to itself unlike the external world. Detached from matters of the external world, the mind can find certainty with respect to itself. Hence, we can be certain, not just that we exist as a thinking being, but of every truth about our own mind. This point can be understood with the help of an example—"I believe that there is a car outside my house." This proposition is infallible according to Descartes as it is based on the truth about one's own belief (in this case a belief about the car). For Descartes my belief about the car is directly given to me through some means which ensures its indubitability and infallibility. That is why Descartes contends that knowledge about our own mind is given to us directly unlike the knowledge of the external world a kind of that is susceptible to doubt and falsity.

Since we have a privileged knowledge about the mental contents of the mind, each individual uses a special method to know his own mental states. This method to explore the contents of our mind is termed as special as it is available to ourselves only. For him nobody can undermine the knowledge we have of ourselves because of the special method of knowing them. The knowledge of our own mental states is infallible because the method that we apply in acquiring it is also infallible. And the special method used to determine the content of one's own mind is known as introspection. Introspection is the process by which one comes to form beliefs about his own mental states and it is usually considered as a kind of inner perception. We might form the belief that someone else is happy on the basis of perception of his behavior and inferring from that to thinking that he is happy. But according

to Descartes, a person does not have to perceive his own behavior to know what is going on one's own mind, rather she has to introspect or look inside his mind to know whether he or she is happy.

For Descartes certainty in knowledge is very important. He argues that as long as you carefully attend to your own thoughts, nothing and nobody can undercut your thinking that you exist. Thus the method used by Descartes to have the infallible knowledge of our own mind is introspection, which, in turn, means 'looking inward' or 'looking within' to acquire knowledge of our mental states. Introspection enables direct and non-inferential access to the contents of the mental states. Thus the strongest assumption on behalf of self-knowledge being distinct from other knowledge lies in the certainty and infallibility of the method of introspection. The idea that introspective beliefs about facts involving our own mental states, enjoy a unique epistemic authority or privilege, which has played an important role in traditional rationalist epistemology. According to William James, Introspection can be defined as-

The word introspection need hardly be defined—it means, of course, the looking into our own minds and reporting what we there discover.

The source of skepticism about introspection comes from the rejection of the Cartesian picture of the mind and self-knowledge. The view that one can have direct, infallible access to the contents of our mind has been rejected by many philosophers.

There is a commonly held belief that there is such a thing as a 'self' that persists throughout one's life. To say there is a 'self' that persists throughout one's life is simply to say that there is something about a person that services from birth, through childhood and adulthood and on until death, that makes a person the same person over time. This view of self has been accepted by Descartes,

according to him there is a self existing as a separate substance from the body. An important source of challenge to Descartes position came from David Hume. Hume stands in sharp contrast to Descartes position and rejects the very idea of the substance called 'self' and thereby rejects the possibility of self-knowledge.

The point which Hume tries to argue for, is that when we try to look within ourselves, all we can observe are the thoughts that are currently going through my head- I am feeling thirsty, I am tired and so on. But we fail to see the self which is alleged to be distinct from these thoughts. Hume claims that we suppose that there is such a thing as a persisting self due to the fact that there is continuity from one idea to the next. And due to this continuity we come to know the changes in our mental life, as a result we wrongly think that there is a 'self'. Hume's critique to Descartes proved devastating to Descartes position. For when Hume looked within he reported that he could not find anything in his experience corresponding to Descartes single, simple, continuing self. Hence introspection which seems to have proved a ground for Descartes to establish a self is used by Hume to prove exactly the opposite view regarding the nature of the self.

According to Descartes introspective account of mental states, mind is like a theatre in which the ongoing show can be viewed by only one individual, the person whose mind it is. One can also question Cartesian infallibility account of self-knowledge, one can say that people can commit errors about their own mental states, one such criticism has been made by Gilbert Ryle. It may be possible that being guided by a friend we may realize what we believe or desire. It is not always the case that in order to know our mental states we have to look inwards. This observational view of mental states has been criticized by Gilbert Ryle. According to Ryle's view, we can achieve self-knowledge in exactly the same way as we achieve the knowledge of other people. In the upcoming section we will examine Ryle's inferential view of self-knowledge.

II

One solution to the Cartesian notion of self is found in the philosophy of Gilbert Ryle as he criticized Descartes view of introspective self-knowledge and puts forth his dispositional account of self-knowledge. Unlike Descartes observational account of self-knowledge, Ryle famously argued that self-knowledge is an inferential matter and there is nothing special about it. According to Ryle, self-knowledge is in principle as fallible as any other kind of knowledge. For Ryle we come to know about our own mental states in the same way as we come to know about the mental states of others by observing their behavior. Ryle claims that self-observation is not a matter of immediate access to our intentional states. We ascribe intentional states to ourselves on the basis of what we say and do, thus for Ryle the immediacy of self-knowledge is an illusion.

Ryle's *The Concept of Mind* has a major impact in discrediting Cartesian dualism. Ryle's aim in writing this book was not to provide new information about mind, but to rectify the knowledge which already exists. Ryle refers to the concept of dualism as 'Descartes Myth' and as 'the dogma of the Ghost in the Machine'. This Myth of 'the ghost in the machine' makes the mind an invisible 'thing' or 'substance', which resides inside a visible substance called body. It is this concept of Descartes which Ryle intends to destroy. However Ryle does not intend to show that there is no mental life at all, rather his aim is to show that mind is not something distinct from the body. Ryle begins by attacking the term 'mind' by saying that usage of this term in sentences like 'a person's body and mind interact upon each other' or 'my mind made my hand write' amounts to logically improper conjunctions, and cause-effect propositions. His problem is that in saying 'I feel lazy', it is suggested that a person

must have taken peep into a windowless chamber,
illuminated by a very peculiar sort of light, and one to

which only he has access...And when the question is construed in this sort of way, the parallel questions, 'what knowledge can one person get of the workings of another mind?' and 'how does he get it?' by their very wording seem to preclude any answer at all, for they suggest that one person could only know that another person was lazy...by peering into another secret chamber to which, *ex hypothesi*, he has not access.

The example Ryle uses to explain the Myth of dualism is to imagine someone on a campus visit of a university. He looks at various colleges of the university, visits the classroom buildings, the library etc. At the end of the tour the visitor then asks where the university is? According to Ryle's view he has mistakenly assumed that the university is some separate entity existing apart from all of its constituents. He has mistakenly placed 'university' in the same category as 'classroom building', 'library' etc. Ryle claims that 'university' is not a separate existing entity rather it refers to the entire collection of 'classroom building', 'library' etc. all taken together. So too, Ryle contends, the 'mind' should not be thought of as some separate entity independently of its operations and the 'body'.

Further Ryle points out that the person has no direct access of any sort to the events of her own inner life. His main aim is to deny Descartes introspective view of knowing one's own mind. According to Ryle, privileged access to the working of the mind is unacceptable, since there is no secret chamber to peep into nor any special method or way of peeping into the secret chamber. Now, one can question—what is the way of knowing one's own mind according to Ryle? Ryle being a behaviorist puts forth his behaviorist position in knowing the working of the mind. It is the doctrine that the knowledge of the mental contents of the mind can be known by observing the behavior. In order to understand Ryle's position it is important to understand Ryle's meaning of introspection

Introspection is an attentive operation and one which is only occasionally performed, whereas consciousness is supposed to be a constant element of all mental processes, and one of which the revelations do not require to be receipted in special acts of attention.

The point that Ryle wants to emphasize is that introspection as a special infallible method of knowing one's own mind is unacceptable. He accepts that the mind is conscious of the mental process but it does not mean that we have a special method of knowing the mental states which others lack. Ryle claims that I often know that my legs are crossed, not by looking, but by exercising my faculty of proprioception. Proprioception is a special way of perceiving the dispositions of one's body. According to Ryle I cannot use proprioception to find out whether your legs are crossed or not.

Now one may question – what then Ryle has to say about the mental concepts? According to Ryle, knowledge of the mental contents is not possible through introspection or by observing the inner state of mind but for Ryle mental concepts are no more than dispositions. Importantly one should keep in mind that while rejecting introspection, Ryle does not deny that we can attain self-knowledge. According to him we can have the knowledge of our own mind in exactly the same way as we know the minds of the other's. For Ryle 'mind' means complex abilities and dispositions. Ryle contends those who think of the mind as something over and above a complex of abilities and dispositions commits 'category mistake.' Disposition is a way to behave in a certain way, that means that they will do certain things if certain situations arise. For instance to say that someone is intelligent is then to say that in given circumstances he would behave observably in ways we call intelligent. In response to Descartes introspective account of knowing one's own mind, Ryle puts forth the view that we do not need any 'private theatre' to provide stages for any extra 'objects' such as 'private' sensations or 'sense-data.' Ryle argues that, Descartes acceptance of the

introspective account of knowing one's own mind results into a 'category mistake'. It is due to this category mistake, we falsely identify the words like 'knowing', 'believing', 'imagining', 'sensing' etc. to a private, non-spatial 'mind' which can only be known through the method of introspection.

Now one may question what does privileged access really mean? The doctrine of privileged access is something that Ryle calls 'Descartes Myth'. Ryle being a common-sense philosopher strongly disliked the appeal to privileged access. According to this doctrine

a person has direct knowledge of the best imaginable kind of the working of his own mind. Mental states and processes are conscious states and processes, and the consciousness which irradiates them can engender no illusions and leaves the door open for no doubts. A person's present thinking, feelings and willings, his perceivings, rememberings and imaginings are intrinsically "phosphorescent"; their existence and their nature are inevitably betrayed to their owners.

To say that a person has knowledge of the best imaginable kind of the workings of his own mind is, to say that his introspectively based beliefs about his own mental states and processes cannot be mistaken. In other words, such beliefs are infallible. This is one dimension of the doctrine of privileged access. To say that one's mental states and processes are 'phosphorescent' means that it rules out the possibility of ignorance with regard to the existence of one's mental states. It means that it is not possible for a person to ascribe mental states to oneself without knowing that she is in that mental state. Now, one can question—do we really have such special 'privileged access' to what we think and feel?

For Ryle 'privileged access' is merely a fiction, in Ryle's word 'The Myth'. Ryle thinks it is absurd to say that a person can be 'conscious' of smelling or thinking something because the very act of 'smelling'

or 'thinking' already implies that one is aware of such occurrences. Ryle argues that since there is no special way of knowing our own mind, we know our own mind in the same way as we come to know about the minds of others, that is, by inferring their behavior. Thus Ryle rejects the asymmetry between one's own mind and knowing the mental states of others.

To put things in a broader perspective, Ryle's position on privileged access is a necessary effect of his critique of Cartesianism. It is well known that for Descartes one can have privileged access to the contents of our own minds, knowledge of other minds is problematic. For Ryle this idea of privileged access itself was unacceptable. According to Ryle we know our own minds in the same way as we know the minds of the others by observing the behavior. Most importantly we should keep in mind that Ryle is not a philosophical behaviorist as his view on self-knowledge has been characterized as a weaker or softer version of this doctrine. The point to be focused is that Ryle does not confine his descriptions of what the agent will do to purely physical behavior rather it can be understood more clearly as a disposition to behave in various circumstances.

In chapter six of *The Concept of Mind*, after discussing the 'introspection' and 'privileged access', Ryle turns his attention to the relationship between self-knowledge and the use of the term 'I.' After putting forth his behaviorist account of self-knowledge, Ryle argues that the mystery often felt in connection with the concept of the self is due to what he terms 'the systematic Elusiveness of 'I.' He maintains that once the logic of the first- person pronoun is understood, there is no longer any need to feel or talk about mystery in relation to the concept of the self.

Ryle rejects the Cartesian account of mind by stating that the word 'I', indicates directly to the person who can be called 'my', it is not in itself a name; and indeed it can be used in different ways like 'I

crossed the road', 'I thought hard' etc. Ryle holds that to know about our mental states we do not have to introspect rather have to base my knowledge on the behavior. According to him we can know the mental states of others in the same way as I know the mental state of myself by observing their behavior, though there must be some difference of degree.

For Ryle there are cases where 'I' or 'me' certainly cannot be replaced by 'my body' e.g. 'I remember' cannot be replaced by 'my head remembers', nor can we say 'my brain does long divisions' or 'my body battles with fatigue'. He says it makes perfect sense to say that 'I caught myself just beginning to dream, but not that I caught my body beginning to dream.' According to Ryle, 'I' or 'self' can be understood as a person. He further talks of the 'systematic elusiveness of 'I'.' For him all personal pronouns are 'index words', 'I' is not an extra name for an extra being; it indicates when I say or write it, the same individual who can also be addressed by the proper name of say 'Gilbert Ryle.' He says 'I' in my use of it always indicates me and only indicates me whereas words 'You', 'She' and 'they' indicates different people at different times.

Ryle claims that this distinction between higher order and lower order actions make two important contributions in solving the difficulties connected with 'I'. Firstly, it explains that a person cannot describe himself in any of the given statement since that statement cannot describe itself. Secondly, this distinction explains the difference between the pronoun 'I' and 'you.' Thus, for Ryle, the Elusiveness of the term 'I' is explained by the concept of higher order actions. Important point that Ryle wants to put forth is that 'I' or 'self' cannot be identified with body or mind. According to him, this pronoun 'I' is capable of referring to both physical and mental acts. Thus in order to criticize Descartes special method (introspective method) in knowing the mental states Ryle tried to explain the Elusiveness of the pronoun 'I.'

Ryle held that we know our own mind in the same way as we know the mind of others, by inference from observational evidence. However this inferential account of self-knowledge has been criticized by Donald Davidson. Davidson claims

Ryle was wrong. It is seldom the case that I need or appeal to evidence or observation in order to find out what I believe; normally I know what I think before I speak or act. Even when I have evidence, I seldom make use of it.

According to Davidson we know what we believe and do not have to infer knowledge of one's own mental states. As per the inferential model of self-knowledge, knowledge of ourselves as well as of others depends upon noticing how we and others behave in particular circumstances. Hence the idea of privileged access does not make sense in Ryle's Philosophy. Also one can question unless the speaker is aware of his own mental states, his actions will lose their significance. Hence the speaker cannot be hold responsible for his actions. But in real sense we are responsible for our actions. Thus, criticizing Ryle's position, Davidson claims that the speaker is authoritative about the contents of his/ her own mind.

Davidson's view is in contrast to Descartes and Ryle's views. Davidson by rejecting the Cartesian mind body dualism puts forth his view on first-person authority and privileged access to the content of the mind. According to Davidson, first-person authority and privileged access are the real facts which we have to explore. Thus in the upcoming section of my paper, I will explore Donald Davidson's view about self-knowledge and first-person authority.

III

After dismissing Descartes picture of the mind and his introspective method of knowing the contents of the mind, Donald Davidson claims that it is true that there is a special way of knowing one's own mind but this knowledge for him is not indubitable. As opposed to Ryle, Davidson accepts that there is an asymmetry

between first-person and the third-person mental states. Now the question that can be asked is that how does Davidson explain this asymmetry? Davidson explains this asymmetry with the help of first-person authority. Davidson with the help of first-person authority tried to explain the asymmetry between the knowledge of our own mental states and our knowledge of the mental states of others. However, first-person authority is not derived from a special means of knowing our own minds, like, introspection, as was suggested by Descartes and the Cartesians in general. On the contrary, Davidson suggests that this first-person authority can be explained with the help of interpretability. According to him in order to have communication and interpretation to be possible we have to presume first-person authority.

Traditionally first-person authority has been understood in terms of having privileged access with regard to the content of our own mind. Privileged access can be understood as a special way of knowing our own mind which others lack. In this sense Descartes talks about the authority over the content of our mind and this special access is given to the speaker of the beliefs which can be known through the method of introspection. However this special way of knowing the psychological self-ascription has been criticized by Ryle. Davidson does not accept privileged access in the Cartesian sense. One can question—in what sense does Davidson talk about first-person authority without adhering to a traditional idea of privileged access?

From a common sense point of view all of us presume that what someone says about her psychological states is true, though there are occasions when we learn about what we believe or want by talking with our close friends or family members, or by being guided by a therapist. These are the cases where a person may lack authority. Sometimes a psychological state is so foreign that it may seem to belong to some other person. These are the indirect ways of knowing our own mental states. The indirect ways of knowing

can be said to be based on observation or evidence. When a person makes use of these indirect ways of knowing one's own mind then he lacks authority. At times a person can have psychological state from which she is detached, for instance, she may have a desire repressed years ago about her loved one and on being told by others she may come to know about her feelings.

This special authority has been explained by Davidson as first-person authority. This special authority according to Davidson is based on presumption and it is important for us to explain what Davidson means by this authority.

In spite of the fact that few contents of the mental states are known indirectly and are based on observation but this cannot be the case always. Ordinarily we are well aware of our desires, intentions and believes, and believe that my knowledge about the content of my mental states is better than others. Now, one can ask—what is the basis of this claim? On what basis do we claim to have better knowledge of our psychological states than others?

Donald Davidson continued to assume that first-person authority to be understood in non-epistemic sense but remain in dispute with the idea that each one of us is infallible about our own psychological states. Now before going into a detailed account of Davidson's philosophy, it is important to understand the meaning of first-person authority. Most commonly first-person authority can be understood as the speaker's having the authority on his psychological self-ascriptions. It can also be understood as something to which the speaker has privileged access. To put it differently, first-person authority indicates a unique authority that we ordinarily have, with respect to our own psychological states.

First-person authority seems to ground a person's authority that is not based on evidence. Now let us understand the meaning of first-person authority according to Donald Davidson. As Davidson writes

Donald Davidson's Non-Cognitivist Approach to Self-Knowledge

The existence of first-person authority is not an empirical discovery but rather a criterion, among others, of what a mental state is.

Davidson claims that every person enjoys special authority with respect to his own intentional states. By first-person authority Davidson means that if any person ascribes the presence of any intentional state to his/her self then it is presumed that whatever he is saying is true, unless there is evidence to the contrary.

To put it in Davidson's words

We should treat his utterance as if it were true unless or untill, we have sufficient evidence or other epistemic grounds, to the contrary.

Davidson suggests that my knowledge about the psychological self-ascriptions is not based on observation. For Davidson we normally know what we believe or intend. Even if we have evidence we do not or need not depend upon it or make use of it. As Davidson remarks

It is seldom the case that I need or appeal to evidence or observation in order to find out what I believe; normally I know what I think before I speak or act. Even when I have evidence, I seldom make use of it.

Initially Davidson suggests that the authority should be understood as a presumption, the presumption that a subject is not mistaken when she attributes to herself beliefs, intentions, desires and other psychological states.

To put it in Davidson's words-

There is a presumption - an unavoidable presumption built into the nature of interpretation- that the speaker usually knows what he means. So there is a presumption that if he knows that he holds a sentence true, he knows what he believes.

Davidson first-person authority is based on presumption. Whenever a speaker utters something, it is presumed to be correct as this presumption is based on the authoritative nature of the speaker. For instance, if a speaker utters a sentence—‘I am feeling hungry,’ the interpreter will accept the sentence uttered by a speaker to be true, as the speaker is authoritative about the contents of his mind. And this authority according to Davidson is solely based on presumption. As Davidson claims

The authority which rests on the fact that, whatever the objective meaning of a sentence may be, the individual subject is the only one who is in a position to authoritatively tell.

In general, the authoritative nature with respect to psychological self-ascriptions is presumed by all. Such authority is thought to be directly accessible to the subject about their own mental states. This immediacy of the psychological self-ascriptions is available to the first-person rather than third-person. For Davidson this knowledge of the mental states of the speaker is not based on evidence. This is the base for an asymmetry between the first and third person knowledge of intentional states as the latter is based on evidence whereas the former is not.

Based on the above discussion of Davidson’s view on first-person authority we can summarize mainly three characteristics of first-person authority namely—immediacy, authority and fallibility. Davidson regards self-knowledge as immediate. To put it in Davidson’s words

What I know about the contents of my own mind I generally know without appeal to evidence or investigation. There are exceptions, but the primacy of unmediated self- knowledge is attested by the fact that we distrust the exceptions until they can be reconciled with the unmediated.

Davidson admits that first-person knowledge is directly known. It can be understood as some kind of immediacy without appeal to evidence or investigation. For Davidson this immediacy is something that is understood in terms of non-evidentiality or lacks evidence or is not based on observation or inference. This immediacy can be further explained with the help of an example—if a person believes that she is sad, this belief of her is self-warrant or self-justified. This belief is justified by the fact that she believes that she is sad; no further evidence is required to prove her belief. However, this immediacy is not due to privileged access and we should not confuse it with Cartesian notion. This immediacy can be understood with the help of privileged access. Davidson believes that we have privileged access to the content of our mind and this knowledge is not based on evidence. However whatever is known directly should be based on evidence. Now, one can question how can a person have privileged access to the content of his own mind without evidence? Do we have privileged access to what we are intentionally doing? In order to answer these questions we should first understand the meaning of privileged access. Traditionally privileged access has been understood in terms of introspective account but Davidson does not accept privileged access in this sense. First and foremost we should identify the relevant range of propositions to which we have privileged access. These ranges are usually specified by subject matter- propositions about our own current propositional attitudes, propositions about our own sensations or propositions about our own intentional doing.

Discussing self-knowledge, Davidson never talks about privileged access explicitly, but he still believes that there is an evident asymmetry between first-person and third-person points of view. This point can be understood more clearly with the help of an example of privileged access in the sense of imagination that Davidson discusses

I say to you: 'form an image of your grandmother,' and if I ask 'how do you know that the image is of your grandmother?'

According to Davidson this question is ill-conceived. The point that Davidson wants to put forth is that in the above example a person can be wrong about the image of her grandmother but the image will be of that person only and one cannot question about it. The reason why the image cannot be questioned is that the person has privileged access to his/ her mental contents. Thus access to my mental content would be superior to yours. For Davidson privileged access lies in presumptive acceptability of first-person authority. Davidson claims that the first-person access is not in fact a kind of access one may have to the mind of another subject as the knowledge of other person is based on evidence but the knowledge about the content of one's own mind is not based on any evidence. To put it in Davidson's words

The privileged status we enjoy with respect to the contents of our own minds is analogous. That is, in introspecting and describing our thoughts we are not reporting episodes that appear before our mind's eye. Were that so, we should be at a loss to account for the privileged status such reports are routinely accorded. The access I enjoy to my own mental contents would be superior to what is available to you, perhaps, but only accidentally so. Its superiority would be like that I enjoy with respect to the contents of my trouser pockets.

Davidson conflates first-person authority with privileged access. He claims that since we are authoritative about our psychological self-ascription and this authority is based on presumption. Thus, for Davidson there is something special in knowing the contents of the mind and its specialty lies in the fact that it is not available or given to anyone else. So Davidson's notion of privileged access is based on presumptive acceptability. As Davidson claims

The difference follows, of course, from the fact that the assumption that I know what I mean necessarily gives me, but not you, knowledge of what belief I expressed

by my utterance. It remains to show why there must be a presumption that speakers, but not their interpreters, are not wrong about what their words mean. The presumption is essential to the nature of interpretation—the process by which we understand the utterances of a speaker. This process cannot be the same for the utterer and for his hearers.

The point that Davidson wants to emphasize is that there is no guarantee that the hearer will interpret the words uttered by the speaker correctly. But one cannot deny the fact that the words of the speaker will be automatically understood by the hearer.

For Davidson it is natural to know what I believe or intend, unlike the knowledge of others knowledge about our own mental states is not based on evidence. For Davidson

People generally know without recourse to inference from evidence, and so in a way that others do not, what they themselves think, want or intend.

So we can see that Davidson claims that I can know the beliefs or other propositional attitudes of others from what she says and how she behaves that is from the empirical investigation. But my knowledge about my own beliefs or any other propositional states is not based on any evidence or observation. Davidson further points out that we do have privileged access to the psychological self-ascriptions but this does not imply that we have infallible knowledge about the contents of our own mind. He claims that all the propositional attitudes of a subject are liable to error.

For Davidson, the presumption about the mental contents is not based on evidence, thus according to Davidson, there is no epistemic ground to show the authoritative nature of the subject. Thus one can clearly say that Davidson presented a first-person authority view of knowing our own minds and also accepts that the subject had privileged access to his/her own mental contents.

Thus, one can conclude on the basis of the above discussion that contrary to the traditional observational and inferential account of self-knowledge, Davidson accepts the first-person authority view of knowing our own minds. According to the first-person authority view, we assume that the subject is authoritative about his/her psychological ascriptions. And the interpreter will always believe that whatever the subject is uttering is true. Unless we grant the speaker this form of authority with regard to his/her own mental states, communication in terms of interpretation becomes impossible.

One can question- is authoritative speaker and interpreter sufficient for communication? For Davidson, along with the speaker, the hearer the role of the external world is significant for communication to take place. Thus along with first-person authority, Davidson also advocated an externalist account of mental content and meaning. Now the threat to this Davidson's account of self- knowledge is- how can we have privileged access to our own thoughts if their meanings are determined externally?

For Davidson the externalist threat to privileged self- knowledge rests on a faulty picture of the mind. According to Davidson the subject knows what he thinks, intend and believe. Davidson tried to hold his externalist position along with the consistency of privileged access by putting forth the doctrine of first-person authority of the mental contents. To sum up let's put in Davidson's words

First-person authority, the social character of language,
and the external determinants of thought and meaning
go naturally together.

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Website

<http://iep.utm.edu/introspe/>

Richa Kapoor

PhD Scholar

Department of Philosophy

Jawaharlal Nehru University

Intermingling Power Relations in *The Slave, Dutchman* and *Mahabhoj*

Abstract

*The paper shall investigate how the body politic elaborates in the texts, as a site of lineage and identity, which is eventually dismantled as a site of socio-political and legal victimization. The purpose to choose Leroi Jones' *The Slave and Dutchman*, and Mannu Bhandari's *Mahabhoj* is to mark the latter as a continuation of the former where the black body's subjugation and subsequent killing can be traced in Saroha Village in the body of the murdered protagonist, Bisu. The plots of the plays *Dutchman*, and *The Slave* negotiate with the narrative of *Mahabhoj*, which not only makes them relative cross-culturally and gives a site of east-west relations, but conveniently unfolds the functioning of power as unspecific to locale and omnipresent.*

Keywords: Power relations, Legitimized oppressions, Justice, Identity

Introduction

Power relations are embedded in the socio-political and judicial systems which endow the exercising of power with the limitation of being less accommodating and thereby more confining. This paper, hence, shall elucidate a critical inquiry into the functioning of power relations vis-à-vis three dramatic texts, *Dutchman* and *The Slave* (2001) by Leroi Jones and *Mahabhoj* (1983) by Mannu Bhandari. It shall deal with the comparative study of how power reverberates, unmasking an imperative urge for justice and prerogatives examining the legitimized oppressions in the name of slavery, caste discrimination and political gain. The aim is to draw attention towards the anti-segregation resistance during the 1960s and 1970s in America and caste suppression and politics of Saroha village in Uttar Pradesh. They may differ contextually but run simultaneously as a response to the devouring legal oppressions which blatantly reveal that the exercise of power – its derivation and maintenance – are state pogromed.

Leroi Jones' plays *Dutchman* and *The Slave* emerge as acts of reprobation. They not only portend a radical shift in the traditional idea of theatre but also examine the claim of Black Identity as a reaction to the practice of Slavery, a confinement of law. The focus is to elucidate Jones' Black Revolutionary Theatre as theatre of resistance that ensured resilience of Blackness as revolution. It will explore the ambiguities of relation(s) between the white and the black and how the concept of "body" responded to the legal system which legitimized oppression in the name of Slavery by the white, which demoted equality and justice.

In *Dutchman*, Jones through Clay Williams conveys how for years black rage has either been repressed or understood as music of Bessie Smith or Charlie Parker: "A whole of people of neurotics, struggling to keep from being sane" (Jones 2001, 35). These words highlight the pervasiveness in Jones' work. Although a Negro's suppressed hatred must result in neurosis and only his expression of that murderous rage is testimony of black's sanity, this state of being, is what Clay was unable to achieve since he hid his "pumping black heart" beneath his three-buttoned suit. It shows that this spiritual killing of him became a reason for his actual state-pogrommed murder testified in Lula's action of scribbling a note in her diary. The continuity and routine of this state-sponsored victimization is visible in cyclic structure of the play where Lula begins to greet more black young men the same way she greeted Clay. Throughout the play, Lula consistently taunts him about his middle class comportment hinting that he is not a true black man. James Hatch mentions in *Theatre in Historically Black colleges*, that Lula efforts to make Clay into "the stereotypical Black figure whom whites create and demand" (152). Clay's enthrallment in white, middle-class view of the world is clearly seen in when he intones:

If Bessie Smith had killed some white people she wouldn't have needed that music...no grunts...just two and two are four. Money. Power. Luxury. (Jones 2001, 35)

This archetype that Lula needs Clay to satiate her white psychology before she can sexually satisfy herself is the “white –myth of Black Male sexuality” - which means sexual superiority of the black male (Hatch 1999, 152). Clay, on the contrary, uses this myth to exhibit the precise and intentional distortion of African Americans. Jones’ attack on Negro- middle class mediocrity was a truism for him, which made him believe that this could deplete man’s vitality and sexuality. Hence, the adherence to the distinction of mind and body becomes essential because it enables one’s body to disconnect from the worldly pleasures. Henry D. Miller in *Theorizing Black Theatre* remarks,

one must adhere to the notion of the division of mind and body, another western, male, biblically inspired assumption closely related to the notion of Woman as temptress. If men can live in their minds, so to speak, they will no longer be prisoners of their body’s seemingly relentless desire for women (208).

Jones’ symbolism in the *Dutchman* and the middle-class attitude of Clay suggest an alternative view which certainly cannot be reduced to issues and conflicts of the black and the white. The characters of Clay and Lula appear to emerge as Adam and Eve. In the very first scene, Lula devours apples and shares with Clay too. This scene seems to posit her as a temptress which has been designated by Western male ideology which Jones seems to critique. Therefore, the incessant attempts by her to sculpt Clay as per her will, questions her own unconscious submission to the white male ideology conditioned by religion, which nurtures her as a victim who tries to exercise her power on a black man, black being considered inferior than white. It appears that Lula could overpower and overrule only black males since she is not conditioned to exercise her power over white men. The sexual strife between both the characters, on the other hand, can also be seen as sexual inadequacy vis-à-vis Lula’s effort to relieve Clay of his

white-inspired, middle-class presumptions, which disable him to put forth his inordinate sexual behavior. Hence, his monologue can also be conferred as a response, a heterosexual rage of a male whose sexual adroitness has been challenged by a woman.

In Jones' *The Slave*, Walker Vessels, on the contrary, brings out his revolutionary instincts against his oppressive past depicted by his white ex-wife, Grace and the liberal, intellectual Easley. Walker, as the play begins seems to emerge as a black revolutionary hero but as the play unfolds, one realizes that such countenance of Walker never really materializes. Instead, Jones through this potentiality in Walker to become a hero emphasizes on a different understanding of revolution, a complex perspective that initiates conflict between Walker's public and private being and hence unveils the moral ambiguity clearly visible in the argument.

GRACE: Walker, I was, am white. What do you think was going through my mind every time you were at some rally or meeting whose sole purpose was to bring about the destruction of white people?

WALKER: Oh, goddamn it, Grace, are you so stupid? You were my wife...I loved you. I was not supposed to say things I felt. I was crying out against three hundred years of oppression; not against individuals (Jones 2001, 72).

This indeed uncovers Jones' dilution and qualification of the revolutionary in the play. With characters of Grace, Easley and children and by showing their apprehensions and hopes Jones make them the victims of revolutionary fury. By doing this he endorses the humanizing of the enemy and forfeits sympathy for Walker Vessels. Initially, the exposition of private lives and conflicts of the characters in the play appears to overshadow political events and racial confrontation but eventually, the naturalistic depiction remains not of so much significance as the characters that portray

larger political abstractions with human problems of parenting, sexual inadequacy and marriage.

The intricacies of conflicting interiors and exteriors of characters is strongly conveyed by Easley, regarded as an embodiment of decadence of white culture specifically his liberal approach to life. He is described as “broad...with thinning hair” (41). His childless marriage and acceptance of Walker’s aggression can be equated with his liberal idealistic ways which lack conviction, arraignment and substantial action. Despite all this, his intellectual bent seems to relieve Walker Vessels of his conflicts and the notion of revolution in the play. He says,

A flashy doggerel for inducing all those unfortunate troops of yours to spill their blood in your behalf. But I guess that’s something! Ritual drama, we used to call in the university, the poetry of ritual drama (55).

This remark of Easley blatantly reveals how far Walker is from accepting this idea and shows the ambiguity of the revolutionary role he carries within. When he asks Walker if the new order (better from the old one) “will...change the essential function of the world?” one is reminded of Walker’s words that the revolution “will only change, ha, the complexion of tyranny.” (56) This poignantly shows power relationsthurst itself and their implementation in the oppressed and the oppressor. Instead of juxtaposing power with rationality it constitutes of reversing power relations. Michel Foucault in *The Subject and Power* mentions,

...the main objective of these struggles is to attack not so much such –or–such institution of power, or group, or elite, or class but, rather, a technique, a form of power... [That] attaches him to his own identity, imposes a law of truth on him that he must recognize and others must recognize in him. It’s a form of power that makes individuals subjects (19).

This is what is perhaps denoted in Walker's revelation when he confesses that rather than pursuing revolution against white society, he would opt for their intellectual company. This starkly comments on the nature of revolution which aims at abolishing a certain kind of slavery but, simultaneously, manifests another. This justifies the very title of the play, leaving the reader with a question- who is a slave?

Most significantly, it is the structure of the play which concerns Jones' engagement with the revolution and play's insufficiency as revolutionary drama. The beginning of the prologue shifts from obedience of a slave to mastery, from vacillating speeches at the beginning to clipped determination at the conclusion, from service to the "old blues people...hard as nails, and taking no shit from nobody" and despite this construction of strength and will, the speaker collapses into his former tiredness, uncertain actions and constant dilemma (Jones 2001, 44). The play commences with the appearance of an "old-field slave" who becomes the prologue for the subsequent action. Here, Jones has applied the metaphor of Negro subservience and oppression, the accepted planting of white imagination, which transforms this stereotypical white imagination into somebody more complex and unexpected. As the prologue details,

Whatever I am or seem...to you, then let that rest. But figure still, that you might not be right...You might be lying ...to save yourself (44).

The idea of deceit becomes important which not only manifests the hypocrisy that creates the roles for the black to play, but also formulates self-deceit which disable men to realize that "we are liars, and we are murderers" (41). The inclusion of the word "we" articulates the universal involvement in this omnipresent motif "that passes as whatever thing we feel is too righteous to question, too deeply felt to deny" (44). This highlights the continuity of pattern

of suppression and such resistances which universalize the concept of power, its execution, the resistance against it, fall of a power and substituting it with another. Hence, at the end of the play Walker might appear to be victorious when Grace, Easley and his mulatto daughters have died but as he exits to join the revolution, he wobbles and is accompanied by the sound of a crying child. The anticipation in the prologue is realized that the slave is awakened by the faint cries in the figure of the old man that appears at the commencement of the play. As Walker leaves he becomes the slave of his own revolutionary passions that thrive on destruction. By killing his former masters, Walker Vessels has bartered physical bondage with moral thralldom; even if he has gained his intention as material, he becomes an oppressor, if only, as Jones wanted, it is now his turn.

Jones mentions in the *Myth of Negro Literature* that the most important purpose of this kind of theatre is to bring into action the opinion(s) of the black as victims and annalists residing in a “no-man’s land, a black country almost invisible to White America” (20-21). Leroi Jones’ new theatre aims to attain a new order of existence, a social change reflected by adopting a different dramatic language which consciously attempts to disturb the spectators. It aims to incite them to reciprocate and transform. The plays illustrate the lifestyle and oppressions on the Black and serve their audience the radical possibilities of reversing the existing order. To implement such changes theatrically the plays’ script and spectacle must invest in imagining and imaging blacks in new roles, by incorporating essential music and representing the special characteristics of the black being, by deriding the punctilious structures of power and the traditional semblance of this theatre, these plays forge change by being unlike the earlier proscenium. In essence, the pivotal instrument in Jones’ revolutionary drama was Violence. Jones in his introduction to *Four Black Revolutionary plays*, he warns, “Unless you are killing white people, killing the shit they’ve built, don’t

read this shit, you won't like it, and it sure won't like you" (Baraka1998, vii). Jones' intent to preach Blackness by the shared communal participation of actors and spectators builds the communal consciousness of this drama. This critiques the alienation in Western theatre to be an ensemble of a dejected civilization unlike human condition. The Black Revolutionary Drama hence aims to create propaganda through depicting violence on stage in order to claim and re-claim one's identity.

The oppression that one witnesses in both the plays by Leroi Jones is oppression to the extent of killing the body which stresses that even the flesh of the oppressed does not belong to him/her. The idea of Black Nationalism and Black Identity portrayed corresponds to Black body as subject and site of victimization which wills to transform into a site of confrontation and subsequently create a performed cultural discourse. In *Dutchman*, Lula says, "Open the door and throw his body out" (37). This Black body as means of persistent use and abuse has been constructed, conditioned and legitimized by the law. The question then occurs, how far the law is justified, how are the legal systems then capable of investing faith in? As the black body is attacked by the judicial use of power, the White body, in Jones' plays, is attacked by violence as a method to revenge. One starkly observes the inability to restore a social order but hardships and killings to gain power. In *The Slave*, when Walker vessels encroaches and occupies the house of Easley and Grace, this incident is symbolic of the house turning into a panopticon for a moment where initially Grace and Easley cannot locate his presence but are visible to Walker. It is only when he makes himself visible; they are able to position him. The stage directions mention,

He moves to get the drink and spots Walker leaning back against the wall, half smiling... but still holding the gun, stomach high, and very stiffly (Jones 47).

The history of Black Theatre acknowledges that most of the plays during Jones' time had symbolic, repetitive spaces: the street that

distinguishes black ghetto from affluent white culture, the prison that is the symbol of white tyranny etc. but here, in Jones' *The Slave*, one locates the inversion of such blatant oppressive spaces by making the house of whites a cage for their own bodies. Therefore, the house becomes a chamber of insult, cruelty, retaliation and destruction. Since body is considered as an adobe of culture, tradition and legacy therefore destroying the same would result in lessening the density and existence of a race as visible in the dead bodies of Clay, Grace, Easley and Mulatto daughters.

The idea of performance as resistance is a part of Black performativity but the notion of embodied resistance apprises us to the lived experiences of the body just as Clay's repression in the "hidden pumping heart". This reveals how these experiences formulate their responses to the effects of power and attempt to reshape their social and cultural contexts. Klein in *Waiting for Performance* observes that "performance has been the medium of choice for artists who wish to stage social interventions" (77). The significant locus of such events is their willingness to risk their own bodies to do so. What renders body art politically significant is that "every form of violence can be demonstrated in the body, factually and symbolically, with great immediacy" (78). Hence, body art proposes the body as an artistic tool to trace various motifs of power in play and performance.

Jones' through *Dutchman*, *The Slave* and Black Revolutionary Drama emphasizes radical alterations in the pre-conceived notion of theatre by communicating the social, political, legal oppressions which inculcate the un-cathartic empathy that instigates to act. Also, that who offers the domination also, simultaneously, contributes in shaping resistance as collective consciousness, a social body that Foucault calls "massive and universalizing form" in *The Subject and Power*, which manifests its struggles in the seizure and substitution of the ruling power (348).

Mannu Bhandari's *Mahabhoj* boldly elaborates exposition of the contemporary Indian political scene that betrays public trust for vested interests and private ends. The play opens with the death of Bisesar, a villager of Siroha fighting for the minimum wages for the Dalit workers and resisting against the loss of Dalit *basti* that was set fire on. The play begins with the Narrator saying,

Unclaimed bodies are scavenged upon...but Bisesar is not unclaimed. He has a mother and a father, although poor, they exist...Even swirling of a leaf in Siroha is as significant as an event today. The elections shall take place just after a month... That's why even a smallest incident is analysed vis-à-vis the Vidhan Sabha Seat. Otherwise, who Bisu and what of his death! (Bhandari 15-18)

The scavenging of bodies that the narrator describes corresponds to the idea of *Mahabhoj*, the great feast. It conforms to the idea of politicians (of the ruling and the opposition) feeding upon the death of Bisesar to carve out vote and claim the only Vidhan Sabha seat. This stands analogous to the death rites performed for a human body where the Brahmin priests feast upon the tragedy. One needs to know that death of an unknown village youth in itself is an insignificant event. But with an important by-election around the corner, the feasting becomes significant where opposing political parties, like vultures, seize upon the unfortunate event to extract political capital out of it. This provides sharp insights into the exercise of power and patronage.

Siroha and its predatory politicians represent a pan-Indian context. Da Sahib, the reigning chief minister of the state, puts up his trusted servant Lakhan, for the election. Da Sahib is the most interesting participant in the feast: he swears by Mahatma Gandhi, the Gita, democracy, freedom of the press, and so on. He, therefore, from the very beginning of the play emerges as a sovereign and democratic figure. His realities gradually get unveiled when he asks the police personnel Sinha to make Bisesar's death a case of suicide and the

very next day, in his rally, he offers reparation to the affected Dalit families of the Dalit basti, by Bisesar's father. It was with this specific gimmick he could gain votes from the community; curb the resistances by the people like Binda and Mahesh who claimed Bisesar's death to be a planned strategical murder. Hence, he could maintain his power and position. The densely dark side of Da Sahib is depicted when he financially nurtures the newspaper "Mashaal" (Torch) that changes its stance overnight. Thus, the significance of the institutions like Media is critiqued. It highlights the fact that a crucial part of the state running mechanisms, institutions, which otherwise appear to be neutral, are built in order to ensure the preservation and defense of state. Even when the resistance by Binda and Mahesh did not stop that resulted in the compiled report of Bisesar's death, Da Sahib transferred Superintendent of Police Saxena who had compiled the report. Also, the most prominent consequence was Binda's arrest; hauled up on a charge of murdering Bisesar. The slick chief minister also takes good care of Joravar, the upper-caste landlord of the area, making him withdraw his nomination for the election by gently but firmly waving an ominous police report in his face. Hence, power always sustains itself on the actions of resistance of others. The potential government of Da Sahib does not only refer to the management of state, rather it is constructed in a way to direct and condition. The idea of governance therefore is not only legitimized by the creation of political subjects- in this case the villagers- but also rests on the resilience of those who recognize oppression and thus retaliate. Michel Foucault in *The Subject and Power* writes,

Power is exercised only over free subjects...by this we mean that the individual or collective subjects who are faced with a field of possibilities in which several kinds of conduct...are available. (Foucault 342)

Characters like Binda and Mahesh therefore emerge as free subjects who do not normalize the suppressive techniques and

functioning of Da sahib through their struggle against the state sponsored institutions.

Leroi Jones' plays *Dutchman* and *The Slave* and Mannu Bhandari's *Mahabhoj* delve into the equations of power in different contexts, yet what binds them are the functions of power-execution and maintenance. The mutually shared component is violence inflicted on bodies and their subsequent death. These bodies are sites of victimization and power maintenance, and killing those stands for diminishing the existence of the resisting other. *Mahabhoj* opens with the mourning over the dead body of Bisesar and Leroi Jones' plays end with the dead bodies. It appears that the body mutilation in Jones' plays thrives on the living bodies, as sites of violence. After their death this victimization and violence is manifested and visualized in Bisesar's body which is scavenged upon by the politically vested interests. Therefore, it investigates how the body politic elaborates in the texts, as a site of lineage and identity, which is eventually dismantled as a site of socio-political and legal victimization. Thus, Leroi Jones' *The Slave* and *Dutchman*, and Mannu Bhandari's *Mahabhoj* aims to mark the latter as a continuation of the former where the black body's subjugation and subsequent killing can be traced in Saroha Village in the body of the murdered protagonist, Bisu. The plots of the plays *Dutchman*, and *The Slave* negotiate with the narrative of *Mahabhoj*, which not only makes them relative cross-culturally and gives a site of east-west relations, but conveniently unfolds the functioning of power as unspecific to locale and omnipresent.

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Saheb Kaur

M.Phil Research Scholar

Comparative Indian Literature

University of Delhi

Consumer Rights and Measures for Protection in South Asian Countries

Abstract

Under the modern concept of marketing consumer is considered as King as all business related activities revolve around providing the maximum satisfaction to the consumer. After economic liberalisation, a myriad of consumer goods and services have flooded the global markets. As consumers, we fall prey to tall claims of high quality, unfair trade practices, fancy packaging and many times are unable to make rational judgement. Consumer protection encompasses all aspects of consumer welfare and has been internationally recognized in recent times. This is in tune with consumerism as a social force to aid and protect consumers by legal, moral as well as administrative and economic policy measures. The main thrust of consumerism to-day has widened to include a multitude of group actions concerned with human values and environmental considerations besides issues such as consumer protection laws, availability of product and price information, checking fraudulent and deceptive business practices and product safety. Consumer protection is a vital, but often ignored, issue in developing countries.

Today consumers want value for money, a product or service that would meet reasonable expectations, should be safe in use and full disclosure of the product specification. With the rapid development of digital technologies and the increasing usage of e-commerce, smart phones, cloud and internet there is a change in the business paradigm. Business processes are transforming rapidly and Internet technology, mainly the World Wide Web (www) as an electronic medium of exchange has given rise to a de-territorial virtual market place. Keeping these concerns the present study has been undertaken to understand the rights of consumers and the level of consumer protection available in South Asian countries.

Key Words: Consumer, Consumerism, Consumer protection, Consumer Rights

Introduction

Consumer Affairs today encompass all aspects of consumer welfare and has been internationally recognised in recent times. Consumer is considered as an inevitable part of the socio-economic-political system, where the exchange initiated and transaction realised between two parties, namely buyers and sellers has an impact on a third party i.e., society. The inherent profit motive in mass production and sales also offers the opportunity to many manufacturers and dealers to exploit consumers. Problems of defective goods, deficiency in service, spurious and duplicate brands, misleading advertisements are rampant and often the gullible consumer falls prey to it. Thus, the need for consumer satisfaction and consumer protection has been recognized globally.

Globalisation has led to greater interaction across national boundaries and has affected many aspects of our economic, social, cultural and political environment. This involves studying the networks; service facilities, including transport and communications; a variety of professional business and financial services and furthermore the knowledge of their working patterns in different organizations are required to be studied. In the same way greater openness in the economies of the region in the face of current trends towards globalization and regionalization offers promising opportunities for infusing greater dynamism into their domestic, economies. However, this entails risks which countries must be aware of and must develop the capacity to manage. These capacities differ widely across large number of countries. The present study involves studying the level of consumer protection in South Asian countries comprising India, Pakistan, Nepal and Bangladesh.

Objective of the Study

Keeping into account the growing digital market and the asymmetry of knowledge amongst the various customer segments

in different markets regarding the redressal mechanism available to them in case of defective product or deficiency in service or unfair trade practice the objectives of the study are grouped as follows:

1. To study the various laws available to South Asian consumers for redressal of their complaints against them.
2. To analyse the nature of cases and compensation given by the Consumer foras in four South Asian countries.
3. To understand the steps taken by the government for the protection of consumers in the above mentioned countries.
4. To find out the nature of problems faced by the South Asian consumers and measures taken to empower them.

Consumer Protection in India

In India, The Consumer Protection Act, 1986 was enacted by the Parliament to protect the interests of consumers against substandard products, increased prices through market manipulation, failed warranties, poor after sales service and unfair trade practices on 24th December. Since then, 24th December is observed as National Consumer Day in India. Consumer Protection Act (CPA) is considered as a benevolent social legislature for protecting consumers from the malpractices of the manufacturers. CPA provides simple, speedy and inexpensive redressal to the grievances of the consumers. This Act is not only preventive but also compensatory in nature. Unlike other laws, it is civil and focuses on undoing the wrong to a consumer by way of remedial action or payment of compensation or damages to the aggrieved consumer. The Act has set in motion a revolution in the field of consumer rights that perhaps cannot be paralleled anywhere else in the World. The Act applies to all goods and services unless specially exempted by the Central Government, in all sectors whether Private, Public or Co-operative.

The Act enshrines all the consumers rights which are internationally accepted. As per the Act, the consumer protection councils have been established at Central, State and District levels to promote and protect the consumer rights. They are:

- Right to Safety: To be protected against the sale of goods and services which are spurious/ hazardous to life.
- Right to information: To know the quality, quantity, weight and the price of goods/services being paid for, so that one is not cheated by unfair trade practices.
- Right to Choose: To be assured, wherever possible, access to a variety of goods and services at competitive prices.
- Right to be heard: To be heard and to be assured that the interest would receive due consideration at appropriate fora.
- Right to Seek Redressal: To seek legal redressal against unfair or restrictive trade practices or exploitation.
- Right to Consumer Education: To have access to consumer education.

The Consumer Protection Act is one of the progressive, comprehensive and unique piece of legislation enacted by India. It enshrines all the consumer rights which are internationally accepted. As per the Act, the consumer protection councils have been established at Central, State and District levels to promote and protect the consumer rights. Section 2 (1) (d) defines the term 'consumer' under the Consumer Protection Act, 1986, as any person who buys, hires or avails of any goods or services for a consideration which has been paid, or promised or partly paid or promised or paid under a system of deferred payment. The term consumer, however, does not include a person who obtains such goods and services for resale or for any commercial purpose. Thus the term consumer includes buyer, user, hirer

and beneficiary of goods and services. In the proposed fourth Amendment of the Consumer Protection Act 1986 the term 'consumer' would include buying of goods, hiring/availing of services made through any mode, inclusive of but not limited to offline, online through electronic means, teleshopping, direct selling etc.

Thus, the term 'consumer' includes the following heads:

1. **Buyer of goods or Purchaser of goods:** Any person who purchases products for consideration that has been paid, or promised or partly paid and partly promised, or under any system of deferred payment for final consumption is a consumer. The position of the buyer depends upon the 'contract of sale'.
2. **User of the goods:** Any person who uses goods with the approval of the buyer, who has bought goods for consideration is a consumer. Thus all family members are beneficiaries of a contract and included as consumers.
3. **Hirer of services:** Any person who hires or avails of any service for a consideration which has been paid or promised or partly paid and partly promised, or under any system of deferred payment is included as a consumer. The service sector includes banking, telecom service, postal service, insurance, railways, air travel, doctors, caterers, contractors, transport operators, etc.
4. **Beneficiary of services:** In respect of services, the beneficiary of such service is also a consumer. According to *Indian Medical Association v. V. P. Shanta* case it was decided that medical practitioners are not immune from a claim for damages on the ground of negligence. The patients who are rendered free service are the beneficiaries of the services hired by the patients who paid for the services. In *Spring Meadows Hospital vs. Harjot Ahluwalia* (1998) (2), the Supreme Court held that a consumer would mean a person who hires or avails of any services and includes any

beneficiary. Therefore, when a young child is taken to a hospital by his parents and treated by the doctor then the parents and the child would come under the definition of a consumer.

5. A trader or businessmen who buys the goods or services for resale is not a 'consumer'. The Consumer Protection Act Amendment in 2002 excludes persons who buy goods or services for a 'commercial purpose'. However, 'commercial purpose' does not include the following:

- Goods bought and used for the purposes of earning livelihood by means of self-employment. This means that if an individual or a family buys goods for professional or vocational use s/he will be a 'consumer'.
- Services availed for the purpose of earning livelihood by means of self-employment. This means that if a person or family buys services for professional or vocational use s/he will be a 'consumer'. Thus, any person who buys goods either for resale or for making profit is not a 'consumer' under the Consumer Protection Act. In *Raj Kumar vs. S. C. Verma*, 2001 (1) CPR 437 it was held that persons buying goods either for resale or for use in large scale profit-making activity would not be 'consumers' entitled relief under the Act.

A complaint can be filed in the consumer Forum by a consumer to whom goods are sold or delivered or agreed to be sold or delivered or such services provided or agreed to be provided or by a Voluntary Consumer organization (VCO) or by the Central Government or the State Government, Union Territory Administration or by one or more consumers where they are of same interest. In case of death of consumer, his legal heir or representatives have the right for filing a complaint. A complaint can be filed within two years from the date on which the cause of action has arisen. However a complaint may be entertained after the period if the complainant had sufficient cause for not filing

the complaint within such period by recording its reason for condoning such delay. A complaint should contain the following details.

1. The name, description and address of the complainant.
2. The name, description and address of the opposite party or parties.
3. The facts relating the complaint, when and where it arises.
4. Documents, if any, in support of allegations.
5. The relief sought.
6. The complaint should be signed by the complainant or his/her authorized agent.

No lawyer is required for filing a case in consumer forum.

Adjudicatory Bodies Set Up under CPA

In order to provide speedy and simple redressal of consumer grievances, Chapter III of the Consumer Protection Act makes provision for the establishment of Remedial Agencies for settlement of consumers' disputes and for matters connected therewith. There is a three-tier system in the Act, which has been set up at district, state and national levels. They are:

1. A Consumer Disputes Redressal Forum also known as the "District Forum"
2. A Consumer Disputes Redressal Commission also known as the "State Commission"
3. A National Consumer Disputes Redressal Commission also known as the "National Commission"

While the National Commission is set up by the Central Government, the State Commissions and District Forums are set up, in each, State and District, respectively by the State

Government concerned. Provided that the state government may, if it deems fit, establish more than one District Forum in a state.

At present there are 35 State Commissions, one in each State/UT and 629 district forums besides the National Commission at the apex. The government is monitoring the disposal of cases by the consumer courts through National Commission.

The pecuniary jurisdiction of the District Forum is upto Rs. 20 lakhs, and that of the State Commissions is above Rs. 20 lakhs and below Rs. 1 Crore and claims involving more than Rs. 1 crore are to be filled directly before the National Commission.

The law provides for the complaint to be decided within a period of 3 months from the date of receipt of notice by the opposite party where no analysis or testing of commodities is required to be done by the laboratory. If it requires analysis or testing of commodities the period for giving final order is five months. Till 30-11-2016, the Consumer courts at National, State and District level have together registered **46,87,864** cases and **42,73,208** cases have been disposed. Thus there are still **4.1** lakh cases which are pending within various consumer foras and the disposal rate is 91.36%.

Total number of Cases Disposed by Consumer Forums Since Inception

Table 1.1 depicts that **1,05,916** cases were registered since inception up to 30th November 2016 with the National Commission out of which 89% cases were disposed of, while 11% were still pending with the National Commission. In case of State Commission 7,28,526 cases were registered since inception up to Nov 2016 and 86.1 percent cases were disposed off. A staggering number of 38,53,422 cases were registered throughout the District Consumer Forums in the country and performance of District Consumer Forums was better as 92.17 % cases were disposed off.

This indicates that consumer redressal system is now being utilized at the district levels, which is a positive sign of generating awareness to seek redressal.

Table 1.1: Total number of Cases Disposed by Consumer Forums Since Inception (Update on 30-11-2016)

Sl. No.	Name of Agency	Cases filed since inception	Cases disposed of since inception	Cases Pending	% of total Disposal
1	National Commission	105916	94270	11646	89.00%
2	State Commissions	728526	627289	101237	86.10%
3	District Forums	3853422	3551649	301773	92.17%
TOTAL		4687864	4273208	414656	91.15%

Source: Annual Report, 2016, Ministry of Consumer Affairs, India

Consumer Protection in Bangladesh

The Consumer Rights Protection Act, 2009 was enacted by the government of Bangladesh in April 2009 to ensure consumer protection by realising consumer's right to quality goods and services at fair prices. It also highlights consumers' right to information regarding quality, quantity, standard and value of the goods and services.

To fulfil the objectives of the Act, a National Consumer Right Protection Council has been established. A Director General of the Consumer Rights Protection Council is appointed under the Act to oversee the consumer rights practices throughout the country. To facilitate the functioning of National Consumer Rights Protection Council, a district committee in every district named District Consumer Rights Protection Committee has been constituted.

The new law bans the sale at high price, checks adulteration and fake products, forgery in weighing goods, selling expired items and misleading advertisements. It also bans the sale at high price, adulteration and fake products, forgery in weighing goods, selling date-expired items and fraudulence with

advertisement. These are considered as serious crimes, and the law also spells out punishment for such offences.

According to the bill, any businessmen found guilty under the law would be penalised with a punishment ranging from one year to three years imprisonment and minimum Tk 50,000 to Tk 200,000 as fines. There are provisions for at least 20 types of crimes ranging from hoarding, flouting of packaging rules to over-charging for products. The law stipulates formation of a National Consumer Protection Rights Council to be headed by the Commerce Minister and branches at the district level.

Besides, the Consumer Rights Protection Tribunals have been set up in districts and sub-districts to check unfair practices related to consumers' goods. Consumers are allowed to take legal steps individually. They can file complaint through e-mail, fax or other sources to the Director General concerned regarding such crimes.

Complaining is Rewarding in Bangladesh

Complaints about any anti-consumer rights practice under this Act have to be filed by any person to the Director General or any person authorised by the directorate within 30 days of the incident. The authority upon receiving a complaint shall immediately investigate or inquire into such a complaint. If such a complaint is proved to be true after investigation, the Director General or any officer authorised by him may, in his administrative action, impose fine upon the guilty person. If any fine is imposed and realised, 25% of such realised fine shall immediately be paid to the complainant concerned.

If any regular criminal case is filed in a court or in a special tribunal under The Consumer Rights Protection Act, 2009 and if the accused is fined upon found guilty and if the fine is realised, 25% of the realised fine shall be paid to the complainant concerned. Any person may make complaint by examining the matter of

adulteration or copying of goods in a public or private laboratory at his own initiative.

Selling or using poisonous or dangerous chemicals in Bangladesh

There is a prohibition of sale or use of poisonous or dangerous chemicals, intoxicated food, color etc. The High Court ordered on 28th

Most of the red chilli powder used in the market is adulterated in most cases the spices are mixed with brick dust. Fine sawdust is also often mixed with cumin and other ground spices, say CAB members. Honey is also frequently adulterated, as lab tests have found sugar syrup is often mixed with honey to enhance the sweetness. Nowadays, pure butter oil and ghee are also very rare in the market. Dishonest traders use a host of ingredients such as animal fat, palm oil, potato mash, and vegetable oil to produce fake butter oil. They even mix soap ingredients like steirion oil with ghee, to increase the proportions. Rasogolla, kalojaam, and chamcham are the essential delicacies for all festivals in Bengali culture. But food and sanitation officers from the Dhaka City Corporation (DCC) say most of these mouthwatering sweetmeats, despite looking attractive in the shop displays, are made with adulterated ingredients and produced in a filthy environment. In a survey conducted by DCC officials found that 100 percent of examined samples of Rasogolla, kalojaam, curds, and sandesh were adulterated. Bangladesh's Pure Food Ordinance (1959) states that at least 10 per cent milk fat is mandatory in sweetmeat. But in most cases, the percentage of milk fat is not more than five per cent.

Consumer Protection in Nepal

In Nepal the Act is known as **"The Consumer Protection Act, 1998"**. It came into force on 13 April 1999. It has 30 sections in total and establishes the Consumer Protection Council. The functions of the Council are:

- a. Advising the government on matters relating to the protection of rights and interest of consumers.
- b. Prices, quality and purity of consumer goods and services
- c. Disseminating information
- d. Conducting various studies

The Act regulates the powers of Inspection officers to inspect and investigate where there are reasons to believe that products and services which are not safe or of prescribed standards are being produced sold or supplied. The Act has a total of 30 sections. It establishes the Consumer Protection Council. Amongst the functions, duties and powers of the Council include advising the government on matters relating to the protection of the rights and interests of consumers, prices, quality and purity of consumer goods and services, disseminating information, conducting studies, and advising the government on policies relating to the protection of the rights and interests of consumers. The Act also regulates the powers given to Inspection Officers to inspect, investigate or search any place where there are reasonable grounds to believe that consumer goods or services which are not safe, efficacious or of the prescribed standard are being produced, sold or supplied.

Objectives of the Nepal Consumer Protection Act, 1998

1. To make provisions for protecting consumers from irregularities concerning the quality, quantity and prices of consumer goods or services,
2. Ensuring that no one lowers or removes the attributes or usefulness of consumer goods or services,
3. Preventing circumstances in which monopolies and unfair trading practices may lead to an increase in prices, as well as false and misleading propaganda about the use and usefulness of consumer goods or services,
4. Selling, supplying, importing, exporting and storing safe and quality consumer goods or services,
5. Protecting the rights and interests of consumers through the establishment of an agency for redressing the hardships of consumers,

6. Maintaining the health, convenience and economic welfare of consumers, now therefore, the Parliament has enacted this law in the 26th year of the reign of the King, Birendra Bir Bikram Shah Dev.

Consumer Rights

For the purpose of protecting the rights and interests of consumers, every consumer has the following rights:

1. Right to be protected from the sale and supply of consumer goods and services which may harm life, body, health and property.
2. Right to be informed about the prices, attributes, quantity, purity, quality, etc. of consumer goods and services so as to be safe from unfair trading practices.
3. Right to be assured of an opportunity to select consumer goods and services at competitive prices as far as possible.
4. Right to be assured that an appropriate agency will hear matters right to be assured that an appropriate agency will hear matters concerning the protection of the rights and interests of consumers.
5. Right to be heard and compensated against exploitation and hardships resulting from unfair trading practices.
6. Right to consumer education.

Functions, Duties and Powers of Consumer Protection Council:

A Consumer Protection Council has been formed in order to formulate policies relating to the protection of the rights and interests of consumers, and offer suggestions to Government on matters concerning the rights and interests of consumers. The functions, duties and powers of the Council are as follows:

- (i) To offer suggestions to the Government on matters relating to the protection of the rights and interests of consumers, the supply system, and prices, quality and purity of consumer goods and services. To disseminate information relating to the rights and interests of consumers in order to inform them about the standard of goods and services so as to protect them in matters concerning consumer goods and services.
- (iii) To inform consumers about the prices, quality, quantity and purity of consumer goods and services, as well as about unfair trading practices concerning them, or make arrangements for doing so.
- (iv) To conduct studies in connection with the protection of the rights and interests of consumers, or make arrangements for doing so.
- (v) To offer suggestions to the Government on changing the existing policies or framing new policies relating to the protection of the rights and interests of consumers.
- (vi) To maintain updated national and international information relating to the protection of the rights and interests of consumers, and make arrangements for doing so.
- (vii) To monitor the rights of consumers, or make arrangements for doing so, and offer suggestions to the Government to rectify the shortcomings noticed in the course of such monitoring. To discharge the functions prescribed by Government, or make arrangements for doing so.
- (ix) To discharge such other functions as are deemed appropriate for the protection of the rights and interests of consumers, or make arrangements for doing so.

Redressal Mechanism

In case any consumer suffers a loss or damage of any kind as a result of the sale of any consumer good or service in a manner

opposed to this act, such consumer, or any Consumer Association on his behalf, may file a complaint with the Compensation Committee within 35 days from the date of such loss or damage, requesting for the realization of compensation from the person who has sold or supplied such consumer good or service. Claims for Compensation are made to the Compensation Committee.

Compensation Committee:

Compensation Committees are formed in each district in order to conduct investigations into complaints filed under Section 22 and realize compensation in consideration of losses or damages suffered by consumers. The compensation committee consist of:

- (a) Chief District Officer : Chairman
 - (b) District Government Advocate : Member
 - (c) District Medical Officer : Member
 - (d) A representative of the District Consumers Association designated by His Majesty's Government : Member
 - (e) Representative, District Chamber of Commerce and Industry : Member
 - (f) An officer designated by Government : Member Secretary
- (2) The Compensation Committee takes decision on complaints filed in connection with compensation within the prescribed time-limit.

Provisions for Investigation/Inspection of Spurious/Defective Goods/Services:

If any person is engaging in any unfair trading activity in such a manner as to adversely affect the rights and interests of consumers, or affecting the price and the supply system of consumer goods or services by exercising a monopoly or through any other means, or producing or selling sub-standard goods, or taking any action which is contrary to this act or the rules framed hereunder, the Government may conduct necessary investigations and inspections,

or make arrangements for doing so. It can take necessary action according to current laws against any producer, dealer, agent, vendor, individual or institution found guilty through investigations and inspections conducted under Sub-Section (1). For inspection purpose Government can appoint Inspection Officers or designate any officer-employees to work in that capacity in the prescribed manner in order to monitor the supply of quality consumer goods or services to consumers in a simple manner and at fair prices by making the market and supply systems effective.

Penalties:

Any person who takes or instigates others to take any of the following actions is punished as follows, depending on the degree of his offense:

- (a) Any person who takes or instigates others to take any action in violation of Section 7 shall be punished with imprisonment for a term not exceeding three years, or with a fine not exceeding Rs 50,000, or with both.
- (b) Any person who takes or instigates others to take any action in violation of Clause (a) of Sub-Section (1) of Section 9 shall be punished with imprisonment for a term not exceeding two years, or with a fine not exceeding Rs 30,000 or with both.
- (c) Any person who takes or instigates others to take any action in violation of Clause (a) of Section 10 shall be punished with imprisonment for a term not exceeding three years, or with a fine not exceeding Rs 50,000, or with both.
- (d) Any person who takes or instigates others to take any action in violation of Clauses (b), (c) and (d) of Section 10 shall be punished with imprisonment for a term not exceeding five years, or with a fine not exceeding Rs 100,000, or with both.
- (e) Any person who takes or instigates others to take any action in violation of Clause (e) of Section 10 shall be punished as follows:

- (1) If there is a threat to life, for a term not exceeding 14 years, or with a fine not exceeding Rs 500,000, or with both.
 - (2) In case the strength of any organ of the body is likely to be reduced or lost, with imprisonment for a term not exceeding 10 years, or with a fine not exceeding Rs 500,000, or with both.
 - (3) In other circumstances, with imprisonment for a term not exceeding 5 years, or with a fine not exceeding Rs 300,000, or with both.
- (f) Any person who takes or instigates others to take any action, other than those mentioned above, which violates this act or the rules framed under this act shall be punished with imprisonment for a term not exceeding two years, or with a fine not exceeding Rs 200,000, or with both.

Realization of Compensation:

In case the Compensation Committee holds that any consumer has suffered a loss or damage following investigations into a complaint filed for compensation under Section 22, it shall arrange for the payment of compensation on the basis of such loss or damage to the concerned consumer or his heir.

Appeal:

Any person who is dissatisfied with the decision taken by the Compensation Committee under Section 24 may file an appeal with the concerned Appellate

Court within 35 days from the date of such decision.

Prohibition to Influence Demand, Supply or Price

No one shall influence the demand, supply and price of any consumer good or service by taking any of the following actions in collusion with others:

- (a) By fixing the quota of raw materials needed for any consumer good, or reducing the production of any consumer good, or taking any other similar actions.
- (b) By hoarding any consumer good or service or otherwise creating an artificial shortage, or selling and supplying such good or service at specified times or places only, or taking any other similar actions.

Power to Systematize and Control Supply of Consumer Goods and Services:

- (1) For the purpose of protecting the rights and interests of consumers, the Government can exercise the following powers in order to systematize, control and regulate the supply of consumer goods and services:
 - (a) To formulate policies relating to the quality, price and the supply system of consumer goods or services.
 - (b) To formulate action plans in connection with the monitoring, prevention and control of unfair trading practices and monopolies which are likely to harm the rights and interests of consumers, and implement such plans.
 - (c) To analyze and review the situation in respect to the demand and supply of consumer goods consumed within the country.
 - (d) To make necessary arrangements for checking any undesirable increase in prices by producers, vendors or distributors of consumer goods.
 - (e) To discourage unfair trading practices which are likely to create shortages through artificial or other improper means.

- (2) The Government can make necessary arrangements in order to effectively implement the provisions concerning the protection of the rights and interests of consumers, regulation of the supply system, and control of the prices and quality of consumer goods and services.

Particulars to be Mentioned in Consumer Goods:

A producer must mention the following particulars on the labels of consumer goods on a mandatory basis:

- (a) Name and address of the producer, and registration number of the industry.
- (b) In the case of consumer goods such as food and medicines, their ingredients as well as their quantity and weight.
- (c) Quality of consumer goods whose quality has been determined, if any.
- (d) Method of consuming consumer goods and possible impact of such consumption.
- (e) Price, batch number, production date and expiry date of the consumer goods.
- (f) In the case of consumer goods such as electronic goods, hardware and machinery, guarantee thereof, date of guarantee, and other necessary matters.
- (g) In the case of consumer goods which are inflammable, dangerous or fragile, precautions for their safety.
- (h) Other particulars as prescribed.

Actions Which Must not be Taken in Respect to Consumer Goods or Services

No one can take or instigate others to take any of the following actions in respect to any consumer good or service:

- (a) To produce, sell, supply, export or import a sub-standard consumer good.
- (b) To imitate any consumer good in such a manner as to mislead consumers.
- (c) To sell or supply any consumer good or service by making false or misleading claim that it is another consumer good or service, or by describing a sub-standard consumer good or service as of high standard.
- (d) To engage in unfair trading practices in such a manner as to make false or misleading publicity or advertisements relating to the use, usefulness, or efficacy of any consumer good or service.
- (e) To produce, sell or supply any consumer good or service which is likely to harm consumers' health.
- (f) To take such other actions as are prescribed.

Standard of Consumer Goods or Services:

- (1) In case the limits of the quality or quantity of any ingredient to be used in any consumer good or service have been determined, the Government determines the standard of such good or service according to the prescribed procedures.
- (2) The Government can publish a notice of the determination of the standard of any good and service under Sub-Section (1) in the Nepal Rajapatra.

Price Lists to be Kept by Shopkeepers in Nepal

According to this Act every vendor must keep at a conspicuous place of his shop a price-list of every consumer good sold and supplied by him, explicitly mentioning its wholesale and retail prices.

Powers of Inspection Officers to Inspect, Investigate or Search:

- (1) In case there are reasonable grounds to believe that any consumergood or service which is not safe, efficacious or of (the prescribed)standard is being produced, sold or supplied, or that any action is beingtaken in violation of this act or the rules framed hereunder, at any place,the Inspection Officer may inspect, investigate or search such place.
- (2) In case it is found in the course of an inspection, investigation or searchconducted under Sub-Section (1) that any good or service which is notsafe, efficacious or of the (prescribed) standard is being produced, soldor supplied, or that actions are being taken in violation of this act or therules framed hereunder, the Inspection Officer shall take a sample ofsuch good (or service) in the prescribed manner and impose a ban onthe production and sale or supply of such good or service for aprescribed period.
- (3) Reports of actions taken by Inspection Officers under Sub-Section (2)must be submitted to Government within three days.
- (4) The working procedures to be adopted by Inspection Officers whileconducting inspections, investigations, or searches are prescribed inthe law.
- (5) The other functions, duties and powers of Inspection Officers, andprovisions concerning the implementation of the reports submitted bythem, are prescribed in the law.

Testing of Consumer Goods:

Samples of consumer goods taken by an Inspection Officer under Section 15 shall be sent to the laboratory for a test within the prescribed time-limit.

Sub-Standard Consumer Goods to be Seized:

In case any consumer good is held to be of sub-standard following the test of its sample at the laboratory where it is sent under Section 16, it is seized.

Investigation Lawsuits and Filing of Lawsuits

The offences punishable under this act shall be investigated by Inspection Officers. Lawsuits must be filed with the concerned District Court within 35 days from the date of completion of such investigations. While investigating and filing lawsuits under an Inspection Officer may seek the opinion of the government lawyer, and such cases can be defended by the government lawyer. The procedure mentioned in the 1972 Summary Trial Procedure Act can be adopted while taking action on and disposing of lawsuits filed under this act.

Power to Initiate Lawsuits under Current Laws:

In case any action which is an offence under this act is also an offence under any other current Nepal Law, this act shall not be deemed to have prejudiced the right to initiate lawsuits under the other act.

Power to Form Sub-Committees:

The Government or the Council may form necessary Sub-Committees in order to fulfil the objectives of this act. The functions, duties, powers and working procedures of a Sub-Committee formed under Sub-Section (1) are prescribed by

Government or the Council. The Government or the Council may delegate some of the powers vested in it under this act to any Sub-Committee formed under Section 27, or to any officer employee, according to need. Inspection Officers, Compensation Committees or employees of the Government are not to be held personally liable

for any action taken by them with good intentions in the course of fulfilling their duties under this act or the rules framed hereunder.

Consumer Protection in Pakistan

The Act in Pakistan is known as “**The Islamabad Consumer Protection Act, 1995**” and it extends only to the Islamabad Capital Territory. **The Islamabad Consumer Protection Act, 1995** has 12 sections in total. It provides for the promotion and protection of consumer interest through “Islamabad Consumer Protection Council”.

Under the Act, Section 2(f) defines 13 types of conduct, which would be

considered as unfair trade practice. Section 8 of the Act describes the complaint handling manner by the Islamabad Court of Sessions. Before the enactment of Islamabad Consumer Protection Act, 1995, the Sale of Goods Act, 1930 has been in force in Pakistan since 1 July 1930.

The other laws applicable to the different provinces are:

- 1) NWFP Council, 1997
- 2) Balochistan, Consumers Protection Bill, 2003
- 3) Punjab Consumer Protection Act (Punjab CPC), 2005
- 4) Sindh Consumer Rights Council (CRC), 2005

Objectives:

The objectives of the Islamabad Consumer Protection Act can be broadly divided into two categories:

1. To determine, promote and protect the rights of consumers and
2. To formulate policies for the fair and honest trade practices by manufacturers, producers and suppliers of goods and services.

Consumer Rights:

Section 5 provides for consumer rights as follows:

1. The right of protection against marketing of goods which are hazardous to life and property;
2. The right to information about the quality, quantity, potency, purity, standard and price of goods and services;
3. The right of access to a variety of goods at competitive prices;
4. The right for redressal against unfair trade practices or unscrupulous exploitation of consumers;
5. and the right of consumers' education.

Consumer Protection Council:

After the commencement of this Act, the Federal Government by notification in the official Gazette, established the Islamabad Consumers Protection Council.

The Council consists of the following:-

- (i) The Chairman, to be nominated by the Prime Minister from amongst prominent social workers;
- (ii) One Senator and the Member National Assembly elected from Islamabad Capital Territory, to be nominated by the Federal Government as Member
- (iii) Chief Commissioner, Islamabad Capital Territory, Islamabad as Member
- (iv) Chairman, Capital Development Authority as Member
- (v) A representative of the Cabinet Division who shall not be below the rank of Joint Secretary as Member
- (vi) A representative of the Ministry of Interior who shall not be below the rank of Joint Secretary as Member

- (vii) A representative of the Ministry of Law, Justice and Parliamentary Affairs, who shall not be below the rank of Joint Secretary as Member
- (viii) a representative of the Finance Division who shall not be below the rank of Joint Secretary as Member
- (ix) a representative of the Ministry of Health who shall not be below the rank of Joint Secretary as Member
- (x) a representative of the Food, Agriculture and Livestock Division who shall not be below the rank of Joint Secretary as Member
- (xi) a representative of the Ministry of Industries and Production who shall not be below the rank of Joint Secretary as its Member
- (xii) a representative of the Ministry of Women Affairs who shall not be below the rank of Joint Secretary as Member.

Functions of the Council:

The function of the Council is to determine, promote and protect rights of consumers. The Council is responsible for formulation of the policies for promotion and protection of the rights of consumers, fair and honest trade practices by the manufacturers, producers and suppliers of goods and services in relation to interest of consumers and their effective implementation. For promotion and protection of the interests of consumers, the Council acts as a coordinate body between the Government, manufacturers, producers, suppliers and consumers.

Redressal Mechanism:

- (1). The Authority formed by the Islamabad Consumer Protection Council, is responsible for receiving the complaints of consumers and those made on behalf of the Council, their investigation and determination. The Police, Capital Development Authority and other agencies of the Federal

Government and Islamabad Capital Territory Administration Act in aid of the Authority for Performance of the functions under this Act.

- (2). Under the Consumer Protection Act of Punjab Province, consumer courts and councils are established at divisional level and district DCOs are also authorized to hear public complaints, impose fine upon unruly manufacturers or refer their cases to consumer court/council. In addition to action on public complaints, CPC can also act suo motu.
- (3). In Sindh Province, Government has set up a 15-member Consumer Rights Council (CRC) in September 2005, with a jurisdiction restricted to Karachi city only. However, the government has not been able to adopt a formal law so far and establish the necessary infrastructure and consumer courts across the length and breadth of the province.
- (4). The NWFP Assembly adopted a Consumers Protection Bill in 1997, which was amended in 2005. This law provides for the setting up of a provincial council for protection of consumers rights. However, the provincial government has not enforced this bill so far.
- (5). The Consumers Protection Bill of Baluchistan was adopted by the Provincial Assembly on October 30, 2003. A provincial council for protecting consumer rights has been constituted under this law, however district councils are yet to be formed. The law empowers judicial magistrates to hear consumer complaints instead of establishing special consumer courts,

Procedure for disposal of the complaints of the consumers in Pakistan

A complainant can file complaint regarding goods sold or delivered or any service provided or supplied or against any unfair trade practice with the Authority. The Council may, in the case of any unfair trade practice coming to its notice, directly make complaint

to the Authority through an officer authorised by it. On examination of the complaint received the Authority is of the opinion that any right of the consumer has been infringed, he can cause the notice of the complaint to be served on the respondent who is be required to give his reply within a period of seven days. After considering the complaint and the reply of the respondent and after providing the parties an opportunity of being heard, or if no reply is received and after such enquiry as the Authority may deem appropriate, he may pass such orders as the circumstances may require.

Penalties

Where any right of consumer is infringed, the person responsible for such infringement shall be punished with imprisonment which may extend to two years, or with fine, or with both. Any misleading advertisement through print or electronic media or by chalking on walls or in any other manner in contravention of the Act the manufacturer or service provider shall be punished with imprisonment which may extend to two years, or with fine, or with both. The Authority may order for payment of compensation to the consumer to the extent the consumer has suffered any damage or loss through any unfair trade practice. The Authority may, where it deems necessary for protection of the right of other consumers, order for confiscation of any goods or material or direct for their destruction.

Appeal:

An appeal against the order of Authority shall lie to the High Court and the provisions of the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898 (Act V of 1898), in respect of appeals to the High Courts shall, mutatis mutandis, apply. No suit, prosecution and other legal proceedings shall lie against the Council, its members, the Authority and other officers and authorities acting under the directions of the Council or, as the case may be, the Authority in respect of anything done under the provisions of this Act or any rules or orders made thereunder.

Recommendations: An efficient consumer protection legislation of inhabitants not only protects and promotes the privileges and happiness of its consumers, but it also enhances socio-economic targets of its macro economy, such as scarcity alleviation, competent, fair and translucent market method, good governance and beyond all, socio-economic impartiality for its citizens. It was found that all the four South Asian countries ie, India, Bangladesh, Nepal and Pakistan have consumer protection legislations in place but what is required is proper enforcement and implementation of them so that the manufacturers do not indulge in wrongful practices.

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360 Degree Feedback Method of Performance Appraisal in the Corporate Sector – Need and Impact

Abstract

One tool of performance evaluation that has gained significant popularity in the corporate sector is the 360-degree feedback methodology because of its ability to provide a global feedback to the employees, which leads to increased organizational commitment, improved job performance and brings a behavioral change in the employees. The ratings are assigned not only by employee's superiors but also by his peers, subordinates, clients or outsiders such as customers, suppliers, vendors or other interested stakeholder with whom he interacts in the course of his job performance, thus providing a complete view of employee's job performance. This method highlights the strengths and weaknesses of the learner providing him with an opportunity to capitalize on his strengths and highlighting his training and developmental needs. This paper emphasizes on the superiority of 360-degree feedback method over the traditional methods of performance evaluation and the effect this method has on the employees in the organization simultaneously providing a list of companies following the 360-degree feedback methodology. The paper also provides a detailed framework required for the successful implementation of this technique.

Keywords: 360-degree feedback, Performance appraisal, Behavioral change, successful implementation

Introduction

In a continuously, ever-changing environment there has been a pragmatic shift in the functioning of the employers, employees and the organization at large. There have now emerged new forms of organizations with wider span of control, flatter organizational structure, emphasis on teamwork and empowerment. Today's

employees are better educated with an expectation to be treated differently in an organization. They believe in the statement “work speak for itself” rather than “please the boss”.

With these changes, organizations have to evolve. The traditional top – down supervisor only evaluation method is no longer justified. The Human aspect of the organization has gained immense significance in the global environment. Employees are now regarded as the assets of the company rather than a tool. They have now become instrumental in the functioning and growth of the enterprise. It is beyond argument that competent people should handle the strategic and critical roles in an organization. What is required is not only the identification of such people but also various instruments that will help in the growth of such people. Since the cost of wrong promotions and information can be high not only for the company but also for the employees companies now view spending money on potential assessment as an investment rather than the cost.

There is always some difference in the quality and quantity of the same work done on the same job by different individuals. Performance appraisal is imperative to understand each employees capabilities and their relative worth for the organization. For potential assessment companies employ variety of methods ranging from annual performance assessment to 360 degree assessment which provides information about an employee from multiple sources on continuous basis.

Overview of 360 – Degree Feedback

360-degree feedback also known as multi-level, multi-source feedback is a tool of performance appraisal and evaluation where the performance of an individual is evaluated by multiple sources. The ratings are given not only by employee’s superiors but also by his peers, subordinates, clients or outsiders such as customers, suppliers, vendors or other interested stakeholder with whom he

interacts in the course of his job performance thus providing a complete view of employee's job performance. The person whose performance is being evaluated is known as the learner. People who provide ratings are known as the raters. Learners own self-assessment completes the circle. Raters respond to a variety of standardized questions evaluating the learner's competencies, job performance, behavior and potential of the learner.

A mixture of about 10-12 people fill up an online/offline questionnaire. Those individuals with whom the learner interacts in the course of his job performance fill it. The questionnaire may be structured or unstructured. Several parameters covering a wide range of workplace competencies like job performance, behavior, attitude towards the job and the company are used in the questionnaires. The raters may also be asked to support their evaluations. Each source can provide a different insight into the individual's skills, job performance and other job related characteristics thus providing a richer, accurate picture than could be obtained from any other method of performance appraisal. The responses collected are analyzed and presented to the learner in the form of charts, graphs or any other comprehensible form. The information is usually communicated by the HR manager. The aim of the feedback is to enable an employee to gain deeper insight into their skills and developmental areas. It highlights the strengths and weaknesses of the learner providing him with an opportunity to capitalize on his strengths and highlighting his training and developmental needs. It contributes in developing great leaders for the future. (Alexander M. Diane)

Of the various popular worldwide human resources practices, 360-degree appraisal is one of the most important best practices followed by companies across the globe to build, develop and retain talent. For potential assessment companies employ variety of methods. One tool of performance evaluation that has gained significant popularity is the 360-degree feedback methodology. According

to a survey 40% of American companies used 360-degree feedback in 1995, by 2000 this number had increased to 65%. By 2002, estimated 25% of U.S. employers and more than 90% of Fortune 500 companies have implemented some form of 360 – degree feedback system in their organizations. In Australia, the use of multi rater feedback has significantly increased. In India companies like Reliance, TCS, Tata Motors, HCL, Wipro, Adani group, Gati couriers, Crompton Greaves, Maruti Udyog and Godrej are increasingly making use of this technique. Pepsi Co started using 360-degree feedback in 2008 and up to 88% of its executives reported that using 360-degree feedback is better than most previous experiences.

The 3D group conducted a survey to provide a complete description of the range of 360 degree feedback programs used by companies in the United States. Some of the key findings are

- 85% of the companies indicated that the budget for 360-degree feedback would be the same or bigger next year
- 52% of companies use the 360-degree feedback process on an enterprise – wide mechanism
- 89% of companies claimed strong support from senior management

Need for 360 – Degree Feedback

The 360 – degree feedback is allegedly superior to other methods and techniques of performance evaluation as it provides more complete and accurate assessment of employee's job performance and behavior. The traditional performance review methods are no longer seen as an effective means of obtaining feedback for employees. A single person, who may be biased or have an incomplete view of their work rates employees. They have also been criticized for the variety of reasons such as biasness of the rater, subjectivity of the ratings, halo error, use of ratings for personal or

political reasons, carelessness of the rater are some persistent problems associated with the traditional methods. Employees view performance information from multiple sources as fair, accurate, correct and reliable. The supervisor only performance appraisal is subjective and relies solely on supervisor's judgment.

360 – Degree feedback offers feedback from multiple sources as opposed to feedback from the only superior who may have incomplete or limited knowledge of the employees work. Feedback is more difficult to be written off as invalid when received from multiple sources. Multiple raters offering similar feedback will send a reinforced message to the rater about what is working well and what needs to be improved. It considers employees performance in areas, which often are ignored by other methods such as willingness to apply discretionary efforts like extra time, effort, referring potential customers and employees. The aim is to improve all round employees' performance by making them aware of their strengths and weaknesses.

The underlying assumption of 360 – degree technique is that accuracy and scope of assessment of individual increases when consulting a full circle of daily business contacts as opposed to one supervisor. The view of the practitioners is that the use of more raters leads to more results that are accurate for the individual. (Church, A.H. & Braken, D.W., 1997)

This technique provides a panoramic view of the employee's performance. It provides feedback on learners cooperation within the department, cooperation with people outside their department, concern with suppliers, customers, vendors and other stakeholders with whom he interact in the course of his job performance. This technique can provide a more balanced view. Employees find this methodology to be more thorough and unbiased than traditional techniques of evaluation. When they consider this methodology as opposed to being evaluated by an individual supervisor who

may have limited knowledge of what they do, they realize the potential worth of this technique. Feedback from 360 degree is considered the most powerful motivator for behavioral change. It minimizes bias problems that are inherited in other methods of performance evaluation.

Effects of 360-degree feedback

Empirical studies suggest that use of 360-degree feedback is an organization brings a behavioral change in the employees depending on the reactions to the feedback displayed by an employee. Reactions to the feedback are often characterized by withdrawal, display of mistrust, decreased level of commitment, unwillingness to communicate or interact with colleagues, general defensiveness, decreased productivity, sadness, anger, decreased job satisfaction and decreased desire to continue in the organization. To combat negative reactions, organizations must ensure that feedback is given to the concerned in the right environment by the right person.

Positive feedback reinforces employee's behavior and motivates the employee. It also increases employee's commitment, productivity, desire to stay in the organization, quality work, communication, application of new skills and knowledge, reduced absenteeism, referring potential customers and employees, increases discretionary efforts by employees such as willingness to devote extra time and effort for the organization. It brings a positive behavioral change in the employees. It enhances self-awareness and increases employees' engagement and commitment to the organization. Engaged employees are more committed to their work and feel connected to the success of their organization. In addition, they are more likely to believe in their organization's vision and mission.

In 360-degree feedback, negative feedback has been termed as corrective feedback. The aim of the feedback is to identify the training and developmental needs of an employee whereby the

employee can work on his shortcomings and become more effective leader for the organization. It enables employees to see themselves from other peoples perspective highlighting what is working well and what needs to be changed. Companies are now linking 360-degree feedback results to administrative decisions of pay, promotion and transfer to realize their full investment in this process.

Corporate Examples of 360-degree feedback

Over the years, the number of companies following 360-degree feedback has immensely increased. Many companies had initially conducted workshops for its implementation and the results were found to be effective.

The **Adani group** which has established itself as an infrastructure business giant in Gujarat and perhaps in the entire country implemented 360 degree feedback for top level managers in the year 2005. **Gati Ltd.** Are a pioneer and a leader in Express distribution and supply chain solutions in India. The company has over 3500 employees and a turnover of over 576 crores. The company has been following 360-degree feedback process for the last twelve years and is immensely satisfied with its results

The 360-degree feedback based Leadership development programme was initiated at **Bharat Electronics Limited (BEL)** with the primary intention of improving and enhancing the leadership styles of senior executives at BEL. It is a government company established in the year 1954. Because of the programme, behavioral changes were observed in the participants like more respect for each other, broad mindedness, some abrasive people have become charming. It was felt that 360-degree feedback had a positive impact on ones professional and personal life as well.

Maruti Suzuki India Limited introduced 360-degree feedback system in the year 2006. The feedback has been a revelation for

many managers and there has been a significant transformation of leadership styles of many individuals.

At **Philips**, it was observed that managers being exposed to 360-degree assessment have improved their performance level in the organization.

At **SKF India** the tool is used for employees at all levels and is optional and purely used for self-development. The feedback is used for development and formulating plan for improvement.

Moserbaer uses 360-degree feedback for general managers and above levels. It is perceived that such assessment helps them to be more self-aware and contributes to their future growth.

As part of the LEAD initiative at **NTPC**, the 360-degree feedback is done once in three years for senior grade employees and IT enabled software has been used for assessing the data and developing managers in the past.

Wipro first introduced click-360, its online 360-degree feedback application. Like Infosys and Wipro most of companies chiefly MNCs uses 360 degree to rate its employees performance because it consists feedback from all the side like immediate boss, subordinate, peer employee in same department, and customer to whom they deliver product or services.

IBM provides an interesting example highlighting a shift in use of assessments. Until recently, IBM used 360-degree feedback as part of their annual performance review. Since IBM appreciated the value of multiple perspectives, a new employee satisfaction survey was implemented to regain the benefits found in using the survey without the pitfalls.

AT&T, Mass mutual insurance, Bank of America, Digital, Tenneco, Exxon, General Electric, Daimler- Chrysler ,Reliance Industries, Tata Group, Adyta Birla Group, HCL, Novell

India Limited, Bizwiz (Canada), **Career Lab**(U.S.A), **Godrej, Crompton Greaves** are some of the major companies following the 360 – degree feedback method.

Some organizations do undertake a lot of silent work on 360-degree feedback and make numerous efforts for integrating them into the employee's life without any huge investment. After all, it is an important milestone in an individual's, team and organization journey of leadership.

Guidelines for Implementing 360 - Degree Feedback

- At its outset, 360 - degree feedback instrument must be thoroughly tested for reliability and validity. It must measure what it claims to measure. It should be evaluated for consistency. If it claims to rate employee's commitment, it must clearly define what commitment is.
- It should be simple, easy to understand and straightforward. In today's technological world with the use of computers the information gathered through the 360 - degree feedback instrument can be easily compiled; analysis and processing of information can be done at a faster pace.
- Companies must understand that 360 - degree feedback is a continuous exercise and not a one time phenomenon. The perceived benefits of 360 - degree feedback will be realized only when implemented in the right organizational climate. For its success, it must be incorporated in the culture of the organization.
- A quality instrument must guarantee confidentiality. When anonymity is assured, the raters can give unbiased ratings. In the absence of anonymity, one will hesitate from providing his actual views about his superiors because of the fear of confrontation.

360 Degree Feedback Method of Performance Appraisal in the Corporate Sector – Need and Impact

- The raters should be asked to support their ratings. It might encourage them to be more thoughtful in their ratings. This will minimize the chances of rating being used for personal or political reasons, halo error etc and will ensure that ratings are unbiased and fair.
- For the success of 360-degree feedback, it is imperative to have top management support and commitment. The active participation of top management is required. If organizational leaders support the programme, the employees will echo the same. They should be involved from designing the feedback criterion to evaluating the feedback reports.
- 360 - Degree feedback must be aligned with business strategy. It must be tailor made to the companies' requirement with inherent flexibility in the system. The system should be designed to be holistic in its reach.
- It is important to implement 360 - Degree feedback as a pilot project to allow the employees of the company to gain familiarity and experience from the process. To reap its complete benefit the process must initially be considered for developmental purposes and when the employees gain familiarity with the process it can be used for evaluative purposes.

Conclusion

360 – Degree feedback is a powerful tool of performance assessment and in identifying the developmental needs. Its implementation not only involves monetary costs but also some hidden cost for the organization. It should initially be introduced as a pilot project to eliminate uncertainties if any with the method and when the companies' employee become familiar with the process it can be introduced on a large scale. Regular workshops in this regard must be organized. Companies must not discount

the importance of a feedback coach. The task of the feedback coach is not only to give feedback to the concern individual but also to help him in analyzing the feedback. For the programme to become a success, it must have support of the senior managers of the company. To ensure the credibility of the program the anonymity of the rater must be assured. If the raters are assured of the confidentiality of the ratings, they are bound to be unbiased in their ratings.

Organizations can only benefit from the programme if the learner accepts the feedback and take appropriate action to remedy any friction points. If companies do not follow up on the feedback received the very purpose of 360 – degree feedback is vitiated. Due considerations should be given to the strengths that are uncovered in the process. Companies often become pre occupied with the weaknesses identified and ignore the strengths uncovered.

Nevertheless, the existence of 360 – Degree feedback process enhances the transparency and trusting climate in the organization. There has been a decline in office politics because of this. It must be used very strategically to reap its benefits. Its full potential can be utilized if its results are linked to administrative decisions of pay, promotion and transfer. It can be a powerful tool to help employees grow within an organization. Used successfully, it is a tool that enhances employee's engagement and commitment to the organization, identifies training needs and help employees develop their competencies and go on to succeed in a leadership role.

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Dr Alka Agrawal
Department of Commerce
Kamala Nehru College
University of Delhi

Shikha Gupta
Research Scholar
Mewar University

Self-Confidence: A Key to Success in Sports

Introduction

Sports and games, an excellent source of diversion and recreation have also turned so highly competitive that there is an insatiable quest among individuals for making and breaking records in performance and winning medals at international athletic contests. Organization of apex tournaments is today a great money-spinner. The pomp and glory involved in sports competitions add to the prestige and honour of nation. The involvement of print and electronic media has added new dimensions to sport competition. Sports competitions are therefore, becomes emotionally charged situations in which tempers run high and tantrums over-power participants, officials and even spectators. Competition can cause athletes to react both physically (somatic) and mentally (cognitive) in a manner which can negatively affect their performance abilities. Preparing for sports competitions now-a-days is, more complex and difficult; therefore it requires disciplined training for achieving high standards in sports.

Athletes and coaches spend thousands of hours in physical practice sessions attempting to develop physical skills to perfection. Somehow the misconception persists that if one practices and trains hard enough physically for a competition, everything else will magically come together. Some of the athletes in the world are physically gifted yet, their lack of psychological skill prevents them from performing well in sport.

Sound mental preparation is quite necessary to succeed in sport. It is true that there is a “physical” component to performance and that one need the right techniques and skills in their respective sport. But there is a mental and emotional side of competition as well. There is a link between mental and physical performance. In fact, during a given competition, or between two competitions

that closely follow each other, there is usually no marked change in an athlete's skill level, physiological capacity, or biomechanical efficiency. The fluctuation in performance is generally caused by the fluctuation in the athlete's mental control.

Sports performance is not simply a product of physiological and biomechanical processes but psychological factors also play a crucial role in determining performance. Although psychological preparation is a component that has been often neglected by athletes and coaches alike, studies have shown that mental readiness was felt to be the most significant statistical link with Olympic ranking. Athletes have frequently been quoted to state that the mental aspect is the most important part of one's performance.

Today, modern sports record an increasing number of athletes of the same or very similar functional and physical abilities and technical-tactical readiness. In such situations, when two athletes of very similar capabilities meet, a more successful one will definitely be the one having more adequate psychological preconditions.

The most important part of psychological preparation for competition is the development of personality traits necessary for success in a competition. These traits are diligence, perservance, determination, responsibility, emotional stability, self-control, self-confidence, calmness and competitiveness. These traits are tested and well formed in competitions. If an athlete is well prepared for competition from physical, technical and tactical point of view, the most important factor deciding about their degree of success is self-confidence. The most consistent finding in peak performance literature is the direct correlation between self-confidence and success. Self-confidence is considered to be one of the most prominent traits in successful athleteand it has a remarkable effect on one's performance as it helps an individual to reduce psychological state such as anxiety and also other similar undesirable symptoms. Self-confidence is advantageous for athletes.

Concept of Self-Confidence

practice, consider it a key component in the programmes of mental exercises intended for athletes. The athletes themselves point out that self-confidence is a mental trait of key importance for their success in relevant sport performance, but only when it is high, stable and resistant to irresolution. That is why all young, talented and ambitious athletes wish to make their fragile and unstable self-confidence that accompanies ups and downs of their performance to become much stronger, more stable and resistant. Self-confidence is a key factor in discrimination between successful and less successful athletes. Level of self-confidence in athletes is highly influenced by their selection of goals, commitment and endurance. An athlete with lack of self-confidence doubts whether he/she is good enough, whether he/she has qualities necessary for success. When an athlete doubts his/her success or expects something bad to happen, he/she creates a so-called negative self-imposed prophecy, which is very much present in sports. Negative self-imposed prophecies are psychological obstacles that lead to a magic circle: expectation of failure leads to real failure, which on the other hand reduces self-confidence and opinion of one's own self and increases expectation of future failures.

Successful athletes work constantly on building their self-confidence. Although success is believed to enhance self-confidence, it is more often that the opposite is true: good performance is a 'consequence' of self-confidence. The most accurate would be to conclude that self-confidence is both a cause and a consequence of success in sports. There are a number of techniques for developing self-confidence. The role of coaches in development, enhancement and maintenance of self-confidence with athletes is of key importance.

Models of Self-Confidence in Sport

There are theoretical approaches or models in general approach to self-confidence in sport used to test and explain it. However, researches on self-confidence in sport mostly contain two theoretical approaches:

- Bandura's model of self-efficacy and
- Vealey's model of multi-dimensional sport self-confidence

that make him successful in sport especially when he/she interacts with competitive orientation thus creating temporary self-confidence that has a direct impact on behaviour and performance. Competitive orientation is not the same in everyone, because each person has a different notion of success.

Competitiveness as part of self-confidence assumes an athlete's confidence in his/her capabilities to perform or win regardless the quality of performance. For the needs of sport self-confidence testing, Vealey has developed the following instruments: TSCI (Trait Sport Confidence Inventory); SSCI (State Sport Confidence Inventory) and COI (Competitive Orientation Inventory). Using these instruments it is possible to foresee a more successful state of self-confidence of athletes in different situations and accordingly their behaviour and successfulness.

However, as majority of athletes claim that social factors, such as behaviour of coaches, their communication styles as well as expectations of important adults, have an important impact on their sport self-confidence, this model can be considered incomplete. That is why Vealey reviewed this model in which she makes a distinction between self-confidence in current competition and one in forthcoming season based on a typical level of self-confidence of a person. This means that self-confidence can be something felt only today, which makes it unstable (state of self-confidence), or it can be part of a person thus very stable (feature of self-confidence). Trait-confidence can be defined as a dispositional feeling about being able to perform a task, whereas state-confidence refers to a more "in the moment" belief about being able to perform the task (Vealey 1986).

Multi-dimensionality of self-confidence in sport is represented through components where the level of confidence determines how athletes will see and interpret (cognition) different situations they find themselves in, how they will feel then (affects) and how they will behave (emotions, behaviour, cognition).

Types of Self-Confidence

Based on her own model of multi-dimensional self-confidence and a large number of researches, Vealey concluded that self-confidence in sport consists of three independent components or types of self-confidence:

- Physical abilities and training
- Cognitive efficacy
- Level of endurance

These three components are closely connected to:

- Competitive anxiety
- Ability of adjustment
- Sport performance itself.

The Six Sources of Self-confidence

The self-confidence that an individual feels during a particular activity or situation is generally derived from one or more of the following six elements:

- **Performance Accomplishments:**

Performance accomplishment is the strongest contributor to sport confidence. When an athlete performs any skill successfully, he/she will generate confidence and be willing to attempt something slightly more difficult. Skill learning should be organized into a series of tasks that progress gradually and allow the athlete to master each step before progressing on to the next. Personal success breeds confidence, while repeated personal failure diminishes it.

- **Being involved with the success of others:**

It

especially when they believe that the performer with whom they're playing with (e.g. a team-mate) closely matches their own qualities or abilities. In effect, it evokes the reaction: "if they can do it, I can do it".

- **Verbal Persuasion:**

Verbal Persuasion is a means of attempting to change the attitudes and behaviour of athletes, and this also includes changing their self-confidence. In sport, coaches often try to boost confidence by convincing athletes that the challenge ahead is within their capabilities: "I know you are a great player so keep your spirit up and play hard". An athlete might reinforce this by repeating the message over and over to him or herself as a form of self-persuasion.

- **Imagery Experiences:**

Athletes can use mental imagery in an attempt to adjust to their stress levels prior to competition. Calming images of relaxing scenes, peace and tranquillity will reduce their stress level. It is used to calm the mind and body and on the other hand high-energy images of intense competition, strong effort, and successful performance in their mind will often raise physiological activity. When athletes uses imagery, they should convince themselves that they can endure more muscular fatigue, manage potential threats safely, achieve greater athletic feats, or return to performance from injury, the imagery should be structured so that the individuals imagine themselves performing just slightly better than what they think they can do. Just as in setting goals, the imagery should be challenging but attainable.

- **Physiological States:**

Physiological states such as muscular tension, palpitations, tension, nausea, sweat, clammy hands, and butterflies in the

- Athletes with high sport self-confidence would possess better concentration, game strategies, healthy emotions, control of tempos.
- Self-confident athletes have been consistently associated with positive affect, whereas a lack of confidence has been associated with anxiety, depression, and dissatisfaction.
- Self-confident athletes have also been linked to productive achievement behaviours such as increased effort and persistence.
- Self-confident athletes have also been associated with the setting of challenging goals and the expenditure of maximal effort and persistence to achieve those goals.

Thus, athletes who are high in confidence are likely to succeed because of their productive achievement behaviours.

Characteristics of low self-confident athletes

- **Unable to Bounce Back from Mistakes:**

Athletes with low confidence can get stuck in to a cycle of negative thoughts and behaviour after mistakes. This means multiple mistakes can happen when it really only needed to be one. One may notice during games that he/she is still focusing on a mistake many minutes after it happened. The most confident athletes can recover from a mistake within a few seconds and do not let it affect their psychological state or their play.

- **Cannot Control Negative Emotions:**

Out of control emotions are a sign of negative thoughts and this may show through one's body language or it can be noticed through mind and how an individual cannot focus on what he/she is doing. Negative emotions and their levels

depend on the individual but may include anger, anxiety, fear or sadness. Confident athletes can stay composed with a positive attitude in any situation.

- **Performing Poorly Under Pressure:**

Failing in pressure situations is a big sign of low self-confidence. Low confidence is underestimating one's ability to deal with situations and an athlete can notice their performance level will be much lower than they know they are capable of.

- **Lack of Focus on Important Information:**

Athletes get distracted by unimportant things such as the crowd, parents, or events that are not under control such as the opponent, the officiating, the weather, field conditions, the past, the outcome, other people's expectations, etc. If an athlete is at optimum level of confidence then he/she will only focus on themselves and what they need to do.

- **Worrying About the Future and Fearing Failure:**

Athlete with low self-confidence feels that they will not be able to perform at a level necessary to do well or to overcome obstacles. During the game situation an individual's thoughts about the future will prevent them from focusing on what they are doing at the moment, or before games worrying too much about future will prevent them from preparing correctly. Confident athletes have belief and the knowledge that whatever happens in the future even if unexpected, they will overcome them and perform at their best.

- **Lack of Motivation and Enjoyment:**

to compete or train. Participation in sport at any level is supposed to be enjoyable and if an athlete is at his optimum confidence level he will be able to both perform well and enjoy

issues. It is important to set realistic goals yet challenging so that an athlete can go into a competition with excitement and confidence. For complex tasks, the goals should be specific and challenging but attainable. For easy or routine tasks, the harder the goal, the better the performance. Assuming an individual has the requisite skills and commitments, working toward difficult goals can build a strong sense of confidence because the goals offer more information about the performer's capability to acquire knowledge and skills than do easier goals. Some individuals, however, may need some persuasive help to be convinced that the goals are not too difficult. In addition, for complex and difficult tasks, short-term goals should be used along with long-term goals. Similarly, when using short-term goals, the performer's perceptions of self-confidence for attainment of future goals should be monitored, as well as perceptions of self-confidence that result from goal attainment.

Adequate Preparation:

One reason for self-doubt is inadequate preparation. The best athletes in the world spend countless hours on their fitness level outside the court or field. By working on strength, endurance and ability, as it pertains to a particular sport, one can be more assured during the heat of a game that he/she is having the required fitness level to compete with the best. Putting extra time on working over the skills needed for a particular sports makes an athlete more confident during each play.

Positive Self-Talk:

Self-talk is the running conversation that goes on in our head nearly 24 hours a day. Most of the time we did not really listen to or pay attention to what we are saying, but the words that constantly spin around in our head can have an influence on the images in our mind and also on attitude, mood, self-worth, determination, and attention. People may simply be born optimistic or pessimistic, and

their self-talk reflects that attitude toward life.

Positive self-talk will affirm that an individual possess the skills, abilities, positive attitudes and beliefs that are the building blocks of success. The statements one chooses should be vivid, should roll off the tongue, and be practiced well in advance of competition. Most of all, they must be totally believable. It should be used particularly in the low-confidence situations. Self-talk can lead the way to higher belief in your ability and, ultimately, your self-confidence.

Personal Affirmations:

Affirmations are self-talk statements that create an image, thought, or positive mind-set. Affirmations should be realistic and focus on something that is in one's control. It is used to overcome shaky self-confidence. Affirmations can set up the framework for all of that as long as they deal with the present and carry enough resolve to have a positive effect. If an athlete has just started the sport and using the affirmation that "I am an Olympic Champion" probably will not boost his/her self-confidence for an upcoming match. It is important to keep affirmations focused on the current situation and make them reflect a certain aspect that we know is true. Otherwise, they are just wishful thinking without any resolve. Use affirmations in practice so that they have a positive effect on an individual's mind-set during a match.

Distinguishing Confident Situations and Situations of Doubts:

To achieve a greater sense of stability in confidence, it is necessary to know exactly what causes it to fluctuate. Take a clean page and divide it into two columns. Label the first column as 'High-confidence situations' and the second column as 'Low-confidence situations'. In the first column, list all of the situations or circumstances of the sport in which an athlete feels completely confident. In the second column, list the situations or

circumstances that sometimes cause confidence to diminish. Clearly identifying the situations that make an individual feel uneasy is the first step towards building greater self-confidence and at the same time also creates the awareness of areas that can be improved.

Visualization:

Visualization is a powerful confidence booster. Visualization is an act of creating and ‘rehearsing’ a positive mental experience in order to enhance one’s ability to achieve a successful outcome in real life. The most important thing with visualization is using multiple senses, like sound, sight and smell. When a football player visualizes scoring a goal, he can feel his foot hitting the ball, the smell of the grass under his foot and the sound of the crowd. This incredibly vivid imagery helps an athlete to prepare mentally, by improving their confidence, focus, clarity and speed of thought. It helps them prepare for any scenario: how will I react to the crowd? What if we go 1-0 down? What shot will I take in a certain situation? But it also fires impulses to the muscles, therefore priming them for action. The more vivid the mental image, the more effectively the brain primes the muscles to complete the same physical and technical action in a real game.

itself is enough to beat you. This positive approach will help an athlete to feel better and perform at a higher level

Development of Positive and Productive Attitude Towards Mistakes:

It is important to express a positive, productive attitude toward mistakes, even toward defeat. When athletes make mistakes, usually they become frustrated, often too excited and anxious. This leads to unproductive changes of attention and increased muscle tension, which has additional damaging effect on performance. It is very useful to teach people to look upon mistakes as useful experiences in the process of achieving personal perfection. No athlete is happy with mistakes, but it is a big mistake to make them feel upset because they made a mistake.

State of anxiety will only cause new mistakes and failures, so it is much better to try to achieve at least a partial success, remaining cool and learning from the mistake, using it for future success. Four steps characterize this positive approach to mistakes. First, the athlete's distress about the mistake is acknowledged. Second, the athlete is complimented by the coach, finding that something about the performance that was correct. The compliment must be about an important and relevant aspect of the task. Third, the coach provides instructions on how the athlete can improve the mistake. Fourth, the coach ends with a positive note by encouraging the athlete to keep trying.

Concentration on the Process:

When one is first learning complex tasks, self-confidence and success can be enhanced by emphasizing process-related (or learning) goals over outcome-related (or performance) goals. Rather than defining success through outcome measures, such as winning and losing, success should be redefined to include process variables, such as effort, form and strategy. These process-related goals are important because they help individuals to focus on the learning

aspect of a skill rather than viewing the skill as requiring inherent aptitude.

Positive Communication:

Positive communication is especially an important technique when mistakes and setbacks occur. Because mistakes and failures are inevitable, the way in which the coach communicates and interacts with their trainees will have an important influence on the learner's self-confidence. Telling learners that their past failures were due to insufficient effort, rather than lack of ability, can help them meet their setbacks with renewed vigor and persistence because lack of effort can be rectified. But encouraging learners to emphasize external factors (e.g., bad luck or task difficulty) as the reason for a setback (as some athletic coaches do) could be a serious because the learners may start to perceive that the outcome is out of their control and not take responsibility for their performance.

Positive communication by the coach has been shown to be very helpful in reducing the negative affect that occurs in failure situations. Most individuals feel discouraged and ashamed when they do not perform well and need the assurance and encouragement of their coach in regard to their abilities. In response to the athletes' mistakes, the coach should not focus on the error itself, but instead find something positive and constructive to say about improving the performance. A positive communication style allays feelings of embarrassment and promotes a sense of self-confidence.

Performance Feedback:

Performance feedback can provide clear information about the athletes that they are making progress toward their goals. Different types of performance feedback can be used, depending on an athlete's phase of skill acquisition. As with performance feedback, if rewards are used they must be clearly tied to performance progress in order to influence self-confidence.

Anxiety Reduction:

Some athletes may interpret an increase in their physiological arousal as a fear that they cannot perform a skill successfully. Thus, it is believed that if the arousal of these individuals can be reduced through such techniques as relaxation and biofeedback, fears will decrease and self-confidence will increase.

Manipulating the Environment:

Another technique that coaches can use to help improve coping confidence is to try to manipulate the environment to reduce the uncertainties of the situation. For example, sources of uncertainty might include how dangerous the situation is, how well one expects to perform, whether one will be asked to perform, or what ones teammates will think. Uncertainty can be reduced by providing information of task requirements, providing assurance to the learner (or performer), and emphasizing realistic, short-term goals that take the attention away from long-range outcomes.

Situational Training Sessions:

A good way to build self-confidence is to organize situational training sessions when the competition conditions are simulated, because in this way the athletes increase their self-confidence and find it easier to cope with stressful situations during real competitions since they are already familiar with the situation.

Conclusion

Self-confidence is a belief that a person has inner sources, required abilities to be successful. The very concept of self-confidence refers to the belief of individuals in their own competences or their expectation to be successful based on those competences. Self-confidence is characterized by high expectation of success. It can help generate positive emotions, improve concentration, influence the setting of goals, increase commitment, and direct the athletes toward winning rather than toward avoiding failures and

thus enhancing the psychological strength of athletes. Self-confidence is built by successful performance, self-confident behaviour, self-confident thinking, imagination, increasing physical fitness and mental preparedness. Self-confidence is a potent predictor of an individual's performance, given the appropriate skills and adequate incentives.

These facts lead to the conclusion that adequate approach to mental training is extremely necessary in sports. It has been proven that self-confidence increases considerably through mental training. Majority of athletes, coaches and psychologists deeply believe that from psychological point of view self-confidence is the key factor for success in sports. Development and maintenance of self-confidence is one of the biggest requirements of mental training with athletes and is identified in sport literature as one of the 'secrets' of their success. Impact of self-confidence on an athlete's performance is one of the most intriguing topics in sport psychology. All coaches consider confidence a dominant trait which considerably determines the quality of sport performance. The athlete's low self-confidence leads to an expectation of poor performance and the poor performance leads to an even low level of self-confidence. As we know that athletes need self-confidence to win but it is also true that athletes need to win to develop self-confidence. The need is to find out how to get this winning/increased self-confidence, which breeds success and how to prevent an individual from losing self-confidence.

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On Plato's Criticism of Democracy: Does the Prescriptive Solution Establish Justice

Introduction

Democracy's constant creativity is even more dangerous. The audacity of post-truth to present itself as a valid category will be a matter of historical inquiry for theorists and academicians, but the manner in which it is being increasingly utilized by the dominant and powerful in democratic systems has dispossessed the oppressed of their most potent weapon, their authority over the truth and reality of their own experiences, their telling and retelling of trauma and violence. "Alternative facts", a close contender in the list of worse misnomers of all times next only to "war on terror", hopes to disguise its brutal violence by appearing as just another innocent fact while simultaneously blurring the line between the factual repression that the majority lived and the apathetic opinions that the marked sites of knowledge creation generated. An understanding of the history of democracy especially Plato's forewarning against the perversions of democratic systems and how we reached the Post-Trump pro-Yogi phase is hence no longer a luxury, it is essential and seeks immediate attention.

Plato and Moral reform

George Klosko mentions that Plato isn't simply interested in justice as an abstract question in moral philosophy but in moral reform and thus the inquiry into a just city is essential to understand how just souls can be raised. Book VIII of Plato's Republic begins by Plato demarcating the four different types of regimes – and the first that loves honour is called timarchy or timocracy. Timocracy arises from aristocracy when it is marked by factionalism and social strife, such that it is pulled by the iron and bronze sections towards money making, while the other two sections pull it towards virtue. In timarchy, the auxiliaries elevate their position to that of rulers and lack any virtue of temperance whatsoever. This quickly

degenerates into the second type of regime which Plato identifies as an oligarchy, one founded on property assessment and hence the wealthy come to be honored in such a city leading to an incapable ruler with no conception of justice. This regime, Plato elaborates, degenerates quickly into a democracy primarily because of the insatiable character of the good that oligarchy proposes for itself. Plato's democracy comes up when the poor win, killing some of the others, making a mockery of freedom. Plato's democracy, an elaborate criticism of which follows, leads to the worse form of governance, tyranny, which represents absolute injustice.

Plato's four-part classification of ruling regimes finds its mirror replica in his four-part division of human beings primarily because for him if regimes are ultimately composed of people, there must be isomorphic linkage between them.

"Therefore if there are five arrangements of cities, there would also be five for the soul of private men" (544e)

While associating analogies serves beneficial for methodological creativity, one is bound to be critical of the fact that Plato's private man is in a realm of spatio-temporal permanence where his performance in the public sphere is necessarily linked to the category of city he is present in, which also leaves no scope for a city's heterogeneous composition of men of all kinds. However, what seems ingenious about the Platonic method of relating cities to the men that occupy them, is that he locates the scope of revolution within individuals themselves. Therefore, since resistance can be summoned by men from within the body, its tumult with desires and a natural degeneration, Plato could be called a pioneer of liberalism; although it must be noted Plato has a very complex understanding of one's agency. In Plato's conception, doing what one really wants to do is an exercise of one's agency only if the action is caused by a necessary desire and aligns with the overall aim to maintain justice, otherwise it would appear that the

individual's agency is overpowered by his own unnecessary, unjust desires.

Critique of the democratic soul – the incapacity of the ruler

Plato's critique of the democratic character is closely linked to his theory of the tripartite soul, which, as Klosko mentions, is based on the phenomenon of psychological conflict. His tripartite division of souls refers to the appetitive part as comprising of bodily appetites like hunger, thirst and sex; a reasonable part which calculates the pareto optimality of situations; and the third spirited part, which is naturally allied with reason. Because Socrates perceives of justice as some sort of relationship between the three parts and their harmonious being, it is impossible for the democrat to be just as the democratisinvolved only in appetitive indulgences. While the just soul is dominated by reason, the timocratic man is ruled by spirit, the oligarchic is ruled by different appetites, and so is the democratic soul. However, although the oligarchic soul has the ability to differentiate between necessary and unnecessary appetites, the democratic soul is unable to prioritize and hence is lost in the maze of varied appetites. The tyrant, worse of all is completely overpowered by the most pervert or lawless of the unnecessary desires, in Socratic terms "love lives like a tyrant within him in all anarchy and lawlessness(575a)".

Not only does Plato present the democrat as constantly occupied by the vagaries of life and unabashedly numerous desires, Plato ascribes this disunity in democratic self to be unfit of ruling and hence problematic. Because Plato's conception of justice is closely related to the theory of class specialization, he believes that a just city will be one which is based on just laws and run by a just ruler. Moreover, he believes that a ruler must also be selected as per requisite skill and aptitude, which as theory of education would suggest can be acquired, and considers the democrat as especially unfit of being the ruler. Clearly Plato understands this multiplicity

of desires to cause multiple actions, and while Plato's problem is not against multitasking or people living a holistic public life (Athens had various festivals and carnivals), he is deeply concerned about people performing actions according to their irrational desires rather than rational suitability. Such a person Plato suggests would prefer living in a democratic space only because it would give him the freedom to pursue his wants. Theorists have argued that underlying Plato's criticism of the multiplicity of desires of the democratic man is his primary disrespect for the desire satisfaction theory of good (Santas 2000). This is also linked to Plato's condemnation for absolute liberty and his preference of justice and happiness over and above liberty, as the paper explains further.

Moral corruption of a democratic system

The second level of criticism that Plato has against democracy is that it is an extremely morally corrupt system which is closely related to Plato's disdain for sophistic doctrines, especially those concerning rhetoric. E.R.Dodds has placed the date of the text *Gorgias* which contains Plato's critique of rhetoric and popular opinion in 387 BC, just twenty-four years after the tyranny of the Four Hundred, two of Socrates most successful students had led the revolutions that resulted in bloody oligarchic tyrannies and their antidemocratic exploits contributed much to the Athenian death sentences against Plato's beloved Socrates. Plato's desire for oligarchic government in Athens rested on his foundational epistemology; access to true knowledge was limited to those of wealth and high birth, and those few born with these qualities were the only legitimate candidates to be counted among the philosophic ruling few (McKomiskey 1992). In *The Republic*, Plato mentions how the democratic man who represents an absolute perversion of the system because he cannot differentiate between his rational, necessary desires and unnecessary, vulgar desires is often quite popular amongst many men and women because everyone can relate to some or the other shade of regime and character present in him. And even though

Plato mentions that democratic men do engage in politics and philosophy often on their own whims and fancies, Plato's treatise appears to be largely philosophical elitism having classified how different sections must remain faithful to the work they are supposed to perform only- the guardians to military wellbeing, the auxiliaries to wealth creation and the philosopher ruler to maintenance of justice. Plato's statement, "Aren't the people always accustomed to set up one man as their special leader and to foster him and make him grow great" (565d), shows how Plato is skeptical about leaders being popular precisely because it is this rhetoric that the leader employs that causes him to become a great tyrant. Under the guise of cancellation of debts and redistribution of land, the leader not only comes to be praised and hence occupies the supreme power over people's minds, but also engages in bloodshed and rioting without being noticed by those drunk in freedom. More importantly, because Plato essentializes justice as related to freedom, he remarks that the tyrant would wage wars as a beginning precisely to make sure that leadership remains, hence, compromising the overall happiness of the citizens. Much like what happens in contemporary fascist regimes, the tyrant no longer requires pretense of niceties or the use of populist appeals and does away with anyone who criticizes him leading to absolute indiscriminate purgation such that only the new citizens speak well of him while the wise men tragically flee from him.

Absolute freedom enslaves absolutely

The third level of critique that Plato employs against democracy is its commitment to absolute freedom, which Plato explains lays down the foundation for tyranny:

"Freedom, I said. For surely in a city under a democracy, you would hear that this is the finest thing it has, and that for this reason it is the only regime worth living in for anyone who is by nature free" (562c).

The inherent equality of a democratic system wherein, as Plato says, the metic is equal to the townsman and the woman to man because if everyone can pursue what one desires it ultimately leads to everyone being alike. And because slaves and women who consider themselves free in their desires perceive themselves of being worthy of receiving what they demand, they would be irritated as soon as denied, and this precisely would cause disobedience of laws and ultimately lead to anarchy, which would create space for a tyrannous ruler.

Further Plato is wary of the fact that in the democratic regime, the third class is one which possesses little but is always compensated and hence kept from revolting against the system. Plato also talks about some sort of redistribution happening from the richest to the poorest where the wealth is passed via the leaders, and just like our contemporary democracies, the trickle effect is rather minimal such that it hardly reaches the poor.

Is Plato's prescription enough?

It must essentially be noted that not only was Plato skeptical of democracy as a regime, his theory of rigid differentiation of function is in itself against the very principles of democracy. He differentiates three forms of classes – the rulers of philosopher kings who must protect the moral fabric of the city, the auxillaries who must obey the philosopher rulers and are the guardians of the city's physical safety and the productive class made up of craftsmen and traders who must engage in economic well being. This differentiation is obviously underlined by a strict hierarchy and separation, which shows how Plato's regard for moral and political concerns features well above economic matters. Plato's theory of four traditional virtues wherein wisdom and courage are the virtues of particular classes (philosophers and auxillaries primarily) and the other two virtues namely temperance and justice concern with the relationship between the classes. What Plato fails to decipher

is that it would be difficult to maintain such strict separation because even education and moral reform cannot compose one's desires, more so because of the very temporal nature of them. Therefore, this inherent hold on people's inner desires would soon turn oppressive and be detrimental to their happiness, and hence Plato's urge to impose justice would inherently lead to injustice. Moreover, Plato's remarks in favour of censorship and against art, which in itself is a natural expression of one's feelings, emotions and desires explains how Plato's happy citizen would ultimately be in a constant battle with oneself as well as the state. Not only this, Plato's discrimination against the two classes barred from ruling displays an absolute disregard of the moral worth of those two classes closely associated with a fixed differentiation of labor and lack of occupational mobility linked with a fetish for eugenics and racism. Richard Kraut also mentions that Socrates's disregard for the intellect of the masses arises not from an a priori prejudice but from personal experience of having cross-examined many people with the Socratic method, even though it must not be forgotten that most of the people who could afford the luxury of this philosophical inquiry were aristocrats whose moral conceptions he couldn't change.

Further Plato's perception of a near perfect world with its perfect differentiation and order is closely linked with his idea of Forms, where Plato perceives that everything that is visible in the sensible world has a perfect replica or form which is intelligible only when once the good is known. The Theory of Forms furthers the Heraclitean conception that knowledge of only those entities can be acquired that are not in flux. Klosko mentions that the implication of the divide between the imperfect sensible world and the perfect world of Forms is extreme political radicalism. The Allegory of the Cave also suggests that people have been raised in a world of shadows and would resist any attempt to free them.

Resembling the conception of negative liberty and positive liberty, Plato also analyses the distinction between what seems good to people and what people really want.

Kraut infactuses Karl Popper to analyze how a form of authoritarianism must be attributed to both Socrates and Plato. From the myth of the metals to the notorious class hierarchy, to the complete repression of an individual's desires, Plato's system reeks of totalitarianism. While his condemnation of democracy seems legitimate, his prescription of a totalitarian system instead displays a failed attempt to understand human intellect. Moreover, the complete submission of feelings and emotions to the higher order rationally, explains how Plato's concept of the political was deliberately distanced from the emotional. Furthermore, the totalitarian prescription reeks of a very instrumental notion of social conduct particularly because Plato mentions that the inability to perform one's requisite functions renders life unworthy of living, an extreme form of which would justify the rhetoric of social Darwinism. Plato's paternalistic state that will be confronted from the same challenges that the doctrine of benevolent despotism brings to the political plane is deeply humiliating to the mental and bodily dignity of men and women.

Conclusion

To conclude, therefore, authors like SS Monoson argue for a fundamental rethinking of the relationship between Plato's thought and the practice of democracy and explain that it is marked by a substantial measure of ambivalence, not unequivocal hostility, which she argues is possible when features of the Athenian civic self image are juxtaposed with Plato's account of philosophical practice. Further, a reinterpretation of Plato's debt to Heraclitus's flux which forces him to advocate a radical political reforms must also be analyzed carefully in order to understand the relation between the theory of forms and Plato's conception of democracy.

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Simple Rajrah

MA International Relations
Jawaharlal Nehru University

Re-inventing Household Shopping Patterns and Buying Roles: Exploring the 'New Women' in Urban India

Introduction

The new millennium witnessed the dawn of the 'global village', which brought about a worldwide structural shift in social, economic, political, and cultural spheres. South Asia, and specifically India, too experienced a transformation from its colonial and nationalist dialogue to a new discourse based on globalisation, liberalisation, and rise of the culture of consumerism.

The shift in the discourse is evidenced by the emergence of 'new women' who are increasingly becoming active participants in negotiating their own lives vis-à-vis the global economy. Women, symbolised primarily as 'mother' during the nationalist era (pre-independence era), acquired a binary image as 'daughters' and 'working women' in the post-colonial period (Kumar, 1993). In the post liberalisation era, the bourgeois Indian women became the site for the production of a modern nationalist culture of consumption representing the rapid globalisation of the Indian society (Chatterjee, 1989). The 'new middle-class' women increasingly integrated with the global economy through greater participation in the workforce, and strived to establish themselves as the global consumer.

Education, status, and social class all became significant markers in the construction of this new identity of the 'modern' women (Thapan, 2004). This new image of women was shaped by discourses of development and modernisation, where the production of the global culture through its impact on everyday life (more so, in the urban context) was seen to drive women towards creating a new identity for themselves. This new imagery was not just confined to Indian women but was seen across the 'third world women', developing a new trend across the South Asian countries (Chowdhury, 2010).

The rise of a culture of consumerism amongst the new middle class encased within its fold, gendered symbolic codes reflected in associations with commodities (Fernandes, 2000). This established a new image of urban women as the educated, confident, self-dependent, and glamorous entities, free to pursue their career along with their familial roles while maintaining a balance between tradition and modernity.

Financial independence, self-identity, job satisfaction and professional achievement, which were previously considered as the sole prerogative of men, are now desired also by the women. Urban India is witnessing an emergence of feminism and women liberation coupled with new family categories, like nucleus family with both the spouses working; women-headed households or single-women. A shift in the role-structure of women in the family has been noticed in recent years which is also getting reflected in the market-place.

Significance of the Study

Purchase decision-making, which was predominantly conceptualised as a male-dominated activity, is today witnessing bigger role of women. This has been possible due to the rise of educated, independent women having more access to disposable income. The 'new women' are gradually breaking away from their stereotypical roles along with increasing visibility of swapping in gender roles in purchase decision-making. While men also buy groceries; women now actively participate in the purchase of automobiles, electronics, and personal-care products. Women, today also take part in major household decisions on family finance, and purchase of land and property.

The changing milieu makes it imperative for the marketer to take cognizance of the ever more active role of 'new women' to ensure product success through better product positioning, pricing, distribution, and promotion. The present study focuses on select

product categories and analyses how the role of women in purchase decision-making is being influenced by the evolving emergence of the 'new women'.

Two hypotheses were formulated –

H₁: The difference in influence of women and men in purchase-decision-making is not significant.

H₂: The buying roles of women belonging to diverse demographic groups is not significantly different.

Research Methodology

For the purpose of the study, secondary data sources included newspapers and other weekly and monthly magazines, journals, films, advertisements, and relevant websites. The qualitative data was collected by conducting an in-depth interview of men and women belonging to different strata of society. The quantitative data was collected with the help of a self-administered questionnaire from two hundred fifty respondents (men and women) in Delhi and the NCR, to study the purchase behaviour of women in urban India. The data was statistically analysed, and inferences were drawn. The secondary data sources included newspapers and magazines, journals, films, advertisements, and websites.

For the purpose of the primary study, eight category of products were identified – clothing, daily consumables, 'embarrassing products used by females', groceries, toiletries and cosmetics, "embarrassing products used by males", financial products, and high-priced durables. For some of these products, such as high-priced durables, and financial products, men are perceived as the decision-makers, as the products involve higher financial outlay, higher risk, and technicalities. On the other hand, traditionally, purchase of groceries, toiletries and cosmetics, and clothing falls in the domain of women as the home-makers. With retail revolution entering the Indian market, in the form of hyper-

markets, online websites and home-delivery services, there is a radical change in purchase patterns and buying roles.

Review of literature: Understanding New Women

The present section discusses in detail – Who constitutes the ‘new woman’? What is her status in a household? How is she breaking the age-old gender-roles and stereotypical image in media?

The New Woman

Changing demographics and lifestyle had led to a shift in the role of Indian women from being a traditional housemaker to an informed and financially independent individual, whose voice can no longer be suppressed. This new image of women may be referred to as the ‘new women’ of the contemporary era, who are in contrast to their colonial counterparts.

The term ‘New Woman’ was coined by Grand (1894) more than a century ago. ‘New Woman’ was conceptualised as those protesting against the oppressive structures of patriarchy, fighting for their rights at economic, political, social or personal level. The new women predominantly belonged to the middle class. During the same period, the term was further popularised by writers, novelists, and playwrights, like, Henry James, Henrik Ibsen, etc., who through their strong female characters or heroines presented them as pushing the limits set by the male-dominated society. Their work exhibited the emergence of feminists, educated, independent career women in Europe and the United States.

The new image of women is also highlighted in the multiple works of South Asian scholars like Thapan (2004), Chatterjee (1989), Chowdhury (2010), Radhakrishnan (2009) and many others. They all talk about the “new liberal Indian women” who could participate in the modern economy, as both workers and consumers, while retaining their traditional roles and values. These women are educated and financially independent, and are also

actively involved in decision-making and purchasing products for their own and family needs. An image of 'new women' emerges in these works as consumers, who exercise control over their own lives, be it personal, social, or economic and who rules the market and takes a pivotal role as drivers of the global economy (Singhal, 2016).

New Women and the Changes in Family Structure

Family as an institution has played a central role in an individual's development in most South Asian countries. The twenty-first century recorded great changes of far-reaching importance in the family system under the influence of westernisation, industrialisation, modernisation, and greater population mobility across the subcontinent (Chowdhury, 2013). These influences have brought about changes in the traditional gendered role of women being the nurturer and provider of emotional caretaking, while economic sustenance was considered the responsibility of the menfolk. The socio-structural changes within the family have been more visible in the urban context. This has led to the rise of individualistic orientation among the people, which is discernible regarding the breakdown of joint family and rise of nuclear family structures. The structural changes in a family have been further accentuated due to a surge in the disposable income, owing to the participation of women in the workforce, and influences of mass media, resulting in the penetration of a culture of consumerism.

Family's Purchase Decision-Making and Buying Roles

Schiffman and Kanuk (1996) has identified eight distinct roles in the family decision-making process: influencers, gatekeepers, deciders, buyers, preparers, users, maintainers, and disposers. However, Kotler (2004) has classified the buying roles played in family's purchase decision-making into five categories – initiator (who first suggests the idea of buying the product); influencer (who provide information to other members about a product or service), decider (who takes the decision to shop or not), buyer (who make

the actual purchase), and user (who use or consume the product). The family structure, culture, traditional values, and the type of the product decide which member will play which role, and many-a-times a member can play more than one role.

Roles Played by Husband and Wife in Family-Purchase-Decisions

In mid-1940s, not more than twenty percent of the women belonging to urban middle-class enjoyed the same position, privileges, and freedom as their husbands did. The husband-domination in major purchase decisions still continues to be prevalent among the many Indian households. Increase in purchasing power of women has led to major changes in the family consumption pattern in general and women in particular. A report commissioned by private equity fund Everstone Capital stated that the women will make India richer by twenty-five percent by the year 2025 (Panicker and Ahmed, 2015). Women, nowadays, are educated, knowledgeable, informed as well as financially independent, which gives them an equal position with their male counterparts in decision-making, by comparing and scrutinising products before taking the final decision to purchase.

In an interesting study on traditional role specialisation and purchase behaviour, Webster (1994) concluded that in comparison to wives, husbands exert more influence in the purchase of automobiles; less influence in deciding how much to spend on food; and equal influence in deciding about vacations and housing. Moreover, men tend to concern themselves with relatively important and functional product attributes, like, price; while women have led in social and emotional behaviour and hence, concentrates on relatively minor aesthetic product attributes, like, colour.

There are certain products like, apparels, bags, accessories which women use for their self-consumption, enhancing their confidence

or personality. For these kinds of products, women are often the sole decision-makers (Panicker and Ahmed, 2015). Engel, Kollat, and Blackwell (1968) have identified four patterns of husband-wife influence in family consumption decisions – autonomic (when equal number of unilateral decisions are made by each spouse); husband dominated; wife dominated; and syncretic (when decisions are taken jointly by the spouses).

According to Oustlund (1973), 'husband dominance appears to be more likely when the husband is successful in his occupation. The wife's influence increases with age and is generally greater if she is employed'. Blood and Wolfe (1960) found that dominance in household decision-making is directly related to cultural norms of the society. Also, the power to make household decisions is related to the resources husband and wives bring to the household. Hampel (1974) asserted that the 'role structure in household decision behaviour is partially determined by education, occupational prestige, and wife's employment'.

Stereotyping of Gender-roles in Media

Many firms make a common fallacy of perceiving their consumers devoid of gender differentiation. Since a majority of the marketers are men, the product design, services and their advertisements are positioned keeping in mind the male consumers. They fail to distinguish between the male versus female psychic in purchase decision-making.

Kerin, et al. (1979), examined the portrayal of women in advertisements and concluded that the 1980's would exhibit a larger proportion of advertisements featuring women in work-related settings in parity occupations with men. They believed that though sex in advertising is expected to become more explicit; the use of women as sex objects will decline.

Plakoyiannaki, et al. (2008), indicated that women are portrayed in a stereotypical way in online advertising; supporting the notion

that sexism is prevalent in online advertisements worldwide. The portrayal of women across web pages varies considerably, with female-audience web pages embracing “decorative” female images; male-audience web pages promoting polarising depictions of women in “dependent” or “non-traditional” roles; and general-audience web pages using portrayals of women as housewives or equal to men.

Dholakia and Chiang (2003), explored whether consumers associate e-shoppers with any gender-specific stereotypes. Such stereotypes were expected because shopping is considered a “female-typed” activity whereas technology is considered to be in the male domain. Results suggested that the global stereotype, held by both male and female respondents, was that of a shopper as a woman. This stereotype reversed when the product purchased was technical and expensive (DVD player). In terms of personality attributions, the female shopper was seen to be less technical, less spontaneous, and more reliable and attributions regarding personal characteristics are not influenced significantly by product type, outlet type, or purchase purpose.

Chang (2007), studied gender differences in processing strategies and elaboration thresholds. The study showed that comparative advertising encouraged a higher level of brand-evaluation involvement among men and led to greater purchase intentions. Putrevu (2004), explored how men and women respond to different types of print advertisements. The results show that women develop positive purchase intent if the advertisements are verbal, harmonious, complex, and category-oriented, whereas men base their purchase intent on the basis of advertisements that are comparative, simple, and attribute-oriented.

In a study by Douglas (1977), magazine readership habits of working and non-working wives in the U.S. and France were analysed. No major differences emerged in the frequency and type of magazines read by working and non-working wives in either

country. Thus emphasis on the magazines as the major advertising vehicle does not necessarily imply a lopsided emphasis on non-working wives, as might have been expected, due to potentially greater time pressures as a working wife.

Emerging Trends and Patterns Exhibited by Secondary Data

With increased urbanization, joint family structures were soon replaced by nuclear families. However, in last two decades, the urban India has witnessed a major change in family structures – from nuclear families to childless families, single parent family, and live-in families. The new form of families, where either or both adults are working, were often termed as YUPPIE (Young Urban or Upwardly-mobile Professionals), and those without kids as DINK (Dual Income, No Kids).

These changes have resulted in an increase in number of independent and confident women in urban India. The career-oriented women have become multi-taskers, playing multiple roles, and are hard-pressed for time. The newer family structures and increase in number of working women has given rise to newer household shopping patterns and a shift in buying roles.

In order to understand the changes taking place in the status of women and their choices as a buyer, and the resultant changes in the market offerings the secondary data sources were explored and the findings are categorised under two major sections – single women in contemporary urban India; and advent of 'new women'.

I. Single Women in Contemporary Urban India

Single women in urban India is developing as a target segment with a huge potential of developing as a market for different products because of the following reasons:

Increase in the Number of Single Women in India: The census data revealed that out of India's three hundred fifty-three million women above the age of twenty, over seventy-three million women

(twenty-one percent) are single; and there is a forty percent increase in the population of single women between 2001 and 2011. (Fernandes and Dhar, 2015).

Single Women Exhibiting Independence and Choice: Fernandes and Dhar (2015) presented the findings of a research study which indicated that women are expressing their independence and choice with regard to remaining single, and pursuing their career and education. Also, the societal stigma attached with women being divorced, widowed, or unmarried is fast waning off. Interestingly, while in China, an insulting term, 'Shengnu', is used to disgrace the unmarried women, India has no such slur. Ironically, while families do let daughters and single mothers live independently, society at large closes in with the spyglass and the single Indian women continue to feel the gaze. Even as society learns to read the single Indian woman in a new light, the affluent, self-made woman is hardest for them to understand. This does not match with the image the society have of the single women as they expect a widow to be sad, or a 'spinster' to have warts. The new image of the single, happy woman has yet to make a lasting impression.

Changed Demographics Resulting in Newer Products: Marketers were fast in identifying gaps in the market and hence, came up with the following innovative products and schemes to cater to the needs of single women:

- Companies have come-up with a new product offering 'half-BHKs, full convenience' for single working-women.
- Travel agencies or companies are offering all-women travel plans for single women.
- Cafés and restaurants are considering lone women or single women diners as their priority clients.
- Retirement homes are also considering single women as their prized customers.

- Radio taxi companies are ensuring safe travel for single women.
- Dating apps and singles networks are targeting the urban single women.

Media Reflecting the Changed Status and Image of Single Women:

From being pitied in advertisements, television serials and movies, to being accepted as an independent individual, single women have travelled a long journey. Media is taking up serious issues associated with single women like, health services, safety and security, insurance, travel options, etc.

II. Advent of the 'New Woman'

The 'new women' not necessarily single, exercises control over their own lives, be it personal, social, or economic. Hence, this category includes singles (women are unmarried, divorced, separated, or widowed) and also the married ones with their own identities.

The emergence of new women in modern urban India is characterized by their social status and position in the work place, family, social groups, as well as in their own eyes; the multiple roles they play in their life; and also with the new-found self, where they like to spend time, effort, and money on themselves. This has led to the introduction of several products and services in the market to cater to the need of new women, from toiletries and cosmetics, books and magazines, parlours and spa, healthcare and medicines, to dresses and health-drinks. For these women, shopping is viewed as a fun, hedonic, and joyful activity (Panicker, 2015).

Media Portrayal of 'New Women': In India, the commercials and films portrayed women in stereotypical roles in the past – either as a mother, sister, wife/homemaker, teacher, secretary; or as a sex object in advertisements of condom, cigarette, liquor (thankfully, the commercial advertisement of the last two products are now banned in Indian media), and even for products like, automobile, and inner garments meant for men. The rise of 'new women', has

witnessed a change in portrayal of women in media. For example, commercials are portraying women in authoritative positions (Airtel 3-G, and Ponds); as confident decision-makers (Skore Condom); and breaking the age-old gendered roles (Ariel - Share the Load campaign). Cinema is also contributing in this endeavor by showcasing strong female characters again indicating the rise of the 'new women' (*English Vinglish*, *Queen*, *Piku*, *Mardani*, and *Pink*).

Recognizing 'Self': The new found self has urged the urban Indian women to take-out time from their busy routine to pamper themselves, and for that they are willing to spend time, effort, and money.

Interpretation of the results of primary data

The outcomes of the statistical analysis of the primary data are as follows:

Household Decision-Makers for Select Products

As mentioned earlier, data was collected from 250 respondents from Delhi and NCR. The purpose was to identify the decision-maker in each of the households for the eight select products. The analysis of data led to interesting outcomes as depicted in Table 1.

In case of high-priced durables, in 98 households (39.2 percent), the decision-maker is man of the household, while in 92 households (36.8 percent) the man and woman took decisions jointly; and only in 52 households (20.8 percent) women were the sole decision makers. The male-domination in purchase-decision-making was also observed in case of 'financial products' (57.2 percent). Interestingly, in 73 households (29.2 percent) the decision for such a product is taken by women and in 34 households (13.6 percent), they participated in joint purchase-decisions. Previously, men were the sole decision-maker for high-priced durables and financial products.

Table 1: Household Decision-Makers for Eight Products

Products	Number (Percentage)				
	Woman	Man	Joint	All Family Members	Total
Clothing	146 (58.4)	49 (19.6)	39 (15.6)	16 (6.4)	250
Daily consumables	106 (42.4)	93 (37.2)	47 (18.8)	4 (1.6)	250
Embarrassing products used by females	186 (74.4)	42 (16.8)	21 (08.4)	1 (0.4)	250
Groceries	97 (38.8)	89 (35.6)	62 (24.8)	2 (0.8)	250
Toiletries and Cosmetics	93 (37.2)	73 (29.2)	71 (28.4)	13 (5.2)	250
Financial products	73 (29.2)	143 (57.2)	34 (13.6)	0 (0.0)	250
Embarrassing products used by males	28 (11.2)	199 (79.6)	22 (08.8)	1 (0.4)	250
High priced durables	52 (20.8)	98 (39.2)	92 (36.8)	8 (3.2)	250

Though, the results indicated that women are the major decision-makers for products like, clothing (58.4 percent), groceries (38.8 percent), daily consumables (42.4 percent), and toiletries/ cosmetics (37.2 percent); it was observed that the participation of men in purchase of groceries, daily consumables, and toiletries-cosmetics, is also substantial, since they are either solely or jointly taking the purchase-decisions. With the rise of newer types of retail options like, online shopping, departmental stores and hypermarkets coupled with the changing demographics, men were found to be sharing the load of running the household.

When it comes to the embarrassing products, both men and women prefer to buy the product meant for them, personally. But in an urban city like, Delhi, results indicated some interchange in their role with men buying such products for women, and vice-versa; in addition to the joint purchase decision-making. Thus, it can be concluded that major role-reversals in purchased-decision-making has taken place in urban households.

Comparison of Purchase-Decisions-Making Roles of Women and Men

The t-test with mean and standard deviation was administered to test the first hypothesis. The results are presented in Table 2.

Table 2: Influence of Woman and Man

Products		Woman (N= 132)	Man (N=118)	t-values
Clothing	Mean	3.83	3.37	7.39**
	S.D.	(0.51)	(0.47)	
Daily consumables	Mean	3.11	3.06	0.80
	S.D.	(0.51)	(0.47)	
Embarrassing products used by females	Mean	3.83	2.99	20.43**
	S.D.	(0.37)	(0.34)	
Groceries	Mean	3.29	3.21	1.35
	S.D.	(0.46)	(0.48)	
Toiletries and Cosmetics	Mean	3.37	3.28	1.49
	S.D.	(0.52)	(0.42)	
Financial products	Mean	2.94	3.89	13.63**
	S.D.	(0.62)	(0.46)	
Embarrassing products used by males	Mean	2.94	3.85	22.08**
	S.D.	(0.33)	(0.32)	
High priced durables	Mean	2.79	3.77	13.79**
	S.D.	(0.71)	(0.32)	

**Significant at 0.01 level

The t-values were significant for five products – clothing, embarrassing products used by females, embarrassing products used by males, financial products, and high-priced durables, showing a significant difference in relative influence of men and women in purchase-decision-making, and therefore, the null hypothesis, is rejected. Though for some products, women were found to be the major purchase-decision-maker, and for some other products, men were found to be the major influencers; a detailed

analysis of Table 1 also indicated a rise in joint-decision making for most of the products. In other words, the gender specific influence dwindling in urban India.

Understanding the Impact of Demographic Factors on Women as Purchase-Decision-Maker

The influence of demographic factors like, age, marital status, education, income, occupation, and location, on the purchase-decision-making role of women was studied by computing the F-ratios (ANOVA) for the eight products, as depicted in Table 3. Significant differences were found for seven products, except groceries, with respect to the different demographic variables. Thus, the second hypothesis is rejected.

Table 3: Impact of Demographic Factors on Women as Purchase-Decision-Maker

Products	F-Ratios					
	Age	Marital Status	Education	Income	Occupation	Location
Clothing	3.24*	5.32**	3.67*	3.62*	3.82*	1.56
Daily consumables	0.37	2.14	1.84	1.72	1.36	1.14
Embarrassing products used by females	3.21*	6.34**	4.46**	5.12**	5.23**	2.91*
Groceries	0.78	2.21	1.88	1.24	1.56	0.34
Toiletries and Cosmetics	2.45	2.10	2.89*	3.92*	2.98*	1.30
Embarrassing products used by males	2.82*	1.13	3.22*	3.11*	3.26*	2.89*
Financial products	2.78*	6.71**	4.43**	8.22**	7.14**	1.36
High priced durables	3.38*	8.44**	8.24**	8.12**	6.13**	1.98

*Significant at 0.05 level of significance. **Significant at 0.01 level of significance.

The decision-making influence of women of educated working-women with better financial standing were found to be greater than the less-educated non-working women with a weak financial standing. Single women of all age-group are proved to be major decision-makers; the influence of married women increases with

age, or in the later stages of family life cycle. While, men are the major decision-makers in families having lower annual income; more joint decision-making takes place in families with higher annual income.

Conclusions of the study

On the basis of the review of literature, analysis of secondary and primary data, the following conclusions were drawn:

Increased Role of Media in Breaking the Stereotypical image of Women: Whether it is films, television serials, or advertisements, a change in stereotypical image of women can be observed in recent years, with women being portrayed as achievers in unconventional occupations which were earlier the sole prerogative of males.

Influence of Demographic Factors: With the rise in the number of educated working women with better financial standing in urban India, a major change has been observed in their role as household purchase-decision-makers. They have become a major decision makers for household durables, financial and investment products.

Reversal in Roles: Gone are the days when a clear-cut distinction could be made products purchased by men and those by women. Since, women enjoy an equal footing as the men, in terms of education, job, and financial strength, a reversal in roles has been observed in household tasks as well as their purchase-decision-making roles. More and more men are now doing or helping out in household chores, and buy vegetables, groceries, toiletries; while women make purchase-decisions regarding in automobiles, electronic gadgets, and financial products.

Changing Household Structures Influencing Purchase-Decision-Making and Purchase-Patterns: Household structures have undergone substantial change in urban India over last two decades, and there is a rise in households with single women, and

single mothers. With a rise in number of working women, a change in purchase pattern has also been observed. The young urban women are hard-pressed for time and hence they buy in bulk from departmental stores or hypermarkets or online sites; and prefer home deliveries.

Growing Confidence of Women as Purchase-Decision-Makers:

Education, job, greater knowledge, and financial independence has given the urban women the confidence to take purchase-decisions even for expensive products.

Instant gratification: According to Bauman (2001), transience acquired 'strategic edge' over durability. In a world saturated with uncertainties, focus is more on instant gratification. This is perceived not only in the value positions but also in the choice of products. Due to less emphasis on durability as a feature for choice of products, women are ready to take greater risk in product purchase based on their instinctive reasons. For example, a refrigerator's life is predicted as not more than seven years.

Marketing implications of emergence of new women

The implications for the marketers in the light of emergence of new women are as follows:

Target Market Selection and Product Positioning

The gender-differences in choice of products is dwindling, and hence, the market desires neutral products. The marketer has to research in detail the preferences and purchase patterns of the new category of buyers, i.e., the 'new women', and position their product offering accordingly.

Product Designing, Branding and Packaging

The 'new women' faces paucity of time, and hence desire new products catering to their needs, which are faster or ready to eat or serve, makes life easier. Moreover, they also desire products which

will enhance their image in the society as an achiever having full control of their life. Coupled with that, they have a greater disposable income. Companies need to understand the desires of this new category of customers and brainstorm to develop new products to match those desires.

Branding the products meant for the 'new women' is another tricky issue. The brand names should match the image desired by this category of buyer such as, achievers, confident, smart, etc. Since, this category of buyer generally buy products either from departmental store or from websites, packaging has a greater role to play, and hence, should be designed in such a way that it is attractive and informative.

Pricing Strategy

Psychological pricing may fail to attract the 'new women' as they are smart and intelligent buyers and will not fall prey to such a strategy. Instead, genuine cash rebates and discounts, and longer payment terms will be more effective for regular household products. But for exclusive products higher prices will attract such buyers as it will give a better quality image to the product and improve the status of the buyer.

Promotional Strategy

Online advertisements and app-based marketing are gaining popularity among this category of buyers. Besides that the traditional medium of radio, television, and newspaper has not lost its charm. The media habits of the 'new women' need to be monitored, and advertisements could be put accordingly, for example, as the working women listens to car-radios while commuting from and to office, advertisement on radio should be run in the mornings and evenings; and advertisements on television should be aired during late night programmes when they enjoy their leisure time watching the programmes.

While they do not encourage salesmen and telemarketers disturbing them; they enjoy extra-benefit sales promotion schemes like, premiums and allowances.

Place or Distribution Strategy

Online marketing is becoming very popular among this category of buyers, as they prefer, doing online shopping comparing the products and prices before making the purchases. Hence, the company has to ensure online presence of their product, online order taking, and home deliveries. While buying from the physical store they prefer to buy from departmental stores and hypermarkets. Thus, the product should be stocked well in such type of stores.

Personalised Attention

The marketers should ensure that the company and the stores should have courteous and well-motivated sales staff who are always ready to give personalised attention to the new category of female buyers. This category of target audience are better informed and seek more information and justification before making a purchase decision. Also, they look for an assurance that they have selected the best product as they may experience greater post-purchase dissonance, and hence, the company should ensure good after-sale service and invest in building a long term relationship with such customers.

Faster Order-processing and Providing Physical Evidences

The processes involved in delivering products or services have an impact on the way customers perceive the company. The firm should aim at providing a seamless order-taking and also at lessening the order-processing time. Websites should be user-friendly and informative. When it comes to services, extreme care should be taken by the marketer in creating the physical evidences for better services as women judge the quality of services on the basis of factors like décor, cleanliness, appearance of the staff, and so on.

Thus, to conclude, marketers should keep in mind that women are rapidly emerging as active participants in decision-making in while buying different products, especially, in urban India. The new market segment consisting of the 'new women', has a huge potential. Many firms have already started harnessing this opportunity. Women are valuable customers as they are loyal, believe in promoting positive word of mouth for commodities if they are satisfied, and also control a huge part of household expenditure. It is, therefore, imperative to understand women's needs and distinguish them from their male counterparts. This would help in greater growth, loyalty, and market share for the producers.

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Dr. Soma Sengupta

*Department of Commerce
Kamala Nehru College
University of Delhi*

Dr. Urna Sarkar Dutta

*Department of Sociology
Kamala Nehru College
University of Delhi*

Dr. Anjan Sen

*Delhi School of Economics
University of Delhi*

The Ageless Romance: Sexuality and Aging in *Cloud 9* and *Gloria*

My paper will explore the contemporary filmic portrayal of women's aged bodies, their sexual agency and the narrative of age in primarily two films: *Cloud 9* (Dresen 2008) and *Gloria* (Lelio 2013). It will try to identify the kind of representation that is being voiced in these films, set against the backdrop of earlier visual representations in cinema, and how these films challenge or elucidate upon the ageing narratives that have structured media studies on gerontology in the past. Gerontologists have offered alternate readings of women and aging (Chivers 2011; Cohen-Shalev 2012; Dolan 2013; Kaplan 2010; Swinnen & Stotesbury 2012). Visual portrayal of the aged in cinema has largely focused on the "narrative of aging as decline" (Gravagne 2013, 110). Popular media is involved in the cultural struggle in aging and "plays in making literally visible alternate ways to view and live into old age" (Gravagne 2013, 5). I will be examining the unravelling and the (un)disciplining of old age, or the lack of the same happening in the two films selected for this paper.

Aging not only threatens a woman's identity and their sense of themselves but also their sexuality and their desires (Clarke and Korotchenko 2011). "Rituals of social comparison" involve being confronted with images of youth in popular culture that manufacture beauty as belonging to the young and, therefore, the domain of sex and desire also belonging to younger women (Gullette 2011, 117). Aging is considered unattractive and undesirable for both the sexes, but more so for women as standards of beauty are higher. Beauty is consistently associated with youth, whereas old bodies are socially and culturally perceived as undesirable and ugly (Calasanti and Slevin 2001; Clarke and Korotchenko 2011). As women continue to age in a society obsessed with physical beauty, the power of a woman decreases with her

waning beauty (Lakoff and Scherr 1984). Popular media is a double-edged sword where postmenopausal women are shown as being incapable of sexual desire and also slammed for their inappropriate behaviour if interested in sex.

The assumptions about old age predominantly see the aged body as “bad, repulsive, and ugly,” which, “facilitates the construction of ‘a culture that discards old [women],’” by making them invisible and silencing them (Clarke and Korotchenko 2011, 29). Similarly, Kathleen Woodward in *Figuring Age: Women, Bodies, Generations* (1999) sees the silencing and invisibility as ageist. There is a general refusal by the media to see old women as subjects of film, thereby sexuality is almost non-existent. There is near invisibility of older women onscreen (Grogan 2017; Hajjar 1998; Vernon et al. 1990). Studies on women’s sexuality and their bodies is sparse barring some writing (Calasanti and Slevin 2001; Clarke 2011; Lemish and Muhlbauer 2012; Muhlbauer, Chrisler, and Denmark 2014). Female desire as a subject of discussion for older women has been a subject of the documentary *Still Doing it: The Intimate Lives of Women over 65* (Fishel 2003) and films like *Innocence* (Cox 2000), *Something’s Gotta Give* (Meyers 2003), *The Mother* (Mitchell 2003), *Away from Her* (Polley 2006), *Still Mine* (McGowan 2012), *The Best Exotic Marigold Hotel* (Madden 2012).

Aging in popular discourse is rife with stereotypes and the concept of “‘transcending old age’ which retains the notion that old age requires ‘transcending’ in the first place” (Kaplan 2010, 33). There is a proliferation of sexist and ageist images where women are rarely shown to be independent and never presented as sexually active. Additional complexities arise when men continue to be portrayed as sexually attractive even in old age. If an older woman portrays a sexual role in a film, she is typically shown as being younger than her actual age, with a youthful appearance. For instance, Inge in *Cloud 9* retains her black tresses whereas most women in her choir group sport thin, white hair and look significantly older than her.

Furthermore, the sex is always implied by the director and there's often an avoidance of exposing older women's body (Bildtgard 2000; Grogan 2017). There is a tendency to "other" the aging body and its existence is seen as being separate from a younger person's which doesn't let our own anxieties about aging resurface.

The literal body is absent-present in a paradoxical way in films. Whereas the absence is seen in terms of a lack of leading roles for older actors, the presence is seen in how "old age is visible precisely because of the telltale marks it leaves on the surface of the body—lines, crow's feet, sagging flesh, grey hair,"—and yet, "paradoxically, it is those visible marks which render the old person invisible," as gerontologists have observed (Wallace 2006, 50). The invisibility of the literal body is evident in severe lack of any cinematic representation of the aged female body in various state of undress even during sex scenes. The bodies remain off screen and the sex hidden behind rosy cinematography, not unlike, what Roger Mitchell does in *The Mother* (2003). Whereas Darren's young and virile body is shown with great cinematic prowess, May's wrinkled and time-ravaged body is kept hidden behind the comfort of lighting so as not to offend the eye of the viewer. The sex is usually implied and kept onscreen (*It's Complicated*, *Away from Her*) or treated in a comic manner so as to undermine even the slightest possibility of it challenging any existing norms (*Something's Gotta Give*). Genuine depiction of sex between people aged 50 and older still remains taboo because "elderly sexuality and romantic activity are essentially taboo for mainstream culture, possessing an intrinsic *unwatchability*" (Williams, Ylänne, and Wadleigh 2007, 2).

Gloria resists taboos when it shows Gloria's time-ripened body in all its flaws and naked glory. Her body is never treated with derision or censure and neither is it differently framed than any other body in the film. From the slow gentle sounds of lovemaking between Rodolfo's and Gloria's sagging flesh to the silent scenes of self-reflection while lying supine upon her bed or sitting in a nightclub

alone, *Gloria* doesn't disappoint. Gloria's intimate scenes with Rodolfo are rife with tenderness, affection and passion. The audience never forgets that these are people in their late 50s and 60s that are making love as the signifiers of age like Rodolfo's waist belt are never too far away. We get to see the sex in all its awkward glory and the steps of the courtship as and when they happen. Gloria is unabashed in her sexuality and confident enough to flirt with Rodolfo in the club and later have a one-night stand. When that one-night stand turns into dating, she easily transitions into a woman who likes romance but isn't impractical enough to assume Rodolfo doesn't come with his own emotional baggage. She is realistic, fiercely strong and feisty as a 50-something woman who never compromises when it comes to her dignity. Even when she reaches her lowest point in the movie, she never comes off as anything but graceful yet vulnerable as a woman who doesn't hesitate to live life to the fullest.

Sebastian Leilo refuses to treat Paulina Garcia's Gloria as an invisible entity in her own life and her presence is evident in each and every frame of the film. The camera is never too far from being involved in Gloria's life alternating between medium shots, close up and extreme close ups. We are completely absorbed in Gloria's life from the very first frame where her tentative but flirtatious looks are open for a one-night stand or a romantic partner in equal measure. More often than not, Gloria comes home alone and the loneliness is evident in her relationships that are emotionally close but lack the constant companionship and neediness that she misses from her own children. The plot of the film is an oscillation between the hope and utter heartbreak as we see Gloria struggling between her feelings for Rodolfo and her own realization over his spineless character and inability to compromise her own dignity in favour of her need for a companion. *Gloria* offers a peak into the internal desires, fears and hopes of an older woman and gives voice to a counter narrative by challenging "our ideas and values with non-

stereotypical images without either turning us off with the harsh realities it depicts or assuaging our fears with a picture that simply consolidates the already prevalent “mask of aging” (Gravagne 2013, 108-109).

Cloud 9, similarly questions the invisibility of the literal body prevalent in films by making visible what has long been kept hidden. Andreas Dresen doesn't use any cinematographic techniques that mask or soften the blow of his showing his viewers how 67 and 76 year olds have sex. He is utterly unconcerned about the audience and driven by his desire to show the scenes with stark realism. In essence, he doesn't treat his protagonists' bodies as old, to be kept hidden behind the veneer of soft and romanticized mise-en-scènes. The age spots, the flabby and wrinkled skin and saggy flesh is bared for everyone to see. It's a hugely ground-breaking film when foregrounded against the backdrop of the films that have preceded it for decades. Historically, sociologically and culturally the “aging female body remains a taboo” onscreen (Markson 2003, 98). The opening scene of the movie is visual resistance at its best, where without any verbal explanation the scene moves forward towards disrobing its protagonists in their twilight years without judgement. Dresen chooses to punctuate all the sex scenes not with music but with orgiastic sounds of the central characters. Explicit geriatric sex resists the cultural narrative of sex being the domain of the young and the beautiful; and breaks the taboo that has plagued the film industry for decades. The sex scenes are absolutely natural and unabashedly explicit. Dresen doesn't employ any soft lighting, filters or mood music to enhance or romanticize the scene, and instead chooses to treat the aged body realistically and lets the passionately clumsy bodies speak for themselves. He asserts the importance of viewing aging not as decline or narrative foreclosure but as unfolding in myriad ways with hundreds of possibilities for the aged being. He opens up a peephole through which we discover that the lives of the elderly aren't too different that the dreary

happenings of the young. We have a 67-year old woman struggling with an extra-marital affair who is incapable of continuously lying to her husband about it as her daughter commands her to. Dresen challenges the notion that old age must necessarily be equitable to wisdom as society and culture would like us to believe. It is just as messy and problematic as life is for the young. *Cloud 9* is a classic cautionary tale replete with its own set of dialogue "I didn't want this, it just happened!" (*Cloud 9*).

The film is augmented by captivating performance by its lead actress, Ursula Werner. She takes charge of her latent sexuality and approaches her affair with recklessness and a certain amount of urgency that is unheard of in popular culture. The film challenges the male gaze and sexual agency of men when we see the world filtered through Inge's eyes and her desire evident in her gaze when she looks at Karl trying his pants in front of her. In the first scene between the lovers, the camera focuses on the view from her perspective when we take in Karl's gradual disrobing and the way it lingers in places that her eyes do. She takes in Karl's literal body and its tangibility is brought home when gazing turns into touching and stirring language of the body. As their bodies intermingle and intermesh in the brightness of the shot, the camera maintains its separation from the sexual act by never focusing too close to the sexually engaged bodies. The same camera which closes in and closes out of the shots in the starting chooses to be eerily silent and somewhat detached when it comes to sex. The shot then challenges but also creates new boundaries of acceptability levels of the nude body at the same time in the process. Dresen chooses to bath majority of scenes between Inge and Karl with bright light unlike cramped and isolated spaces of Inge and Werner's married life. The positive association of sex and love with the brightness of the shots is deliberate.

The male audience will not identify with Werner but with the older lover, Karl, who was able to steer Inge's affections away from

Werner and engage in an affair despite his age. Popular media in general is dominated by frames that tend to “dismiss the validity of women’s own sexual feelings and desires apart from men’s desires for them” (Lemish and Muhlbauer 2012, 169). *Cloud 9* resists that narrative by showing us Inge rediscovering her latent sexuality and embracing it as her own. We see Inge’s naked body after her tryst with Karl as she takes stock of her physical body as if to ascertain her reawakened sexuality. This scene is brutal in its honesty as she looks at the signifiers of age on her body and seems almost astonished that it remains desirable. She masturbates in the bath and the cries of her orgasm echo for the viewer as they stand witness to her sexual reawakening. Much like May, Inge embraces her evident sexuality with reluctance and then with overpowering gusto as it moves into love and attachment. Young love in old age as an impossibility is posited against her confession “I always hoped I’d fall in love again properly [before dying]” (*Cloud 9*). Her journey from passive acceptance of her dull married life towards falling in love again and rediscovering her own desire and potential for a different life is incredibly fantastic and challenging to ageist ideology.

The shock of seeing two aged bodies going skinny dipping in the lake is enough to throw any stereotypical ideas about the aged body out of the window (*Cloud 9*). Karl brings a sense of abandonment and carelessness about the body that is attractive to Inge’s sheltered and monotonous routine. He takes Inge for cycling, running, skinny dipping, dancing; all things that reassert his young looks and his interests in activities generally considered pursuit of the young. Is Dresen, by engaging Karl in such hobbies, playing into the same ageists notions of “aging positively” with its emphasis of keeping the body physically young as long as possible? Karl could be read in direct contrast to Werner who is not seduced by the “positive aging” campaign. On the other hand, it could also be read as his desire to stay physically fit and involved in things that

get his blood racing. Werner has to be cared for by Inge which suggests an inevitable physical decline of the body and his own anxiety about his age when he later exclaims after a visit to his father “If I ever end up like my father, you can shoot me in the woods” (*Cloud 9*). Werner is strongly gerontophobic whereas Karl accepts his body’s shortcomings. It is the gerontophobic readings of the text that Dresen is resisting so strongly in the film.

The sex is passionate, tender and filled with humour and laughter in both the films. It is the women who take the first step into reaffirming their sexual identity. Inge seduces Karl after his effective attempts to garner her attention during one of their altering sessions. Gloria on the other hand tentatively joins others on the dance floor introducing herself to a potential partner, dancing with men and flirting with Rodolfo. She isn’t the observer to her own life but rather someone who is continuously engaged in its many workings. She is an independent middle-class woman who wants to be needed by her equally independent children and has a social life to rival any young person’s. *Gloria* transforms from a story about a woman’s search for love to turning into a story of growth and self-transformation. It is Gloria’s unflinching belief in herself to overcome any problems that resists the stereotypical reading of a woman in her 50s.

Gloria’s age isn’t a barrier to her choices and decisions in life. She doesn’t delude herself and the audience into thinking she isn’t lonely. She resonates with viewers as her state of loneliness is supremely relatable when Rodolfo asks her during their first meeting “Are you always this happy?,” and she replies, “No, some mornings I’m not ... and sometimes not in the afternoons as well” (*Gloria*). The loneliness due to her single state is evident in her empty apartment, her desire to be needed as a woman, a mother and a grandmother. Even when we see her cooing to her grandson and crying over her daughter leaving the country we never forget that she is a sexual creature and coded as one. She desires romance

and sex and tries her hardest to not compromise on either when she meets a potential partner like Rodolfo. Even when Rodolfo abandons her on their getaway vacation, she refuses to wallow in self-pity and instead goes on a solo adventure of gambling, drinking and smoking. It never turns into a cautionary tale even when she is abandoned on the beach by her partying friends with no wallet and shoes. The audience joins in her petty revenge against Rodolfo and we laugh right alongside her.

Unlike Gloria, Inge is more of a passive observer in her own life but for once she's going to "put herself first" rather than making her desires not an "issue" anymore (*Cloud 9*). Inge indulges in reckless activities like skinny dipping and outdoor sex that are a part and parcel of her relationship with Karl. Karl is like a quintessential younger lover who is technically older than her husband but is portrayed in a younger light. He brings excitement and something spectacularly new to Inge's dull life which was earlier filled with occasional train rides to nowhere with her husband and a drab routine perfected over decades.

Elderly people have frequently been associated with a childlike state and Werner resorts to the same scathing attack on Inge when he says, "you're behaving like a child. Have you gone senile?" and goes as far as, "Aren't you ashamed, at your age?" (*Cloud 9*) He has internalized the very same attitudes against which the film so vehemently fights against. The agelessness of romance is most evident when Inge finally bursts out and says "What does it matter if I am 16, 60 or 80?" (*Cloud 9*). Age is not a barrier to romance which ageist attitudes consistently try to deny. There is potential to fall in love at any age and *Cloud 9* resists the narrative of the aged body as "an object that is unworthy of romantic advances" (Gravagne 2013, 103). Instead, the film posits Inge as a subject who is resisting the predominant narrative that continuously tries to devalue her worth. On a similar note, Rodolfo verbalizes the very same anxieties that Werner attacks Inge with when he replies

to Gloria about his desire to hide his affair from his family knowing that his daughter's opinions would be "You have a girlfriend! You silly old man! How could you even think of dating at your age?... They'd *make fun* of me" (*Gloria*, emphasis mine).

Gloria's zest for life translates easily into her desire to experience as much of it as possible. In Rodolfo's park she shoots paintballs and bungee jumps with a smile on her face. These acts of severe transgression challenge the conventions of age-appropriate behaviour in the media. Gloria smokes, drinks and takes part in dinners that turn politically heavy in a beat. Throughout the course of the film we see her enthusiastically dancing and involved in the social and cultural milieu of Chile. She doesn't even hesitate to experiment with her neighbour's marijuana when it mistakenly ends up at her door. She is as wild and free as the sentimental pop songs she is fond of singing along to when driving to work. The background score to the film comments and sometimes offers insight into many scenes in the film almost making it a character in its own right. Massiel's "Eres" (You are) and Paloma San Basilio's "Libre" are just few of the songs that situate Gloria's current life with the adventures she consistently undertakes to enjoy it. The film comes full circle and locates Gloria in the position of potentiality and hope where she starts alone and ends up alone by the end of the film; the only difference being that in the closing scene she refuses a dance partner and instead chooses to dance to her own rhythm unconcerned about the larger world in general. She dances to Umberto Tozzi's original "Gloria" in the closing scene with hands thrown up in the air in abandonment and ecstasy instead of the depressive version of Laura Branigan. She is a woman undeterred by romantic heartbreak or her loneliness and instead chooses to take control of her life story at every step of the way.

Cloud 9 and *Gloria* disrupt representations by showing us the other side of old age. Gloria and Inge both challenge the ageist and sexist notions about the aging female body. These women are

disrupting earlier narratives of ageism by outlining a different perspective to view old age. They reassert control and refuse to be mere participants and a second chance at intimacy and love is not passed over due to taboos and conventions. These films were responsible for challenging me to observe the world through their eyes and to feel the world filtered through their reactions to it. I rode alongside Gloria riding a merry-go-round on the day she is jilted by her lover and I laughed alongside Inge when she laughs over a joke with Karl. Leilo and Dresen have exposed the inner workings of these women's lives that have not been particularly explored before in such detail. The audience can confront their own fears and anxieties about old age and in the process discover that old age isn't all what it is projected out to be.

Scholars of gerontology need to confront and resist prevalent and ageist attitudes and narratives towards aging and sexuality in the popular media to further their goal of bringing the larger public to acknowledge their unconscious behaviour. It is in the process of resisting expected behaviour and assumptions of the aged public that an attempt to bridge the gap between elderly and their young counterparts can happen. It is with the acknowledgement of biases and stereotypes that one can begin to eventually move away from the same to reach a fuller understanding of age and sexuality. *Cloud 9* and *Gloria* offered counter narratives to the ageist and stereotypical portrayals of the elderly in the media and resisted the invisibility of geriatric sex. By bringing the sexuality of the protagonists onto the silver screen, these films did much to acknowledge the desires of women in their twilight years and to reopen the chapter of love that is socially and culturally expected to be closed by a certain age. By resisting limitations in popular media these films will serve as precursors of many such explorations of geriatric sex in the future.

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Sweta Kushwaha

MPhil Scholar

Department of English

University of Delhi

Gauri Deshpande: A Trend Breaker in Indian English Poetry

“She (Gauri Deshpande) is a mature poet, aware that neither passion nor disillusionment are simple emotions and the texture of her best poetry is accordingly complex. Most of her verse is marked by a sense of sadness and loss”

—*Sherwyn T. Carr*

Abstract

A strong vein of sexuality is what makes Deshpande similar to Kamala Das, but unlike Kamala Das, Deshpande believes that love is a bliss and conjugality. In Eunice de Souza’s observation, there is, in the poetry of Deshpande, “a great deal about blood and sweat and clenched teeth, and about “lashing” and “throbbing”, the final effect for the reader is not one of intensity but embarrassment” (de Souza 86). Deshpande explores conflicts, problems and complexities between man and woman. She also explores how marriage creates troubles in life of a married woman and marital bliss in her works. She talked about how marriage turns out to a suicidal web for woman, they became enslaved by their husbands and marriage turns out to be an unpleasing experience.

Introduction

Gauri Deshpande, born in 1942, is a famous bilingual poet, short story writer and novelist in Marathi and English. She writes poetry in English, fiction in Marathi and journalism in both. She has published three volumes of poetry: *Between Births* (1968), *Lost Love* (1970) and *Beyond the Slaughter House* (1972). She has edited *An Anthology of Indo-English Poetry* (1974) and translated sixteen volumes of *Arabian Nights* into Marathi. She writes short stories in Marathi, and also has written three novels in Marathi. She was born to Irawati Karve and Dinkar Karve. After finishing her high school education in Poona, she received an M.A. in English Literature and her PhD in English from Poona University.

The main reason for her writing poetry is to release the tension which builds in her and does not find any other outlet and her poems freely express her thought, idea and feelings. She is regarded as a trend breaker in Indian English Poetry, by breaking conventional attitudes. Deshpande explicitly expresses a woman's psychology in her poems. (Tamhankar)

Poetry is a channel through which true identity and spirit of a woman can be revealed. She has a highly feminist voice. Deshpande has said : "I could still churn out Indian English poems by the bushel, but I began to see, thanks to Nissim (Ezekiel) that what I have is a knack, a talent, not a calling. My calling is narrative fiction, mostly in Marathi, and thanks to Nissim, I discovered it" (Rao 155).

Her poetry at its best involves a passionate involvement with the existential angst of the modern woman confronted with her inability to find meaningful relationship in society. She belongs to the group of confessional poets. Her 'love' poems bring out the eroticism in her whereas her 'death' poems show us her feminist side. In order to get relief from pain, she uses momentary escape and for permanent relief, death is an ultimate way. Like Keats, she too suggests that the final respite in life from pain is only through death.

She discloses her feminine sensibility in various forms and different roles- as a wife, beloved, mother, daughter and a sister. She is a woman and knows the bond of womanhood. Her poetry deals with the life, problems, experiences and expressions of woman. She emphasize on individual identity and freedom. She extends feminism into humanism. Deshpande's work deals mostly with everyday life. According to C.P. Singh her poems

show an artist in making, a struggling towards the happy
blending between deep experience and a congruent
poetic form that makes a gem of art out of the raw metal
of personal life. (Tamhankar)

Keki N. Daruwalla also comments on her poetic style and adds that:

Gauri Deshpande's poetry deals with the minutiae of everyday life, the coming of a lover, the death of a puppy dog, ingratitude of children. Everything is grist to her mill, from city with greasy caress and harsh endearments to a trees cape. (Daruwalla 44)

Women's Psychology in Deshpande's Poetry

Between Births (1968), her first collection talks sensitively about the frustration and loneliness which comes from the meaningless relationship. *Lost Love* (1970) breaks the sensuous handling of love and talk about a bold encounter with sexuality. Her major preoccupation with man-woman relationships finds expression in a series of poems. These poems range from the sexual treatment of love to abortion, barrenness and old age. She also talks about the dilemma of lost love. In *Beyond the Slaughter House* (1972) she talks about the employed women in a busy city like Mumbai. In "The Eclipse" she is forced to accept her alienation, and in "December" she accepts love but 'hesitates because it chains her'. "Workaday Women" explores the predicament of a woman who has lost her responsiveness to love.

Her poetry is full of sensuality, and deals with the rebel of modern Indian women against male dictatorship. Her works are mainly focused on: man- woman relationship, death, sense of alienation and frustration, identity crisis, recognition and urge for feminine sensibility. She employs the theme of love and human relationships in her poetry. She is at her best in short poems. She is bold enough to interpret the man-woman relationship in terms of sex.

"The Female of the Species" is a simple poem about the female world conveying feminine feelings. In this poem she simply communicates with the world as a woman. A woman is able to

comprehend the feeling and experiences of other woman, rather than a man. When a woman needs to have a heart to heart talk on love, despair, and sadness along with the ungratefulness of children, she prefers a woman companion as talking to men has no value. Men can never understand a woman's feeling.

Sometimes you want to talk

About love and despair

And the ungratefulness of children

A man is no use whatever then.

You want then your mother

Or your sister

Or the girl with whom you went to through the school
(Paniker 55)

Women crave for the company of the same sex to talk about their emotional feelings, as they have a common feminine language to share. A woman is able to get involved and experience the equivalent sensations. As they drink tea and talk, they talk about how they manage house by telling how they are affected by the hike in cost of provisions. They know each other's position and condition in the family, but still they never discuss such things, but they know simply. The children are the last hope in the life of a woman from where she can expect some respect and love, especially after suffering in marriage, but the children here are ungrateful and do not love the mother. This situation is very common in India, women chat with each other which makes them happy and content, but their hearts hold the secret desires and pains of their family life. They are communicating silently, and this silent communication gives them relief and makes them happy.

... Speak of the rate of rice

And the price of tea

And the scarcity of cheese.

You know both that you've spoken

Of love, despair and ungratefulness of children. (Paniker 55)

In her poems, one finds man- woman relationship described in many ways- love they are subjected to, search for identity, love and its loss and pain, sensitivity of the female world, memories of love and also experiencing loneliness. Like Kamala Das, man-woman relationship and its frustration and tension are one of her major themes apart from isolation and lost love. A strong vein of sexuality is what makes Deshpande similar to Kamala Das, but unlike Das, Deshpande believes that love is a bliss and conjugality. In Eunice de Souza's observation, there is in the poetry of Deshpande "a great deal about blood and sweat and clenched teeth, and about "lashing" and "throbbing", the final effect for the reader is not one of intensity but embarrassment" (de Souza 86). Deshpande explores conflicts, problems and complexities between man and woman. She also explores how marriage creates troubles in life of a married woman and marital bliss in her works. She talked about how marriage turns out to a suicidal web for woman, they became enslaved by their husbands and marriage turns out to be an unpleasing experience. She explained the same concept in "Man and Woman":

...she could with such ease

Be enslaved by your skillful hands

Beggar's heart and form

Himalayan heights

Condescend to warm your bed

Stiffen your motherhood

And hear your spawn (Barbuddhe 267)

History has records of having woman only as sex objects. According to Karl Marx “marriage... is incontestably a form of exclusive private property” (Nagar). After marriage a woman became a slave of the husband and lawfully he is her master. She is a sexual object for him and her wishes and desire does not have any importance and value for him or any other family member. She has to be a mother and bear him sons.

“On a Lost Love” deals with her experience of love and sexuality. In this poem she metaphorically presents a meeting between the donor and the receiver in the sexual intercourse. Earth and rain are used as a metaphor to denote the act of consummation. Deshpande finds correspondence to her painful sentiments in nature. Nature connects the loose ends of memories and emotions. She writes:

I am earth

Vast deep and black

And I receive

...

Yellow daisies burst out

On my breast and thigh

At its every touch (Deshpande, *Lost Love* 22-23)

A woman has to take part in sexual act either by her wish or forcefully. Her husband has full right over her body and he can use it the way he wants and wishes. Again, here Deshpande had used the metaphor of nature to express her feeling and mood. Most of her love poems create the effect of embarrassment in love and not of its intensity.

“Summer” reflects the desire and passion which Deshpande has

yearned for. For Deshpande, 'flowers' are the symbol of sustenance to life. She articulates her pain of separation from her lover through the image of dry trees that:

Refuse to fruit or flower
and birds don't nest in them.

...

While I wait with infinite patience

The blooming of disenchantment. (Deshpande, *Lost Love* 22)

Like many other female poets who use weather to display their mood and emotions, Deshpande also does the same. By speaking about rain in the drought stricken land she uses a typical classical idea. Rain is a symbol for joy and relief. In "A Change of Season", changes in her emotions are displayed as the change in the seasons:

All the time that day in June

I shivered

...

And I dreamt in the night of long travels

When I woke up the sky was heavy

And then it rained. (Deshpande, *Between Births*)

The rain relieves her of all the exhaustion and heaviness. The month of June in India is the hottest month of the year and Deshpande even shivered in that hot weather. She even enjoyed the rain in the month of June. In this poem she recapitulates the bodily malaise, the uncouth emotional fits and ever-prevailing sense of fear and despondency.

She deals with love and sexuality in such a way that it shows how much she is dissatisfied with the society which demands silent

acceptance of women. She is not as aggressive as poets like Mamta Kalia and Eunice De Souza, but her suffering and pain is clearly visible in her writings. Her wish for a heaven-like world is shown in “Integration” when she says:

I’m affected by a prowling unrest
And know not what to do
With my fists that clench and unclench
Thoughts come pouring in my eyes
And drain away leaving a whorl of dirt.
If only it’d rain
If only I’d die
If only there were someone to fall in love with.
If only the day was all done with. (Rana)

She wishes for her death because of the failure in her married life. Her attitude towards death is not steady, it keeps on changing. Death is a reliever, friend, lover and brother. She personified death as a man, which symbolizes her attitude towards man as she does not find difference in death and man, also her dealing with death poems shows the normal attitude of a man somewhere is killing her. Instead of using “she” or “it”, she uses only “he” in most of her poems while talking about death. “In Absentia” is a poem deal in with love and the tension of parting. The issue is handled with sincerity. The lover is the ‘death bringer’ as well as the carrier of pleasure. His absence results in unhappiness. She writes:

Breeth held
I wait for your coming
For, from that moment

I must start to live

The coming of your departure. (Deshpande, *Lost Love*)

Meeting of lovers is directly related to their parting; as soon as they meet they know they have to be separated. The same thing is with death also. As soon as a child born, with its every breath, it is going closer to the death and this is same with every human being. We know death is there as soon as a life started. She is talking about the same thing in her poem.

For Deshpande, love has to be a communion at the level of heart and mind. "Poems in Winter" is a long poem of three cantos, and talks about the rejection and disappointment in a woman's life. The barrenness of her life does not allow any seed of love to grow and she remains depressed and disheartened at this absence of belongingness. "Poems in Winter" deals how emotional satisfaction, tenderness and care remained unfulfilled in her life:

In the autumn of my life

(is spring so far behind?)

I can stand no more

Anguish..... (Deshpande, *Between Births* 23)

For her, the presence of the lover is more comforting. When he is present, she feels the emptiness of his presence and so finds his absence more fruitful. She says:

When the vast barrenness

of your presence confronts me

I feel your absence fruitful.

In you personified were all

My loves unreached. (Deshpande, *Between Births* 23)

Deshpande defines love in terms of sex only in a limited number of poems. The awareness of sex gradually becomes an integral part of her total awareness of love only in her later works.

“Laying of Ghosts” communicates her sense of guilt for the aborted children. In honest and frank tone she said:

But what of those I rejected,
Those that are dead
Those accidental sowings cleaned out
In minutes without pain? (Paniker 56)

Women are forced to go for the abortion if they became pregnant before marriage and for many women, this incident haunts them for the rest of their lives. It is again something which is forced on them because the society does not allow a woman to be pregnant before marriage or get indulge in sex before marriage.

In “Death” the female persona is shown as waiting for her “lover” who is death in reality but she presented it as her husband. She waits impatiently for the death and cannot wait more for the meeting. According to Rashmi Bajaj: “she has not revealed a consistent attitude towards death” (Bajaj). Sometimes death is her friend, sometimes a lover or brother, in her words:

... you are my friend,
My brother who held my hand at every bend,
My lover about whose neck I must fall now. (Rana)

She knows that love is a route to death- of freedom and individuality. With the entry of love in a woman’s life, she loses her identity and freedom and has to work and live according to her lover or husband. She further describes that her mourning for lost love is useless, and the certainty of death:

Without wondering how,
When, why, or where
We live and meet with death
Turning a street corner.

But I want to see him coming scan his face joyously. (Rana)

She knows one day death will come, but what she desires for is meeting with death and wants to see how it feels and looks like. She further adds the question for the time for meeting the death, because she cannot wait anymore and is impatient for the meeting. She invites death by saying:

How long must I walk
These long and wind some streets
Before I meet
You? (Rana)

When she finds that death is approaching her in “The Habit”, suddenly she finds she is a stranger to death:

Now when I see him crossing a street
To me, coming swiftly
How am I going to get used to him,
It's the first time
And I've had no time. (Rana)

When finally death arrives, it does not give any warning or sign. It just comes suddenly and because of this, her wish to scan death's face is unfulfilled. We know it is coming the very moment it arrives and not before it. So she cannot scan its face and no time is there for her to know or analysis it.

She knows very well the condition of normal Indian woman and how they compromise and adjust to their circumstances. But adjustment and compromise only make the man happy, but doesn't let the woman to lead a life of peace and tranquility. This gives birth to frustration and despair. This results in lifelong pain and suffering.

In *Beyond The Slaughter House*, Deshpande enters the life of employed women in Bombay (now Mumbai). Like Mamta Kalia, Deshpande interprets the experiences of working women through her poems excellently. The working women lose their identity when they come out of their houses. "Where Do the Lonely People Live" is a reiteration of the loss even of gender roles within a changing society. "Where Do the Lonely People Live" talks about this:

...And none
of us bear any longer
the usual marks, such as:
mother, whore, matron, maid.

...

I have heard of the great
Silence of cities where lonely men
In garret rooms look upon
Falling main. (Deshpande, *Beyond The Slaughter House*)

In "Work A Day Poem" the poet remarks ironically how the working women lost their natural sensitiveness to the impact of love.

The too solid flesh
Will refuse
When he demands that it melt
at a saturday touch. (Deshpande, *Beyond The Slaughter House*)

A normal woman has to do a lot of house work, but the burden of work is multiplied millions of times more for a working woman. She has to do her official work along with her household responsibility and having so much of stress and work, she is not able to enjoy her sexual life.

“To Shiva” deals with her quest for a divine lover. She is always in search of a lord, who is imperishable and is invincible. In this age of modernism, god is dethroned and religion is dislodged, but still, she wishes for a divine lover and to talk about her search:

Much have you made me wander

On the face of the earth

Looking at the face of men

When I searched for the face

Of a god to be burnt

In the glory of his third eye. (Deshande, *Lost Love* 13)

She is not satisfied with the love in her life, and she demands from lord Shiva to come in her life and to be a part of her love life.

Conclusion

Like all other new women, she has emerged with her own desires, ambitions and quests to break away the age-old customs and beliefs. Her poems not only give voice to her emotions and experiences, but also give birth to dilemmas and conflicts.

Her poetry is full of sensuality, and deals with the rebel of modern Indian women against male dictatorship. Her works are mainly focused on: man-woman relationship, death, sense of alienation and frustration, identity crisis, recognition and urge for feminine sensibility. She employs the theme of love and human relationships in her poetry. She is at her best in short poems. She is bold enough to interpret the man-woman relationship in terms of sex.

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Nivedita Singh
University of Lucknow

Intensive Farming, Land Degradation and Food Security Issues in India

Abstract

Intensive farming is a method of production under which cultivation is practiced and the producer tries to maximize yields from available land by increasing ratio of variable factors in per unit land area. Intensification increases per hectare productivity of land and feeds the increasing demand for food, on the other hand it poses soil, water and ecosystem health problems. How does one come out of these problems? There is only one way- to promote sustainable farming practices and have less soil and water degradation. Organic farming may be helpful to come out of these problems. How organic farming may be a solution for soil and water degradation along with food security issues is examined with the help of existing literature. The analysis shows that intensive farming has polluted soil, water and resultant food that are the cause of various human diseases.

Key Words: Intensive Farming, Land degradation and Food Security

Introduction

There is a big debate on the issue of intensive farming and environmental degradation across the world and it is proved that modern conventional farming has greater degree of negative impact on land degradation than in contrast to farming methods such as organic farming, natural farming etc. As Alarcón and Bodouroglou (2011) pointed out, modern intensive agricultural practices are a major source of GHG emissions, land degradation, biodiversity loss, and water scarcity and pollution. Degradation of environmental domains reduces the capacity of rural communities, women and vulnerable groups to meet minimum food needs, which will create problems of food security. For strengthening the

productive capacity and protecting environmental domains we need to provide financial and technical support to a small-scale farmer's country like India, including rapid diffusion of sustainable agricultural technology and practices with the necessary supporting services to increase food production which would make a remarkable contribution to improving food security and environmental sustainability. Furthermore, another gain of this strategy is to assign a prominent role to small-scale farming community which will translate into faster economic growth and poverty reduction in a large agricultural sector based economy like India.

For achieving the twin goals simultaneously, environmental sustainability and food security is only possible by promoting appropriate farming technology which will make minimum loss of environmental domains loose maximum output of food grains. For preventing future food security problems we need to incorporate sustainable agriculture farming practices first in those areas, where farmers are doing organic farming by default. These regions are rain fed districts of the country and north-eastern states. This transformation requires a clear cut national policy framework, which will protect the financial loss of small scale farmers and provide technical support in registration, training for compost formation, information about soil and seed, and water related issues. So, for making a "actual green revolution" which will protect the health of nature and human beings along with producing enough food for growing population requires strong will power of politicians and the farming community along with demand side support of the business community. For achieving these twin goals we need to increase public investments in rural areas, secure property rights and expand access to organic productive assets and inputs in support of small scale production.

Land is a finite natural resource and there is no alternative option to replace it with other resources. How do we measure the degradation of land? Generally it is measured by soil ingredients. The degradation of land is the result of both natural and biotic factors. Natural calamities like drought, floods and earthquakes are major factors responsible for land degradation and biotic factors include human and animal activities by which over exploitation of soil and water resources, unscientific land use. Intensive farming causes salinity and alkalinity of soils, soil acidity and waterlogging in the area where high input farming is practiced. These soil contaminations affect the agriculture production and damage the eco-system. Besides, intensification of agriculture, mining and shifting cultivation are also recognized as factors of land degradation

farming pollutes the overall food chain system and the ecosystem. This process of making agriculture productive and profitable gives birth to all kinds of environmental and human health problem.

Land degradation is usually categorized into three categories, one, physical degradation which refers to deterioration in physical properties of soil. Second is biological degradation which refers to reduction in soil organic matter, decline in biomass carbon and decrease in activity and diversity of soil fauna. And the third is chemical degradation, which refers to nutrient depletion. According to the National Bureau of Soil Survey and Land Use Planning (2004) nearly 146.8 Mha is degraded. Water erosion is the most serious degradation problem in India, resulting in loss of the top fertile soil and terrain deformation. Based on first approximation analysis of existing soil loss data, the average soil erosion rate was ~16.4 ton per ha annually, resulting in an annual total soil loss of 5.3 billion tons throughout the country (Dhruvanarayan and Ram, 1983). Nearly 29 percent of total eroded soil is permanently lost to the sea, while 61 percent is simply transferred from one place to another and the remaining 10 percent is deposited in reservoirs (Bhattacharyya et al., 2015).

Land degradation is estimated by different organisation for different years. Land degradation problem arises after 1980s when the green revolution adopted the high yielding varieties of seeds, use of chemical fertiliser and pesticides. Table 1 presents the continuous increase in the degradation of total land area after 1980s and highest was in 1994 study by National Bureau of Soil Survey and Land Use Planning. After 2000s the government of India started soil health and management programme, because of which the 2004 study showed a decline in the total degradation area. The loss of soil varies from state to state in India. States like Punjab, Maharashtra, Gujarat, Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh have higher loss than other states (Vasisht et al., 2003).

Table 1 Land Degradation in India after 1980s

Organisation and Source	Assessment Year	Degraded Area (Mha)
Department of Environment, Vohra (1980)	1980	95.0
SPWD, Bhumbra and Khare (1984)	1984	129.6
National Wasteland Development Board, (1985)	1985	123.0
Ministry of Agriculture, MoA (1985)	1985	173.6
Ministry of Agriculture, MoA (1994)	1994	107.4
NBSS&LUP (1994)	1994	187.7
NBSS&LUP (2005)	2004	146.8
ISRO, et al. Ajai (2009)	2009	105.48

Source: Various Studies on Land Degradation

The ultimate result of land degradation is Desertification. It is a process under which the moisture and organic component of soil are reduced through land degradation in arid, semi-arid and dry-subhumid areas. The recent use of land degradation measurement methodology is called Satellite Mapping, which was carried out with 1:500,000 scale using multi-temporal Resourcesat AWIFS data. Table 2 presents the results of 2009 mapping results of land degradation across the states in India by different activities. A study of Sharma et al (2015) that water erosion and vegetal degradation constitutes about 90 percent of land degradation in most of the states and all other activities are within the range of 10 percent.

State wise degraded land area has been accounted; Rajasthan has the largest area 21.77 percent of the total degraded geographical area of the country under land degradation, followed by Jammu & Kashmir 12.79 percent, Gujarat 12.72 percent and Maharashtra 12.66 percent. As per study of Ajai et al. (2009) the total area under desertification is 81.45 mha, which is caused by water erosion (26.21 mha), followed by wind erosion (17.77 mha), vegetal degradation (17.63 mha) and frost shattering (9.47 mha) .

Table 2 State wise land degradation in India

State	% Water Erosion	% Vegetal Degradation	% Other Activities ²	Total (ha)	% of TGA
Andhra Pradesh	41.99	51.30	6.7	4964892	4.70
Arunachal Pradesh	9.60	58.37	32.0	1816788	1.72
Assam	35.00	63.10	1.9	2419086	2.29
Bihar	26.16	25.27	48.6	414783	0.39
Chhattisgarh	26.84	71.88	1.3	2635392	2.45
Goa	18.77	0.00	81.2	6245	0.01
Gujarat	50.62	20.41	29.0	13415308	12.72
Haryana/Delhi	0.00	0.00	100.0	235110	0.22
Himachal Pradesh	3.52	69.45	27.0	2762746	2.62
J&K	1.54	2.32	96.1	13497518	12.79
Jharkhand	63.82	35.25	0.9	1818986	1.72
Karnataka	40.38	55.23	4.4	1692736	1.60
Kerala	32.02	67.53	0.5	89977	0.01
Madhya Pradesh	37.93	60.12	2.0	3465458	3.28
Maharashtra	69.25	30.20	0.5	13359277	12.66
Manipur	20.65	78.78	0.6	1496806	1.42
Meghalaya	10.75	89.07	0.2	876898	0.83
Mizoram	0.06	99.94	0.0	1665153	1.58
Nagaland	0.00	0.00	100.0	1065678	1.01
Orissa	58.63	36.77	4.6	5469336	5.18
Punjab	58.28	41.72	0.0	10380	0.01
Sikkim	6.29	46.57	47.1	328449	0.31
Rajasthan	16.72	9.31	74.0	22966267	21.77
Tamil Nadu	21.02	76.54	2.4	451028	0.42
Tripura	0.00	97.84	2.2	681843	0.63
Uttar Pradesh	29.00	7.49	63.5	2237603	2.12
Uttarakhand	2.80	69.11	28.1	2983612	2.83
West Bengal	67.27	23.25	9.5	2660667	2.50
India	33.08	29.46	37.5	105488322	-

Source: Access data form Ajai et al. (2009)

Nearly one third (32.07 percent) of the country's land area is undergoing processes of land degradation. The process of land degradation occurs because of eight major activities in the country. According to Mapping analysis, water erosion is the most pronounced process, followed by vegetal degradation and eolian

processes. Total area under land degradation is 105.48 mha. Area-wise Rajasthan, J&K, Gujarat and Maharashtra have high proportions of land undergoing degradation. 81.45 mha land area of the country is undergoing the process of desertification.

Cause of Soil Degradation by Intensive Farming

The cause of land degradation either may be due to natural or man made. Natural causes include earthquakes, tsunamis, droughts, avalanches, landslides, volcanic eruptions, floods, tornadoes, and wildfires etc. Manmade causes are more serious than natural, agriculture practices are the major cause of fertile land degradation. The Royal Commission on Agriculture in India Report (1928) predicted that “most of the area under cultivation in India has been under cultivation for hundreds of years, and had reached its state of maximum impoverishment many years ago ... In this connection it must be remembered that deficiency of combined nitrogen is the limiting factor throughout the greater part of India”. Agricultural activities and practices are the major cause of land degradation. It influenced soil degradation in ways such as land use, crops grown, input use, farming method and management practices. The common causes of land degradation by agriculture and its related activities are; cultivation in fragile deserts and marginal sloping lands without any conservation measures, agricultural depletion of soil nutrients through poor farming practices, overgrazing, excessive irrigation and over drafting.

Unbalanced use of Fertiliser

Intensive farming practices, particularly in case of wheat (*Triticum aestivum* L.) and rice (*Oryza sativa* L.) system in India are more vulnerable in terms of soil nutrients. Indian farmers already practice imbalanced consumption ratio of 6.2: 4: 1 (N:P:K) in 1990–1991, which has widened to 7:2.7:1 in 2000–2001 and 5:

2: 1 in 2009–2010 compared with a target ratio of NPK 4:2:1. As food grain production increased with time, the number of soil elements deficiency increased in India. In 1950 there was only nitrogen (N) deficiency and now the nine (N, P, K, S, B, Cu, Fe, Mn, and Zn) in 2005–2006 (Bhattacharyya, et al., 2015). Though the use of fertilizers has increased several folds, but the overall consumption is continuously low in most of the states. Wide spread Zn deficiency, followed by S, Fe, Cu, Mn and B are common throughout the country. Nearly 20 Mt of the three major nutrients are removed by growing crops annually (Tandon, 1992). The nutrient loss was an estimation made by Prasad and Biswas, (2000), soil erosion is another reason for soil fertility depletion, responsible for an annual loss of 8 Mt of plant nutrients through 5.3 billion tons of soil loss.

Pesticide Overuse and Solid/Liquid Waste

Indiscriminate use of pesticides together with sewage sludge and composted municipal wastes leads to contamination of soil and water with toxic substances and heavy metals. Heavy metal pollution is due to improper disposal of industrial effluents and use of domestic and municipal wastes. Some commercial fertilizers and pesticides also contain appreciable quantities of heavy metals, which have undesirable effects on the environment. Indiscriminate use of agro-chemicals, such as fertilizers and pesticides, is often responsible for land degradation (Bhattacharyya, et al. 2015).

Excess Use of Tillage and Machinery

The excessive use of tillage and heavy machinery for harvesting creates soil and environmental problems. It creates soil organic matter (SOM) problem leading to limited soil life and poor soil structure. Another problem identified is puddling of soil for paddy cultivation, which degrades soil physical properties and has a

negative impact on soil biology. The poor physical condition of soil leads to poor crop establishment and waterlogging after irrigation (Hobbs, et al., 2008). Improper use and maintenance of canal irrigation has contributed to significant soil degradation problems like waterlogging and salinization (Bhattacharyya, et al., 2015).

Crop Residue Burning

Burning of crop residues for cooking, heating and disposal in fields is a pervasive problem in India and contributes to soil organic matter loss. Sehgal and Abrol (1994) show that nearly 3.7 Mha areas suffer from nutrient loss/depletion of both soil organic matters. According to the Ministry of New and Renewable Energy (2009), nearly 500 Mt of crop residues are generated every year and burned 125 Mt. Crop residue generated largest amount of 60 Mt in Uttar Pradesh followed by Punjab with 51 Mt and Maharashtra with 46 Mt. Among different crops, cereals generate 352 Mt of residues followed by fibre crops with 66 Mt, oilseeds with 29 Mt, pulses with 13 Mt and sugarcane with 12 Mt. Rice constituted 34 percent and wheat 22 percent. Both are the dominant cereals contributing to crop residue generation (NAAS, 2012).

Poor Irrigation and Water Management

Improper planning and management of irrigation and extraction of ground water is the result of fall in the water table in most canal command areas. Specific issues of concern are inefficient use of irrigation water, poor land development, seepage from unlined water courses, non-conjunctive use of surface and ground water resources and poor drainage. Expansion of canal irrigation has been associated with widespread waterlogging and salinity problems in the most fertile land, such as; the Indo-Gangetic Plains. In arid,

semi-arid and sub-humid regions, large areas have been rendered barren due to the development of saline-sodic soils because of poor irrigation and drainage management. Cracking of soil from poor irrigation management leads to bypass flow of water and subsequent nitrate leaching (Barman et al. 2013).

Lack of Crop Rotations

Crop rotation process can manage the soil nutrients shortage and make soil healthy. It fixes the deficiency problem of organic component and water conservation, which are important in crop rotation. In addition, cultivation of marginal lands on steep slopes, in shallow or sandy soils, with laterite crusts, and in arid or semi-arid regions bordering deserts has resulted in land degradation. Agricultural production in marginal areas with low soil organic matter due to unsuitable cropping patterns has been the major cause of accelerated wind and water erosion. Wind erosion is a serious problem in arid, semi-arid and coastal areas with sandy soils, and in the cold desert regions of Leh (Bhattacharyya, et al., 2015).

Land Degradation and Yield Loss

The economic impact major of land degradation on productivity at the global level is not a easy task, but some have tried to estimate. In Canada, Girt, (1986) conducted a study on farm effect of land degradation and economic value of estimate was ranges from US\$700 to US\$915 million in 1984. Eswaran et al. (2001) estimated the total annual cost of erosion from agriculture in the USA is about US\$44 billion per year, about US\$247 per ha of cropland and pasture. Vasisht et al. (2003) had accounted economic loss of yields due to land degradation Rs 285.51 billion annually at current price and Rs 89.38 billion at 1979-82 prices in India. UNEP, (1994), conducted a study in South Asia and accounted

the annual loss in productivity was estimated at 36 million tons of cereal valued at US\$5,400 million by water erosion, and US\$1,800 million due to wind erosion. Similar efforts made by Lal, at global level annual loss of 75 billion tons of soil which was accounted at about US\$400 billion per year, or approximately US\$70 per person per year (at US\$3 per ton of soil for nutrients and US\$2 per ton of soil, for water).

Mbagwu et al., (1984) and Lal, (1987) had made field studies on soil erosion and found that yield reduction was about 30 to 90 percent in some root-restrictive shallow lands of West Africa. Another study conducted by Fahnestock et al., (1995) in Ohio and accounted 20 to 40 percent yield loss for row crops and

productivity of organic farming can be increased but the consistent and scientific efforts are essential.

India has a lot of potential to produce all varieties of organic products in its various agro climatic zones. The country has a climatic advantage with its inherited tradition of organic farming. This status holds promise for the organic producers to tap the market which is growing steadily in the domestic market as well as global market. The total certified area was 0.002 million hectare in 2000-01. Area under organic farming increased rapidly after the establishment of national and regional centers for the promotion of organic farming in 2004. The total area under organic certification is accounted 4.72 million hectare in the year 2013-14. The certified area includes 15 percent cultivable area with 0.72 million hectares and rest 85 percent (3.99 million hectare) is forest and wild area for collection of minor forest produce. India stands 10th position among the top ten countries in terms of cultivable land under organic certification (APEDA, 2014).

Table 3 presents detailed information regarding total certification area and number of organic produce under organic farming system. The annual certified area varies from year to year and some years showing negative growth rate as; 2002-03, 2008-09, 2010-11 and 2012-13. All these years 2010-11 and 2012-13 were showing worst performance, on the other hand remaining year growth rate of certified organic area is satisfactory. The noteworthy point is that the numbers of organic growers are continuously increasing except two years (2002-03 and 2010-11) since India started organic farming production and certification. In India total certified area is classified into two categories- wild collection and crop land.

Table 3 Certified Area and producer in India during 2000-01-2013-14

Year	Total Certified Area (ha)	Share of Ag land	% Growth of Area	No. Producers	% Growth of Pro
2000-01	2,775	0.00	-	1426	-
2001-02	41,000	0.02	1377.48	5661	296.98
2002-03	37,050	0.02	-9.63	5147	-9.08
2003-04	76,326	0.04	106.01	5147	0.00
2004-05	114,037	0.06	49.41	5147	0.00
2005-06	150,790	0.10	32.23	5147	0.00
2006-07	528,171	0.24	250.27	44,926	772.86
2007-08	1,030,311	0.57	95.07	195,741	335.70
2008-09	1,018,470	0.57	-1.15	340,000	73.70
2009-10	1,180,000	0.66	15.86	677,275	99.20
2010-11	780,000	0.43	-33.90	400,551	-40.86
2011-12	1,084,266	0.60	39.01	547,591	36.71
2012-13	5,00,000	0.28	-53.89	600,000	9.57
2013-14	5,10,000	0.29	2.00	650,000	8.33
CV	0.88	-	-	1.11	-

Source: *FiBL-IFOAM various annual reports*

In Indian most of the land falls under this category. First it means that certified area of different crops is negligible. But in reality most of the farmers are growing organic crop in rain fed area by default. So there is urgent need that the cost of certification and inspection should be carried by the government because those farmers have no money to carry the heavy cost of certification and inspection. The percentage of certified area is very low as compared to total crop land in India and it is below 1 percent. The coefficient variation (CV) value 0.88 shows consistency in certified organic area growth, with huge variation number of adopters with value 1.11.

A projected demand of global food for the next 50 years doubled, which poses huge challenges for the sustainability and food security to society (Tilman, et al. 2014). The issue of food security will arise

when we talk about sustainable practice of farming such as; organic farming, natural farming etc. The question of food security is raised by supporters of conventional farming and it is said that organic farming feeds the increasing demand of food, when the production in this system is lesser than conventional farming. Recently the Food and Agriculture Organization UN (FAO) moved from 'food security' to 'nutrition security', which is a much better concept than food security. Organic farming is more near to 'nutrition security' than conventional because it maintained nutrients in both soil and food products. If it is adopted in proper way, first in purity areas that is rain fed area of the country then spared in other areas phase wise. For the growth of organic sector need to government facilitate cost effective certification and inspection for small and marginal farmers along with proper market facility of organic input and output.

India produces enough food but the number of hungry people is still high. It is the problem of distribution aspect. India's population is likely to reach 1.5 billion by 2030; the challenge facing the country is to produce more and more from diminishing per capita arable land and irrigation water resources and expanding abiotic and biotic stresses. India currently produces about 285million tonnes of cereals to meet the needs of a population of 1.20 billion. While calculating food requirements, the needs of farm animals are often overlooked. The current situation in India is that cereal production has to be doubled by 2050 in order to meet the needs of the expected population of 1.8 billion, in addition to meeting the needs of livestock and poultry.

Conclusion

Intensive farming feeds the growing demand of food in India as well as world. But it has caused tremendous loss of soil fertility, water scarcity, and land degradation. Agricultural activity plays a

significant contribution in environmental degradation, which is the cause of human and animal disease. Agricultural economists and scientists are the de facto managers of the most productive lands. Sustainable agriculture practice is required that could protect natural resources, species and ecosystems simultaneously. The impact of recent climate change has been seen in terms of unseasonal rainfall, drought and increase in normal temperature in India, which leads to food insecurity.

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Hari Ram Prajapati

*Department of Economics
Kamala Nehru College
University of Delhi*

Reena Devi

*Centre for Studies in
Economics and Planning
Central University of Gujarat*

Market as Contested Space for Consumption

The metropolis is indeed the site of modernity: the essence of the modern spirit, a spirit which is formed ...urban environment. There is a desperate need to address the materiality associated with consumption and its mediations within the market space. This imagery is the interpretation to provide us the understanding of the unreal world. As much as it is socially constructed, it is nonetheless the dispossessed reality of a consumerist discourse. There is bombardment of the flow of information to be filtered and scanned with limited capacity in postmodern times. The social reality thus encompasses people with its multiple communications channeled via its spectacle in the democratic market space. Although it can be narrated as a self-evident idea, it raises contradictions such as real and imagined identities and how pseudo takes charge of otherwise the obvious reality. The whole dialectics transcends and innovates an individual with robust sense of choices and decisions about everyday life. Therefore, the formation of consciousness within the ambit of ever evolving identities through the use of commodities becomes the basis of social relationships. The area of this study is differential market spaces chosen particularly for the spread and practice of consumerism of National Capital Region. The central tenet is to interrogate an enquiry in to market space (a) to investigate 'commodity' from commodification vis-à-vis the differential income, social class, age and gender categories; (b) the influence of the objects, symbols and images in everyday public places that determine the consumerist ideology; and finally, (c) to what extent the use and abuse of the advertisements facilitates the prosumer (consumer and producer). In this study, consumers are analyzed on the basis of their income groups rather than traditional identities (castes, society, culture). A universal questionnaire was made to study consumption on the basis of the consumer preference unaffected by their income group in the market place. This helped to strengthen the hypotheses of

study i.e. consumption as all pervasive, accelerating irrespective of the income group vis-à-vis the consumers. The income classification in this study has been borrowed from the NCAER market demography report. Categorized into five strata defined per annum (1) Less than 35,000 (2) 35,000-70,000 and (3) 70,000-105,000 (4) 105,000-140,000 (5) above 140,000 (NCAER 1998). Hedonistic consumption has replaced traditional consumption. Though this is supported and encouraged by the high-income earning groups and a specific socio-economic class, the meaning and nature of consumption has altered the capacity to want in comparison to its need and differential tastes. There would be market space seen as spectacle accommodating altering images as a unifying principle of its body. Empirically, study resides in the fact that mediations have been studied from a consumerist perspective in markets (hyperspace) of India.

Revisiting Market Space

Traditionally this space has a historic character from the middle ages to the *laissez-faire* of nineteenth and twentieth century. Literally, the markets are seen as an *impersonal* mechanism or means of coordination that allows social order to emerge from the anarchy of diverse individual desires. Consumption acts as a bridge for the self vis-à-vis the social self being recreated within the confines of this market space. “The truth about consumption is that it is a function of production, and not a function of pleasure, and therefore, like material production, is not an individual function but one that is directly and totally collective” (Baudrillard 1988, 464). These spaces are organized around grandeur, leisure, and the spectacle that becomes the cause of consumption, popularly known as ‘markets’. However, the word ‘market’ refers both to the act of trading between buyers and sellers at prices decided by supply and demand, and to the place, where buying and selling of goods occur. The functional aspect revolving around these spaces were distribution and exchange, and their activity was not limited to

material goods alone. Whilst these markets brought people together in the same place at the same time, leading to exchange between people along with exchange of information, yet to one's dismay, there was no production without something being consumed, and vice versa. Commodities converge at the same time and place, as a centre of distribution. Moreover, consumption has been represented in modern discourse, as an antithesis of production and underprivileged in its negative images. Marxism has faced similar problems delineating production from consumption to be paramount determinant of human success which came largely to be considered a necessary evil (Mill 1929; Say 1964). Sounding a similar Marxian alarm, "over alienation and domination by use of one's own commodities is also like a bad science of fiction novel" (Baudrillard 1988, 450). Hence, the above mentioned spaces are said to be constructed in ways that enclose and separate activities from wider spheres to the extent that they represent "a complete world, a kind of a miniature city" (Jameson 1991, 40). The investigation was pertinent in the twentieth century, partly because of growing materialistic needs vis-à-vis the change in the overall system of values, beliefs and culture of consumption. Europe and America were the epicenters of exaggerated consumption of household items and apparels, which later got dispersed all over the globe.

The recent change in the paradigm shift of the global attention being diverted to Asia with everything from cars to software, to apparel and electronics. The information is widely distributed across generation via electronic or print media, yet the dialectic from populism to consumption realism is robust and interrelated in many ways.

Method of Study: Consumer Patterns and Ideologies

Consumerism leads to spiritual impoverishment and hedonistic selfishness with its "*live now pay later*" syndrome and thrift with religion in general and puritan heritage in particular. As, is clearly

manifested in a popular TV advertisement: “*Money cannot buy everything but for everything else there is Master Card*. Credit is a demand on *future* production, but it functions as money (exchange value) in the present.

Those living in northern India particularly Delhi and Ludhiana are predominantly driven by herd mentality. Thus, these herd mentality is well elaborated in this study as the chosen field area in NCR. The term “Indian consumer market” is a misnomer: it would be more accurate to describe it as a collection of different consumer markets (NCAER). Therefore, the income and expenditure are the most pertinent parameters to measure the consumption index of any country. Consumption is highly unequal, richest 5 percent of the world’s population has 114 times the income of the poorest 57 percent (Migone 2004, 178).

The study was conducted in the market place of two zones – New Delhi and Gurgaon. This fieldwork was held at intervals of the festival season, discount as well as normal seasons which covered almost a year. *Gurgaon* contributes over 50% of Haryana’s income tax revenues along with Faridabad. Markets are the representation of interpersonal relationships local); formalized disembodied selves (malls) and old forms of bazaars (traditional central markets). The above statement is a valid reason to pick these heterogeneous markets as base for this study on consumerism

Market Category and the number of Respondents (Field Survey 2008-09)

New Delhi	No.	Gurgaon	No.
Select City Walk-Saket	50	MGF Metropolitan mall	50
South Extension I & II	50	Sadar bazaar	25
Munirka	25	Sector market 4	50
Total	125	Total	100

There were 225 respondents, randomly picked from each market category, 125 each from Delhi and Gurgaon. The framework of the study were both open-ended questions for the analysis of the advertisements and close-ended questions for the questionnaire. This study was held at intervals of the festival season (discounts), as well as regular times to observe discrepancy in sales during discounts. Around 15–20 malls were initially visited to finally discover the functional field area for the research. Initially, it was difficult to frame a questionnaire, hence, FGDs were conducted to avoid misinterpretation, and to explore additional information for the direction of questionnaire at the initial level of interview. There were several questions asked such as: which category of markets do they prefer and feel satisfied for consumption; what is the preference and intention to buy apparel; what is their

Degree of preference, etc. Nevertheless, the non-response rate was 3 per cent, reason being that consumers expressed the desire to not waste time, as they were too busy in visualizing and acquiring information of their needs and wants.

Real versus Imagined Practices

Consumer goods have significance that goes beyond their utilitarian character and commercial value (how the exchange value takes over the use-value). As 67% of the respondents want to go to the mall but when it comes to virtual shopping 58% prefers to shop from a local bazaar. Out of this only 15% and 12% of the respondents of all the age and income groups prefer to go a local bazaar and the central market as of priority. And 30% get satisfied in the central market as compared to that of the 12% in the malls. Therefore, consumers are wise in decision making however, pretends otherwise to gain advantage in their spending capacity. Most importantly the operation of such measures takes place in a localized coherent spaces-markets. They are the wider social spheres to the extent that they represent “a complete world, a kind of a miniature city, and the particular type of crowd practice or flanerie

as the hypercrowd” (Jameson 1991, 40). At the same time the needed goods can be bought which make consumption as an event. These were the following expressions randomly picked by few respondents: “life comes only once”; “money is sand it comes and it goes”; “live today as if there is no tomorrow-who knows what happens tomorrow-I should have no regret”; “take it easy man”; “what if I earn less money, once in while I can splurge”. Here, there was lot of discrepancy found in the choices filled in the questionnaire versus preference and how the respondents felt empowered and liberated in the markets. Some longer responses were:

“Shopping is a great high for me, after all you congratulate yourself for the great job done well. It is a way to pamper myself even if no one does isn’t it then all empowering in itself.” (working woman)

“Even if I go bankrupt then also I will try and make it to the brands due to the association and loyalties involved. As once if I’ve started wearing a sports brand then I would not like to be those stupid feminine kinds by not using it. The brands have also provided me a niche in my office and other places, They recognize me by my brand association. People very well know that I don’t compromise and my assets should be apart from the crowd. As I am a modern girl and an equal.” (employee in back office)

“I forget everything once I am out for window shopping as it’s a complete leisure time for myself with no disturbance from anyone else. I feel at peace even if only for a while doesn’t matter”. (a bank executive)

The above statements are certainly not to be read out objectively as it carries subjective connotations more than what it states clearly. Their engagement with the urban fabric is disinterested as it lacks grounding in the pragmatic regimes of the everyday life. Lifestyle is usually understood as some sort of material expression of the consumer’s identity. The above emphasizes the role of lifestyles in

maintaining the ontological insecurity and the coherence of self (Giddens 1991, 81). Thus, there were expressions where they even refer to each other as *Nike* girl or *Armani* boy. There is a considerable distance between the physical properties of a product and its powerful meanings of influence (Adidas, Coco Cola). To buy a particular style of jeans (say, Levi's) or newspaper (say, Times of India) suggests the kind of image and status one wants to portray to others. In this sense, all commodities have their own symbolic-value, as well as their particular use-value (utility) and exchange-value (price), hence cannot be juxtaposed into a single argument.

The above is only relevant when one has a referral point to display one's ostentatious consumption to others. Market is not created by outsiders but instead reflect the social and political construction of each society. Therefore, the focus is to analyze markets as a social category to unravel the nuances of consumerism in modern age. The consumption of goods and services has an important role to play. As a result, the need to express a particular lifestyle then creates desires for particular consumer goods. "Lifestyles are fragmented, stylized practices that are in constant state of agitation without necessarily assuming any particular order. In a postmodern world 'everyone can be anyone'. Real life has turned into the art of living, reality into the aestheticization of everyday of life" (Featherstone 1991, 65–78).

This is unique to the extent the way these labels, endow them with a unique sense of identity in their habitus (Bourdieu 1977) this can be traced to the roots of capital logic (Bourdieu), and structures of meanings (Baudrillard) rationalizing the commodity logic manifest in the sphere of consumption. The values and belief systems filters through the everyday life of culture industry and dominates the logic of production of consumption. Traditional forms of enjoyment and leisure transforms its meaning into a new form of "wanting and recurrently wanting" needs created by commodities. Surprisingly one of our respondent also revealed

statement as: “Small shop owners know better than the big shop owners and are updated on the discounts and schemes. Hence, are more profitable for our budget and also provides a second opinion of test and trial methodology on themselves.” The question such as mode of advertising influences them most in consumption? Are the most sought after in this study: On the basis of advertisement is 52%, form word of mouth and optimum usage is 20% each and simply purchase on the basis of availability was 12%. Therefore the strategic influence effecting the sales was still word of mouth 16%, which again shows the wisdom of the consumers. And to put their priority as per the scale of likeness the results can be studied through a close contrast providing preference of imitation almost equivalent to that of either of the brands or designer.

For instance, they named *Mercedes E class*! the reason they gave was definitely not logical but had subjective connotation of Bourdieu’s habitus. Consecutively, Bourdieu distinction (1977) about the round steel rim on the bonnet of Mercedes similar to that of Baudrillard’s sign (1970) to communicate their status in the society. As discrepancy was observed between the choice of preference and their purchase a correlation was made as part of the study. In this study the most amazing fact was that 75% of low-income group along with that of the super rich have shown an equitable interest in their preference of automobiles similar to the likes of brand names of clothing. This analysis was a benchmark to establish the intimate relationship with the constructed reality of modern times. Thus, the entire exercise was deliberately implemented to bring forth their loyalist consumerist ideology as their preference more than their need. For the above argument, Ludhiana can be cited as live illustration of possess in maximum number of Mercedes cars in India-probably functions on the principle of competition of conspicuous consumption (Veblen 1999). Similar is the case with Rolex watches-as the most likeable brand amongst watches. Consumers are less bothered of the price

as they are deconstructed to the 'other self', directed by the laws of the consumer society.

Conclusion

The thematic concern is the selfish altruism that consumers uphold with their cause and effect of the purchase that benefits them rather than wider world. This "inseparability" of consumerism and consumption offers the potential to promote more desires. As a corollary, there can be a cautious acceptance of the research thesis that consumerism has the potential to promote consumption in a market space. This paper has attempted to identify the rationale for the spectacle of the hyperspace for the logic of consumerism. Consumption is seen as a material process to fulfill human biological needs mediated through its symbolic value in urban spaces. The rationale to want, and desire goods to establish identity amongst peer groups. All choices in everyday life are not always to want for need rather it creates more false needs and is accentuated in a commodified market-space. Meanings are socially constructed so they confer the feeling of dependence on references; Relationships are established through the meanings endowed within a complex of cultural and social network amongst people; consumption is unconscious part of their identities and so their true representation reflects and emerges out in the market place. Moreover, it is both integrative and disrupting to the access for resources by internalizing the external forces. However, consumerism is not to be seen in negative light rather it adds new dimension apart from its utility. Consumption strongly linked with desires besides its functional utility is consumerism. Yet, in contrast, if the consumer becomes less interested in the brand and draws away from its impacts, then so will the advertising and their likelihood of taking action will be commensurately less. Regardless of whether consumers act individually or collectively, their market choices reflect an understanding of material products as embedded in a complex social and normative context. This can be mediated as consumption in a contested space of markets.

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Dr. Ritu Sharma
Department of Sociology
Kamala Nehru College
University of Delhi

